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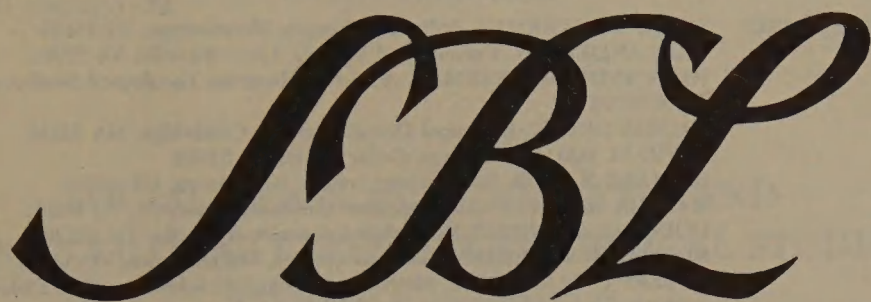
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SOCIAL CLASS AS AN ANALYTIC AND HERMENEUTICAL CATEGORY IN BIBLICAL STUDIES*

NORMAN K. GOTTWALD

New York Theological Seminary, New York, NY 10001

It has long been recognized that differentials in wealth and power figure prominently in biblical texts and traditions. Although the presence of the rich and the powerful within the Bible—shadowed by their poor and powerless counterparts—is widely noted and commented on, the formative dynamics and far-reaching effects of grossly unequal concentrations of wealth and power have seldom been conceptualized in a fashion empirical and systematic enough to yield sustained exegetical and hermeneutical insights.

This theoretical lag in analyzing and explaining wealth and power in the Bible follows from three sources which reinforce one another. The first is the traditional hegemony of religious and theological categories in biblical studies, which stubbornly resists sociology as a threat to the religious integrity and authority of scripture. The second source is the controversy within the social sciences themselves over whether wealth and power should be understood principally along structural-functional or conflictual lines.¹ The third source is the embedment of biblical studies in a pervasive capitalist ethos that blunts or denies the existence of significant structural divisions in society. Together these factors discourage and inhibit efforts to understand wealth and power in the Bible as historically generated and reproduced phenomena. Extremes of wealth and power tend to make their appearance in biblical studies—as in popular opinion about contemporary society—as if they are given “facts of nature,” requiring no further explanation. The customary strategies are to view inequalities in wealth and power as the result either of random idiosyncratic personal differences of ability or industry, on the one hand, or the inordinate greed and moral corruption of particular individuals, on the other.² The key analytic tool that could cut through our shallow positivism and

*The presidential address delivered 21 November 1992 at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature held at the Hilton Hotel, San Francisco, California.

¹ Anthony Giddens and David Held, eds., *Classes, Power, and Conflict: Classical and Contemporary Debates* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982).

² Benjamin DeMott, *The Imperial Middle: Why Americans Can't Think Straight About Class* (New York: Morrow, 1992).

moralism about wealth and power in biblical societies is the concept of social class.

I. What Is Social Class?

In my judgment, the most illuminating way to understand wealth and power in the Bible—as in all societies—is to understand the relation of groups of people to the process of production of basic goods, which generates and replenishes human society in the perpetual flow of daily life. Social classes may be said to exist whenever one social group is able to appropriate a part of the surplus labor product of other groups. In such a situation of exploitation, wealth and power accrue disproportionately to those who are able to claim and dispose of what others produce. Those who have this power of economic disposal tend also to have political predominance and ideological hegemony.

On this understanding, it is to be emphasized that social class is a dynamic relational term. Social production brings people together and, amid their interaction, the criterion that establishes the presence of social class is whether or not there are those who can dispose of the production of others *de jure* or *de facto*. At base, then, when class is operative there are two classes conjoined in distinctive ways that are mutually conditioning: the exploiters and the exploited, the dominators and the dominated, the ideologically superior and the ideologically inferior. In practice, however, the exploiters and the exploited are usually diversified in sub-classes or class fractions, chiefly according to the degree and manner in which surplus labor value is extracted and distributed in the society. Sub-class differentiation among exploiters and exploited may produce all manner of political coalitions and ideological alignments from situation to situation. Classes are less to be thought of as strata laid down in layers, one on top of the other, than as contending forces in a common field of ever-shifting action seeking to secure their vital interests as they understand them, the dominant class clearly being “one up” in its command over surplus labor value, political power, and ideological supremacy.

The degree to which people in similar or related positions relative to production are conscious of their commonality and pursue joint action differs markedly from society to society and over time within any single society. Classes may be more or less economically, politically, or ideologically active on their own behalf. Action based on common interests may enlist few, many, or most members of a class. The goals pursued may be narrower or broader. The important thing in class analysis is to look for how the social relations of production create groups who participate differentially in goods, services, and ideas, and then to examine how they interact in maintaining and advancing their interests. In short, always to ask some version of Gerhard Lenski's

deceptively simple-looking question, "Who Gets What and Why?"³ This kind of analysis, while conceptually applicable to all class societies, yields diverse configurations over space and time, no two of which are exactly alike. Consequently, social class analysis is eminently compatible with historical methodology that respects change and variety in the human story.⁴

II. Social Class in Biblical Societies

What then are the social classes disclosed in the Bible, and how does a recognition of these classes contribute to literary and historical exegesis?

The productive processes that generate wealth and power in the biblical world centered on land and were precapitalist. The vast majority of people produced food and other life necessities from the earth, working in household or village teams. Since technology and transport were not sufficiently developed to create a large consumer market for manufactured goods, the route to concentrating wealth and power in such circumstances was to gain control over agrarian and pastoral products, which the appropriators could themselves consume or assign to retainers at their discretion or convert into other valuables through trade and acquisition of land. This had been achieved in the ancient Near East by the so-called dawn of civilization, distinguished by the emergence of strong centralized states that siphoned off agrarian and pastoral surpluses through taxation, spawned landholding and merchant groups who profited from peasant indebtedness and high-level international trade, and engaged in warfare and conquest of neighboring lands.

This has been called a Tributary Mode of Production (hereafter TMP) in that, while leaving the work relations of the great majority of people largely unchanged, it laid heavy tribute on the fruits of their labor.⁵ Developments in the western Mediterranean and Aegean areas appear to have been broadly similar to those in the immediate biblical world, although by Greco-Roman times slave labor began to produce the critical mass of surplus labor value. Nonetheless, tributary relations of production imposed on the agrarian multi-

³ Gerhard Lenski, *Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification* (Chapel Hill/London: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), title of chap. 1.

⁴ For methodologically sophisticated uses of social class analysis in the studies of three widely separated historical periods, see G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World from the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981) 4–98; Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982) 3–23; and Gerald M. Sider, *Culture and Class in Anthropology and History: A Newfoundland Illustration* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 3–11. I have cited the pagination of the methodological discussions in the above references.

⁵ Samir Amin, *Class and Nation, Historically and in the Present Crisis* (New York/London: Monthly Review, 1980) 46–70. "Tributary" is a more descriptive term for this mode of production than the older label "Asiatic," which, in employing the name of the continent where it has most often appeared, fails to characterize the nature of the mode of production as such.

tudes continued among much of the populace dominated by Rome, since in the long run slave production did not prove successful in agriculture. Private ownership of immovable property was also legally enshrined in the classical world on a scale and with a rigor unfamiliar to the ancient Near East, but it appears that, even under Roman rule, Jewish Palestine continued to follow the traditional pattern of customary use holdings that could be lost over time through indebtedness.

The social classes visible in biblical societies may be phrased in such a way as to take account of Israel's history in all periods, within which we can identify shifts in the class configurations that were integral to changing economic, political, and ideological developments.⁶

A Synchronic Social Class Typology

On the one hand, *the dominant tribute-imposing class* consisted of the political elite — native and/or foreign — and their administrative, religious, and military retainers, together with the landholding, merchant, and small manufacturing elites who benefited from state power. All these subsections of the dominant class extracted — or attempted to extract — surplus from the mass of agrarian and pastoral producers, as well as other smaller occupational groups (named below). This extraction of surplus was accomplished by a variety of mechanisms, including imperial tribute, domestic taxation, commercial imposts, corvée, slave labor, rent, or debt servicing.

On the other hand, *the dominated tribute-bearing class* consisted of peasants, pastoralists, artisans, priests, slaves, and unskilled workers — all those who did not draw surplus from any other workers but who were structurally subject to their own surplus being taken by members of the dominant class, or who were themselves dependent wage laborers.

Weakness in the dominant class, coupled with resistance or avoidance strategies by the dominated, could reduce the intensity of the exploitation and even, on rare occasions, open up a brief period of relief from all — or most — surplus extraction. Normally this temporary relief was no more than a precarious transition between the fall of one group of exploiters and the rise of another. The peculiarity of earliest Israel is that it enjoyed the longest stretch of tribute-free communal life known to us from any ancient Near Eastern sources.

Diachronic Social Class Developments

Communitarian mode of production. In pre-state Israel we meet the anomaly of a period of about two centuries when the grip of Canaanite city-

⁶ For elaboration of these social class shifts in correlation with the customary periodization of biblical history, see my "Sociology of Ancient Israel" in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (6 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1992) 6: 79–89.

state tributary control over the mountainous hinterland was broken and the previously dominated agrarian and pastoral populace was largely free of surplus extraction. The primary productive units were extended or multifamily households, linked in lineages or protective associations and in tribes. In these farming-herding households, which in some cases included indebted or indentured servants and resident aliens, men and women divided certain tasks and shared others. All members of the household enjoyed the fruit of their arduous collective labor. There remain still unresolved questions about the status and extent of indebted laborers and about the role of chiefs in this society, and exactly how to conceptualize them in relation to class.⁷

In contrast to the Tributary Mode of Production, we might appropriately say that tribal Israel practiced a Household Mode of Production. I prefer, however, to speak of a Communitarian Mode of Production (hereafter CMP), because the success of this tribute-free venture hinged on broad alliances among free producers, formed at the intertribal level, to defend themselves militarily and to grant communally legitimated use holdings to the respective households who assisted one another in aspects of agrarian labor and in the granting of aid to households in need. This was a very particular kind of equality among households, not to be confused with strict equivalence in family organization, size of holdings, or amount of production, and, in particular, not to be understood along the lines of modern individualistic notions of egalitarianism developed since the French Revolution and predicated on doctrines of inalienable human rights. Thus, all attempts to evaluate this Communitarian Mode of Production by modern egalitarian criteria, whether of democracy, anarchism, socialism, or feminism, will inevitably falsify the historically specific situation of early Israel,⁸ whereas anthropological analogies of confederated pre-state societies offer more illuminating comparison. Nonetheless, on balance, the CMP provided its practitioners with a more materially, socially, and ideologically satisfying life than they observed among the tribute-burdened producers in their environment.⁹

Native tributary mode of production. Ironically, with the introduction of social classes at the emergence of the monarchy, Israel entered into the very

⁷ A nuanced social structural understanding of debt servitude and sojourner residency in tribal Israel depends greatly on two debated issues: (1) which provisions of the monarchic redaction of the Covenant Code of Exod 20:22–23:19 are believed to reflect premonarchic conditions; (2) the mix of biological and social processes envisioned in the formation of early Israelite households.

⁸ Carol Meyers, making use of an abundance of archaeological and anthropological – as well as textual – data, characterizes the place of women in the wider premonarchic society (*Discovering Eve: Ancient Israelite Women in Context* [New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988]). She wisely cautions against positive or negative prejudgments on early Israelite society based on modern notions that ignore the ancient context.

⁹ For modification and nuancing of my concepts and conclusions about premonarchic Israel as a society, subsequent to *The Tribes of Yahweh*, see “How my Mind Has Changed or Remained the Same,” in *The Hebrew Bible in its Social World and in Ours* (SBLSS, forthcoming).

TMP it had struggled free from at its inception and had resisted for decades. Surplus was extracted from producers by state taxation and *corvée*, by elites who exacted interest on debt and imposed rental fees, and by foreign powers whose demands for tribute and indemnity were passed on to the Israelite producers in the form of higher taxes. Over the course of monarchic history, we detect rising and falling sequences of state power, both in its relation to foreign powers and in its relation to native nongovernmental elites. These shifting balances of power in the dominant elites meant that their subjects were exploited variously by native rulers, foreign rulers, and domestic landholders and merchants. Since the exploited populace faced diversified exploiters who did not have identical interests and whose varied forms of domination differed in severity from period to period, it was in the interests of the exploited to use what power they had to diminish the intensity of domination by throwing their support to what they perceived at any given moment as the lesser—or least—of evils among their contending exploiters. This of course raises questions about varying kinds of self-interest among the exploited, the extent to which they were class-conscious, and the channels available to them for gaining political leverage.¹⁰

Foreign tributary mode of production. With the eclipse of both Israelite states, a significant shift within the TMP occurred: the dominance in imposing tribute passed decisively to foreign rulers, although the native elite in restored Judah had considerable leeway to operate as long as they remained loyal, preserved domestic order, and delivered tribute to the imperial power. The imperial dominators preferred to stay at arm's length and govern through the native elite, although under the Hellenistic and Roman regimes, they took a more direct hand in ruling Palestine. In effect, the exploited sub-classes were now continuously subject to two levels of surplus labor extraction: by foreign rulers and by native elites. The domestic tribute was increasingly garnered through the Temple establishment in the form of tithes and offerings.¹¹

Religion, ethnicity, and the tributary mode of production. When early Judaism emerged as a distinctive religiocultural social body that could thrive with minimal political support, religious and ethnic identities became important ways of viewing and articulating class divisions. Consequently, native Jewish elites and their exploited subjects might unite in opposition to foreign domination but with different social programs in view and with different

¹⁰ For elaboration of this reconstruction of social classes in monarchic Israel, see my essay "A Hypothesis about Social Class in Monarchic Israel in the Light of Contemporary Studies of Social Class and Social Stratification," in *The Hebrew Bible in its Social World and in Ours*.

¹¹ Daniel L. Smith, "The Politics of Ezra: Sociological Indicators of Postexilic Judaeon Society," in *Second Temple Studies 1. Persian Period* (ed. P. R. Davies; JSOTSup 117; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991) 73–97.

understandings of the social import of their shared religion. In contradictory ways, the temple complex of economic, political, and religious institutions served both to give a solidary identity to Jews and to function as the conduit for the extraction of their surpluses.¹²

The correlate of these observations about shifting class dynamics in biblical history is that the internal perceptions and interests of both the dominant and dominated classes varied in clarity and cohesiveness. There was no unrelieved warfare between two solid social blocs, but a long tug-of-war, with momentary truces and skirmishes, breaking out at times into sharp confrontation and crisis. On occasion, members of the dominant class could take action on behalf of—even make common cause with—the exploited, to lessen their grievances when it was felt that their own social survival depended on it. Similarly, members of the dominated classes could be cooperative with—and not merely sullenly resigned to—programs put forward by their dominators when they saw some marginal advantage in doing so. This “fudging” of class lines in the rough and tumble of actual social history is of great importance to a nuanced reading of the social dimensions of biblical texts.¹³

III. Social Class in Biblical Texts

On the ideological plane, which of course included religion, the ideas produced by state officials and their clients claimed that their superior wealth and power were justified by the improved production, domestic peace, freedom from foreign aggression, and blessings of the gods that the state and its client elites provided. These ideas are the dominant ones in the literature of the ancient Near East, produced as it was largely under the auspices of the TMP ruling class. These ruling-class ideas are also articulated in the Hebrew Bible, particularly in royal texts and in some of the wisdom literature, as also in the NT, in Gospel redactions and in second- and third-generation epistolary literature. The counterideas of many subjects of the state were far less sanguine, marked by suspicion or outright accusation that their rulers were in fact parasitic, bringing no long-lasting benefits to the immediate producers, providing illusory social harmony that masked injustices, engaging in wars of expansion that were largely irrelevant—and often damaging—to the interests of the general populace and, through it all, falsely claiming approval by the gods. These “dark” views of the ruling class are only marginally visible in ancient Near Eastern literature but rather amply represented within the Hebrew Bible,

¹² Joseph Blenkinsopp, “Temple and Society in Achaemenid Judah,” in *Second Temple Studies I*, ed. Davies, 22–53.

¹³ For a particularly instructive account of how Israelite ruling classes at times acted—or promised to act—on behalf of their exploited subjects in order to solidify political control over them, see Marvin L. Chaney, “Debt Easement in Israelite History and Tradition,” in *The Bible and the Politics of Exegesis: Essays in Honor of Norman K. Gottwald on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* ed. D. Jobling, P. L. Day, and G. T. Sheppard; Cleveland: Pilgrim, 1991) 127–39.

under the initial impetus of the CMP, particularly in early poems and laws and in prophets and some wisdom literature, and likewise within the NT, especially in the earliest layers of the Gospels and in James and Revelation.

Granted a sharp class edge in much of the Bible, it is nonetheless true that there are large tracts of biblical literature where the class lineaments are obscure or scrambled for various reasons: because of the nature of the topics treated, or because of the terseness of treatment, or because conflicting class outlooks are joined in the text, or because the social strategy of the text is to try to blur or cross class lines. An important service of a sociological reading of the Bible is to plot the contours of class consciousness and class strategy—when and how they are expressed, ignored, or suppressed—in order to give a convincing social context to the diversities of biblical texts and religious developments. In this task, all of the existing methods of biblical criticism are indispensable aids. The way in which a combination of methods can illuminate the functioning of social class in biblical history is best shown in particular instances. For illustrative purposes, I offer three groups of texts of varying ages and genres: narrative, prophetic speech, and parable. In these texts, considerations of genre criticism and redaction criticism, illuminated by comparative social scientific method, intertwine to disclose social class dynamics that are routinely overlooked by exegetes.

Social Class in Hebrew Bible Narratives

Fortunately, there are narratives in the Hebrew Bible where a fair amount of social historical context and data are given. Narrative genres would seem to be “naturals” for revealing social class, but not uniformly so. In some of these texts, opposing social class perspectives are vividly evident, while, in others, conflicting class outlooks are concealed. The methods of redaction evidently played a key role in censoring the flow of social information and in determining what meaning, if any, the textual frame would assign to the data reported. I give two examples, one in which social class is easier to locate and the other in which it is more veiled even as it is powerfully present.

Secession of the northern tribes. The rebellion of Jeroboam and the secession of the northern tribes are reported in 1 Kings 11–12 with a social realism that stands in acute dissonance with what is said earlier in the book about Solomon’s governmental policies.¹⁴ The accounts of the Solomonic economic program of redistricting, heavy taxation, and forced labor in 1 Kings 4–10 are surrounded with an aura of benign wisdom that induces Solomon’s subjects

¹⁴ For a sociopolitical scenario of Jeroboam’s program and the constituencies supporting it, see Robert B. Coote, *In Defense of Revolution: The Elohist History* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) 61–69.

to welcome these harsh measures enthusiastically.¹⁵ At one point, the text—sensitive to some disquiet in the audience—goes out of its way to insist that the *corvée* was not imposed on Israelites but only on Canaanites (1 Kgs 9:20–22). To the contrary, Jeroboam is introduced as the one appointed by Solomon “over all the forced labor of the house of Joseph” (1 Kgs 11:28). The immediate occasion of Jeroboam’s abortive revolt is said to have been Solomon’s building projects in Jerusalem which presumably enlisted north Israelite drafted labor that Jeroboam was expected to muster and direct, but against which he recoiled (1 Kgs 11:27).

Years later, when the north Israelite delegation met Rehoboam at Shechem to negotiate the terms on which his succession to the monarchy might be acceptable, the crucial concession demanded was a lightening or lifting of the *corvée* (1 Kgs 12:3–4). This onerous form of surplus extraction, coupled with taxation in kind, had become a widespread class grievance on which the united monarchy foundered and then split when the Judahite ruling class failed to modify the policy. Although we have no certain social information for the immediately following decades, it is likely that for some time the northern monarchy relinquished use of the *corvée*, at least on the scale Solomon had practiced it, until presumably it was reintroduced by Omri as he sought to ape the Davidic dynasty’s accomplishments.

It is noteworthy that the Deuteronomistic editor attributes the breakup of Solomon’s kingdom to the unbridled sexuality and idolatry of the king’s old age, whereas the narrative of the schism, oblivious to these judgments, lays the responsibility squarely on the monarch’s abusive forced labor policy. Ideologically, Jeroboam ensured religious legitimacy for the new kingdom he was chosen to head by reconstructing the cult of Yahweh on northern territory, completely severed from the priesthood and festival schedule at Jerusalem. By approving places of worship throughout his kingdom, in addition to the royal shrines at Dan and Bethel, Jeroboam honored the wishes of his subjects for local practices of religion that from their perspective were more properly Yahwistic than Jerusalem’s tribute-laden cultic practices (1 Kgs 12:31). The Deuteronomist’s anachronistic “theological” explanation of the schism is altogether out of touch with the social class conflict informing the politics so concretely expressed in the Jeroboam tradition. To be sure, some aspects of the schism remain obscure. Ahijah, the prophet who encourages Jeroboam to rebel, is made to speak almost exclusively in terms of the Deuteronomistic ideology; it is likely, however, that as a Shilonite he was sensitive to the peasant grievances that moved Jeroboam. Absent from the story are Judahite peasants,

¹⁵ David Jobling, “The Commodification of Wisdom in 1 Kings 3–10” (paper presented to the Narrative Research on the Hebrew Bible Group, SBL annual meeting, 1987), revised as “‘Forced Labor’: Solomon’s Golden Age and the Question of Literary Representation,” *Semeia* 54 (1992) 57–76.

because they had been exempted from the *corvée*, or because the Deuteronomist did not want to disclose any Judahite resistance to the rule of Rehoboam, or simply because the story of the assembly at Shechem (because it was North Israelite) did not have the populace of Judah in view.

Josiah's reformation. Josiah's reformation, described largely in religious terms in 2 Kings 22–23, has escaped careful class analysis in favor of more literary and theological concerns, such as the relation of the reform to the Deuteronomic law code and the overt religious aims of the reformers. Often the discussion proceeds as though the law code in and of itself was the cause of the reform and its formulators the sole proponents of reform. Above all, the religious dimensions of the reform are abstracted from its social class matrix. In undertaking a social class reading of the situation behind 2 Kings 22–23, we do not have two sharply contradictory points of view as in 1 Kings 4–12, so we have to bring together more textual sources to get a larger reading of the conjunction of social historical circumstances at that watershed moment.

Judah had been a shrunken vassal kingdom of Assyria for seventy-five years, reduced in size, with its ruling class members—both those in and out of government—pushed to wring all they could out of the peasant economic base in order to survive and prosper marginally. Simultaneously, this ruling class was drawn into adopting Assyrian high culture to solidify its precarious political position, further alienating its members from those they exploited. The rapid dissolution of the Assyrian imperial rule in Syria-Palestine early in the reign of Josiah completely altered the class balance of power in Palestine. The political rulers in Jerusalem saw that it might now be possible not only to solidify their hold on Judah but to expand their dominion over the territory and populace of the former northern kingdom of Israel, which no longer functioned as Assyrian provinces. This expansion would open up new economic resources for the crown and for the landholding and merchant elites of Judah.

Given the goals and the resources, what would it take to bring off this ambitious project? It would certainly necessitate concerted military and bureaucratic efforts over a very large area and in the face of a hostile populace to prosecute this program. But in order to enlist, train, and motivate the necessary troops and lesser officials, expanded revenues and a loyal and committed Judahite populace were indispensable. The firm base of the reformation proponents consisted of the king and his court officials, army commanders, priests and prophets attached to Jerusalem, and landowners and merchants of Judah, who had a stake in seeing greater wealth and power flow to Jerusalem.¹⁶ But could the tribute-laden populace of Judah be reliably enlisted in the cause?

¹⁶ Typical of the present trend to trace a coalition of professional elites behind the Deuteronomic reform, rather than a single faction, is Patricia Dutcher-Walls, "The Social Location of the Deuteronomists: A Sociological Study of Factional Politics in Late Pre-exilic Judah," *JSOT* 52 (1991) 77–94.

Since there was no way for Josiah to proceed that did not require more revenues from his subjects, his first approach was to rally Judahites with a twin appeal to patriotic fervor and religious purity. The nationalist religious ideology of the Deuteronomists was broadcast in the hopes of building a strong “popular front” in the cause of Israel’s God against Assyrian foreigners and apostate Israelites, north and south. In short, Josiah and his regime aspired to restore the territorial conquests and embody the religious loyalties of Joshua and David. The reform’s bold move to outlaw all Yahwistic worship outside of Jerusalem served both to enhance the authority of the capital and to finance the conquest of the north from the tithes and offerings flowing into the city and from increased trading revenues derived from the obligatory festival pilgrimages.¹⁷ The diversion of funds and religious activities to Jerusalem also devalued local culture and religion, and the effect of Deuteronomic legislation on family life further undercut the autonomy and integrity of the households that still survived in many rural areas.¹⁸ Especially radical was the uprooting of the Passover observance from its longstanding household milieu and its restrictive relocation to Jerusalem.¹⁹ In return for an increase in tribute, service in the army, and the eviscerating of local religious culture, the reforms offered some debt relief and public charity to the needy.

So how did Josiah’s “bread and circuses” policies fare with the great majority of the tribute-obligated populace? Not very well. To begin with, most of the populace of the former northern kingdom had long been alienated from the Davidic dynasty in Jerusalem. They deeply resented the compulsory payments and long pilgrimages to Jerusalem and were appalled at the brutal violence that Josiah visited on their cult centers. In Judah, reception of the reforms was doubtless more mixed outside elite circles. Some resonated with the hope of reviving the glorious days of the Davidic empire. Some were attracted to the promise of debt relief. Peasants living close enough to Jerusalem to make easy pilgrimage might be pleased at the convenience, but the violent suppression of Judahite cult sites outside Jerusalem was alienating to many. The rural priests, respected in their communities, were defrocked and angered. The increased revenues to Jerusalem were irritating for some and onerous for many. The measures that struck at local loyalties and threatened household culture and religion were resented. Consequently, it is reasonable to conclude that a large majority of the Judahite peasantry fell along a spectrum ranging from indifference to open hostility toward the reforms. By

¹⁷ The primacy of fiscal goals in Josiah’s reforms was astutely argued by W. Eugene Claburn, “The Fiscal Basis of Josiah’s Reforms,” *JBL* 92 (1973) 11–22, but his insights have been largely ignored until Nakanose’s recent study (see n. 19).

¹⁸ Naomi Steinberg, “The Deuteronomic Law Code and the Politics of State Centralization,” in *The Bible and the Politics of Exegesis*, ed. Jobling et al., 161–70.

¹⁹ Shigeyuki Nakanose convincingly reconstructs Josiah’s revamped Passover festival as a key factor in radically centralizing the political economy (*Josiah’s Passover: Sociology and the Liberating Bible* [Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, forthcoming]).

contrast, it is likely that the biggest supporters of the reforms among the exploited sub-classes were day laborers who were descended from refugees of the northern kingdom in 722 BCE or who came off farms in Judah that they had lost to indebtedness. This rootless group, often unemployed, would profit from increased work in military preparations, in public construction, and in service jobs occasioned by the pilgrimage trade. Living in and around Jerusalem, they also stood to gain more from public charity than peasants scattered in the countryside.²⁰

Here then was a draconian reconstitution of government and cult from above, drastically extracting surplus and severely disrupting culture in all major areas of the common life. Stripped to its central point, the reformers offered a trade-off between a more powerful centralized government and cult, on the one hand, and improved living conditions for the general populace, on the other. All in all, the strident reform effort probably did not win over a very sizable base of support, rooted as it was in the dominant class in Jerusalem, resisted almost unanimously in the north, and precariously supported by only a minority of the Judahite exploited class. It could only succeed by immediate force of arms, with the hope of securing conditions for a longer-term revival and expansion of the economic base by incorporating the more fertile northern territories into a political economy orchestrated from Judah. It was hoped that nationalist religious fervor, symbolically and institutionally anchored to the Jerusalem Temple, would provide the ideological sustaining power needed for this monumental endeavor.

As it turned out, the ambitious reform project was cut short in less than twenty years. The freedom from foreign intervention did not last long. Initially Egypt, and then Neo-Babylonia, extended imperial control over Judah. Regrettably, we know very little about how extensively or intensively the reforms were actually carried out, especially the economic, social, and juridical measures in Deuteronomy that are not mentioned in 2 Kings 22–23. Judging from Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who wrote some years after Josiah's death, the prestige of the Jerusalem cult was enhanced, but with a virtual superstitious sanctity and without many of the religious purifications that Deuteronomy had mandated. Social injustice and judicial corruption are heavily scored by these prophets, while the sole evidence we possess of social reforms actually having been instituted is one oracle of Jeremiah that praises Josiah for having "judged the cause of the poor and needy" (Jer 21:13–17), which may actually be a reference to wage laborers on royal construction projects who replaced *corvée*, and who were the one group of the depressed populace that profited from the reforms.

²⁰ This contention of Nakanose that wage laborers alone among the exploited Judahite sub-classes stood to gain measurable advantages from the reforms (*Josiah's Passover*) is preferable to Claburn's claim that the reforms were rooted in a peasant movement for national liberation.

Social Class in Hebrew Bible Prophetic Texts

An abundance of prophetic poetic texts presupposes social conflict, and, as with the narratives, they both conceal and reveal social class. In some cases redaction criticism, using social class criteria, is able to uncover the fault lines of social conflict in the text. In other instances we have to work with inferences drawn from what is omitted or avoided in a basically seamless text. Figurative and metaphorical speech, socially and politically innocent at first glance, may be highly charged with social class assumptions and judgments. As with the narratives, I have chosen one instance where the social class situation is recoverable along intertextual and redactional lines, and another where, given the text's position in a known historical trajectory, we can infer social class from stylistic tone and failure to treat certain expected topics highly relevant to the subject matter.

Isaiah on the spoliation of the vineyard. The present text of Isaiah contains two versions of the ruination of the vineyard as a metaphor for the destruction of Israel. By far the better known is the elegant Song of the Vineyard (Isa 5:1–7), which, in spite of the difficulty in determining the precise meaning of its opening references to “my beloved,” appears to be a straightforward parable. The surface teaching of the parable is that a social entity variously identified as Israel, Judah, and Jerusalem is corporately responsible for its imminent self-destruction because of injustice and unrighteousness, underscored by the vivid terms “bloodshed” and “outcry.” For our purposes, we may pass by the inconsonance in the analogy that pictures a vineyard as bearing moral responsibility for being infertile. Such metaphorical license is typical enough in the Bible to put Isaiah's device within accepted literary practice. The chief point I would make is that, taken alone, the parable does not obviously premise social class conflict in the society, but suggests rather a breakdown in social order reflected in a soaring crime rate.

It so happens, however, that the Song of the Vineyard does not stand alone, since in 3:13–15 the image of Israel as vineyard is repeated with an emphatic class content. “Yahweh enters into judgment with the elders and princes of his people: ‘It is you who have devoured the vineyard. The spoil of the poor is in your houses. What do you mean by crushing my people, by grinding the face of the poor?’” On this reading of events, it is the exploiters of the poor who are responsible for the destruction of the whole society. Moreover, it is highly probable that these verses are a redactionally relocated fragment of the original Song of the Vineyard, which, like the parables of Nathan (2 Sam 12:1–15) and the woman of Tekoa (2 Sam 14:1–20) addressed to David, was a self-incriminating juridical parable, in this case addressed to the dominant class and probably targeting their appropriation of indebted property.²¹

²¹ Gerald T. Sheppard, “The Anti-Assyrian Redaction and the Canonical Context of Isaiah 1–39,”

although it might equally refer to the whole cluster of abuses that contributed to systemic poverty, including excessive taxation, corrupt courts, and fraudulent business practices. In the absence of this telltale social class specifier, the Song of the Vineyard loses much of its original punch and can be read as an indiscriminate moralizing attack on society from top to bottom. The dilution of the class content in the Song of the Vineyard is yet another instance of the tendency of the redactors of prophetic books to smooth off the jagged edges of class conflict as has been argued in other cases, notably in the so-called "B" and "C" levels of tradition in the books of Amos and Micah.²²

Deutero-Isaiah on the leadership of restored Judah. Information from the book of Kings, coupled with the known deportation policies of ancient Near Eastern empires, makes it clear that the Babylonian exiles addressed by Deutero-Isaiah were members and descendants of the former Judahite political elite. The prophet's ornate rhetoric is devoted to convincing them that they should prepare themselves for immanent return to Judah, since Cyrus was about to overthrow Babylonian rule and authorize a reconstituted Judahite community. It is striking, however, that the prophet has nothing to say about the Jews who remained in Palestine. They are not expected to play any role in the leadership of restored Judah, but appear only as a welcoming chorus at the good news of the return of the exiles. Moreover, instead of a restored Davidic dynasty, the political functions of a native Jewish king are redistributed between Cyrus as emperor and the body of restored exiles conceived as a kind of theocratic oligarchy. The pervasive assumption of the prophet is that the previously disgraced and discredited exiled leaders have been purified by the experience of exile and will rule with justice and equity over a passively receptive Palestinian citizenry. The social class addressed by the prophet is conceived as a reformed and purged political elite with professional competency and a renewed sense of mission, which it can successfully carry out if it is willing to follow Deutero-Isaiah's lead.²³ While the text's manner of expression is idiosyncratic, and its hopefulness extreme, it is rooted in the social experience of those who once ruled Judah and who can envision ruling it again.

In short, the elitist mentality of Deutero-Isaiah is truly "prophetic" of the self-assurance and élan of those Jewish leaders who, returning from exile, took

JBL 104 (1985): 204–11. Employing a different tack, Marvin L. Chaney, "The Song of the Vineyard: Reading Isa 5:1–7 in the Context of Eighth-Century Political Economy" (paper presented in the Social Sciences and the Interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures Section, SBL annual meeting, 1992) uncovers clear signs of the prophet's condemnation of the exploiting class within 5:1–7 proper that do not necessitate the restoration of 3:13–15 to the body of the song.

²² For Amos, see Robert B. Coote, *Amos Among the Prophets: Composition and Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981) 46–134. For Micah, see Itumeleng J. Mosala, *Biblical Hermeneutics and Black Theology in South Africa* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989) 101–53.

²³ Norman K. Gottwald, "Social Class and Ideology in Isaiah 40–55: An Eagletonian Reading," in *Semeia* (vol. on Ideological Criticism of Biblical Texts, ed. D. Jobling and T. Pippin, forthcoming).

charge of the rebuilding of Judahite society and religion. In Deutero-Isaiah, we see in bold signature the indestructible commitment to a mission that drove the restored leaders to persist in their efforts to rebuild Judah. Equally clearly revealed is their assumed moral right to leadership, since just punishment and excess of suffering in exile had purified them of their sullied past. The corollary of their right to lead is their certainty that they know what is best for the compliant majority of Jews who had remained in Judah and who would surely follow their lead. This potent social class ideology sustained the restoration project through difficult times, but it also sowed the dragon's teeth of discord in the restored community that bore bitterly opposed factions—evident in Trito-Isaiah and Malachi—and that finally necessitated radical reform measures by Nehemiah, one of their own number, who a century later was able to see that this elite's blindness to the needs and feelings of the subject class would undermine the community disastrously if it were not corrected forthwith. Needless to say, the passionately committed architects of reconstructed Judah depended on the Persian imperial tributary structures to carry out their local program of native tributary rule based on Temple economy and religion.

Social Class in the Parables of Jesus

Social class in the Jesus traditions. Lastly, there is an assortment of Jesus traditions of various genres which only recently has been adequately scrutinized from the perspective of Jesus' location in the social class conflict of his day.²⁴ Heretofore, for the most part, the social interrogation of these traditions has been lopsidedly focused on whether Jesus was violent or nonviolent, usually with the naïve assumption that if Jesus did not advocate or lead a violent movement he could not have been involved in social struggle or political activity. The exposure of this non sequitur has opened the way to new paths of social critical study of the Jesus traditions.

An array of repeated themes in the Jesus traditions speaks overwhelmingly for his deliberate participation in social conflict: his focus on the destitute and marginalized elements of the populace, his open table fellowship, his severe strictures on wealth, his cavalier attitude toward the legitimacy of Roman and Temple taxes, his symbolic attack on the Temple economy, his healing of sickness and demon possession as symptoms of social oppression, and his rejection of the ideology that the personal sin of the victims was the cause of all or most of the social misery he encountered.²⁵ On the other hand, these socially

²⁴ David A. Fiensy, against the backdrop of a society torn by conflict, focuses on the effect of changing land tenure on the lives of peasants (*The Social History of Palestine in the Herodian Period: The Land is Mine* [Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity 20; Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 1991]).

²⁵ John Dominic Crossan (*The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Peasant* [San

confrontational traditions are now enclosed in redactions primarily interested in interpreting Jesus theologically and in toning down the harshness of Jesus' sociopolitical critique of the Jewish and Roman authorities who stood at the pinnacle of his society. The general failure to pursue this discrepancy probably follows from the fact that redaction critics more nearly share the social class perspective of the Gospel redactors than they do the social class perspective of Jesus.

Among the social class criteria now being honed is the test of how particular reported teachings of Jesus would have been heard by his primarily Palestinian peasant audience struggling under the burden of multilayered surplus extraction through tribute to Rome, taxes to Herodian client rulers, tithes and offerings to the Temple, rent payments to landlords, and debt payments to creditors. The reasoning behind this strategy is sound, namely, that the way the teachings of Jesus were likely to have been construed by his peasant audiences gives a more reliable index to what Jesus had in mind than the construals of redactors in urban Christian communities some decades later. The parables of Jesus provide an intriguing test case of this methodology.

Parables of Jesus and economic exploitation. Among the parables attributed to Jesus there is a considerable number whose plots are built up around familiar social class conflicts, especially involving economic exploitation. One thinks immediately of the laborers in the vineyard who receive identical wages for unequal work (Matt 20:1–15), of the traveling man of means who entrusts huge amounts of money to his servants while he is away (Matt 25:14–28 // Luke 19:11–25), of the rebellious tenants who try to seize the absentee landlord's property (Mark 12:1–9 // Matt 21:33–41 // Luke 20:9–16), of a rich man's steward about to lose his job who improves his prospects by reducing the amounts owed by his master's debtors (Luke 16:1–8a), of the rich man and Lazarus, whose fortunes are reversed in the afterlife (Luke 16:19–26), of the insistent widow who presses her case at law until even an unjust judge gives her satisfaction (Luke 18:1–8a), and we could go on with other examples.

The Gospel redactors often clearly label these stories as parables of the kingdom, and, even in instances where they do not, the predominant exegetical tradition has assumed them to be so. Jesus is understood to be using these social conflict paradigms as examples of what God is like in dealing with humans. The result in a number of instances produces a portrait of God as a monarch, merchant, or landlord who high-handedly, even cruelly, exhibits the very social practices, goals, and values that Jesus elsewhere rejects or condemns. Either as redacted or as interpreted over the centuries, these same

Francisco: Harper, 1991] 227–416) and Ediberto Lopez ("The Earliest Traditions About Jesus and Social Stratification" [Ph.D. diss., Drew University, 1992]) exegete a broad range of Jesus traditions with the tools of social class analysis, producing perceptive alternatives to many socially diluted traditional interpretations.

parables invite—or appear implicitly to commend—compliant and approving attitudes toward authority figures who behave in oppressive and arbitrary ways contrary to Jesus' nonparabolic teaching. So we are compelled to ask: Was Jesus meaning to say that this kind of manipulation of people for purposes of gaining wealth and power is condemnable in humans but praiseworthy in God? And, if so, would his peasant audience have accepted this interpretation and looked forward to the establishment of the sort of divine kingdom thus described or implied? There is ample cause for a second look at the presumed kingdom orientation of many of these parables. I shall only indicate a few first steps in rethinking these parables within an alternative hermeneutic to the mainstream of parable scholarship.²⁶

It is completely clear to begin with that in some of these parables God is emphatically not represented by any of the characters in the parable. The unjust judge, for example, is said to entertain “no fear of God and no respect of anyone” (Luke 18:4), and in the story of the rich man and Lazarus, God is represented only by proxy in the person of “Father Abraham,” and in the afterlife at that (Luke 16:24). Thus, even as redacted, the characters in the parables are not homogeneously descriptive of how God acts in human affairs. The unjust judge and the rich man who ignores Lazarus are simply human figures who wield social class power over others, and they are judged to be in the wrong for doing so. It is appropriate to inquire if the same might have been true in other parables as they were originally framed by Jesus.

At this point, it seems to me critical to apply the test of audience reception among Palestinians drawn to Jesus' teaching. For instance, is it not probable that peasants or wage laborers, on hearing that one servant harbored the money entrusted to him instead of risking it to make profit, would instantly have identified with his blunt reply to the master, “I knew that you were a harsh man, reaping where you did not sow, and gathering where you did not scatter seed; so I was afraid . . .” (Matt 25:24–25). This is a vivid colloquial description of the exploitation of surplus labor value at the heart of the class conflict in Palestine, and Jesus' audience would have felt the sting of it, being little surprised at the undeserved fate of a rash subordinate who had the audacity to “tell off” his master.²⁷

Or, consider another parable, in which the social class superior is customarily thought to be presented in praiseworthy terms. Is it not likely that Jesus'

²⁶ I am particularly indebted to William R. Herzog II (*Parables as Subversive Speech: Jesus as Pedagogue of the Oppressed* [Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, forthcoming]) for orally providing the key hermeneutical perspective, and many of the exegetical details, for this social class reading of a number of the parables, although the proposal to construe them as wisdom example stories is my own.

²⁷ Richard L. Rohrbaugh offers a similar “reverse reading” of this parable (“A Text of Terror? The Parable of the Talents” [paper delivered at a conference on *The Bible in a New Context*, Orlando, Florida, 4 January 1992]).

hearers would have smelled sarcastic condescension and hypocritical self-congratulation in the retort of the vineyard owner to his laborers who objected to equal pay for unequal labor, "Am I not allowed to do what I choose with what belongs to me? Or are you envious because I am generous?" (Matt 20:15)? Would they not be familiar with such self-trumpeted "generosity" that humiliated and dismissed them as contemptible for daring to speak up in their own interests? From bitter experience they would note that the owner desperately needed the last-minute workers, for whom he was willing to pay a daily subsistence wage only because he had gotten himself "in a jam" by miscalculating his labor needs at the start of the day. They would also observe that he deliberately shamed the laborers who had worked all day by paying them last in front of the others, taunting their powerlessness, laying his stinginess on them—all with the aim of confusing and dividing the work force by putting them at the mercy of his whims and at one another's throats. And would they not have snorted—if not loudly guffawed—over the owner's nasty crack at the expense of the last batch of workers who had been waiting in vain for an employment offer, "Why are you standing around here idle all day?" (Matt 20:6)? Jesus' listeners knew the owner's ideology all too well: Yes, indeed, that's exactly what we are in the exploiter's eyes: selfish ingrates when we do work, and listless idlers when we can't find work! We could easily cite other details in this family of parables that the exploited audience of Jesus would not readily have found acceptable, either as models of divine or human behavior or as counsel about how to regard God and their social class superiors.

All this considered, the outline of an alternative hypothesis suggests itself. It seems probable that a fair number of these parables were not at all intended by Jesus as paradigms of the kingdom, but as negative example stories in the wisdom tradition,²⁸ exposing and clarifying the way things are in a capriciously unjust society, subject to the power and pride of those able to exercise their social class dominance at will. To see in them the genre of a provocative negative wisdom story, aimed at raising the consciousness of the hearers, would be to invert or overthrow much of the moral and theological teaching we have attributed to these stories. Later redactors, in part because they lacked rural Palestinian social class experience and in part because they wanted to be socially and politically palatable to pagan authorities, elided much of the original social class thrust of these wisdom parables.

If this seems dubious on first consideration, we need to recall that this is precisely the way we view eschatology and ecclesiology as differentiating criteria for discerning redactional activity. We recognize that the eschatology of Jesus was considerably different from the eschatology of the redactors, as we also discern that Jesus' notion of the kingdom of God and of his circle of followers differed from the ecclesiology of the redactors. In principle, therefore,

²⁸ Roland E. Murphy, *Wisdom Literature: Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Esther* (FOTL 13; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981) 130, 176.

it should not surprise us if the social class perspective of Jesus differed from the social class perspective of the redactors. What is surprising, I think, is that we should have delayed so long to establish methodological and hermeneutical parity among the redactional criteria of eschatology, ecclesiology, and social class.

IV. Social Class as Fate and Gift

My particular social class readings of the foregoing texts are of course partial, open-ended, and debatable. What I have tried to illustrate is a procedure that focuses the input of all relevant methods on the social relations described or implied in texts. Our analysis of a text is never complete until we pose questions about social class, the answers to which will be more or less substantial or persuasive from case to case, as is true of any method. We ask about the economic, political, and ideological aspects of the mode of production exhibited in texts with dizzying combinations and configurations of genre and redaction, without knowing in advance what we will find. We ask these social class questions of the various textual voices, both of speakers identified on the same axis in a story or a poem and of authors and redactors whose messages, more or less openly stated, may be positioned on different axes in a text that has accumulated meanings in passing through various social contexts. To add to the challenge, some of these voices may not want us to know anything about their social conditioning, and we shall have to insist until their identity is revealed. Throughout we are aiming to build up a textured history of the interaction of social classes as disclosed in the efforts of biblical writers to produce textual meanings that signify, validate, defend, and commend varying social practices. Only as we explore the social contents, correlates, and implications of biblical texts do we begin to grasp their full-bodied witness to what mattered to the people who produced, distributed, and consumed them.

In the end, what is probably most exciting and disturbing about trying to do a social class analysis of biblical texts is that to do so adequately we have to acknowledge and take responsibility for our own social class location. This is extraordinarily difficult for North American scholars to do, for all the reasons stated at the beginning of this address, but especially because we do not like the vulnerability that comes with full ownership of social class partiality. Admission of social class may make us anxious, defensive, guilty, or combative, hardly the best attitudes and dispositions for good scholarly work. Moreover, if we have to face up to conflicting class stances both in the biblical world and in our own, we may begin to feel the Bible slipping away as a determinative cultural or religious point of reference.

As long as social class stands as a category external to our interpreting selves, it can only foster hermeneutical heartburn. But once we grasp social class as one of our most significant ways of being in the world, affecting all

that we do, including our biblical interpretation, we gain an unexpected resource. As we frankly embrace our own social class advantages and disadvantages—including our pain that humans should be divided in this way—the anguish and the grandeur of the biblical record dawns upon us with previously unexperienced power. Across the very cultural and social chasms that careful social class analysis opens up between us and the biblical world, we establish a bond with those ancients: we, no less than they, are fragile social creatures, not as much in control as we sometimes fancy but much more graced with possibilities for personal and social transformation than we often dare accept. What begins as fate becomes ultimately a gift.

THREE DEUTERONOMY MANUSCRIPTS FROM CAVE 4, QUMRAN

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

Albright College, Reading, PA 19612-5234

The purpose of this article is to present three hitherto unpublished manuscripts (part of the twenty-one Deuteronomy manuscripts from Cave 4, Qumran): 4QDt^a, 4QDt^d, and 4QDt^g.¹ These three manuscripts are placed together in this article because each has a particular feature of interest: 4QDt^a is the oldest of the Cave 4 Deuteronomy manuscripts; 4QDt^d contains a very defective orthography; and 4QDt^g presents a text identical to that of the Masoretic text.² In the body of the article, each manuscript is presented separately, beginning with a description of the physical characteristics of each manuscript. This description is followed by a complete transcription (with reconstruction³), with a set of notes on the readings and a textual apparatus.⁴ Photographs of each manuscript are included with the transcription.

4QDt^a

4QDt^a, the oldest Deuteronomy manuscript from Cave 4, consists of one large fragment which is a yellowish-brown color, with darker stains in spots. The leather is of average thickness. The height of the fragment is 10 centimeters, and its width at the broadest points is 13.9 centimeters. The surface of the leather was originally smooth and well prepared; now some wrinkling and shrinkage have occurred, leaving some cracks on the surface. The fragment has one sewn edge on the right-hand side. There are no visible dry lines

¹ The sigla are as follows: 4 = Cave 4; Q = Qumran; Dt = Deuteronomy; x = the letter assigned to each manuscript. These manuscripts are part of the lot of seven manuscripts assigned to me for publication by Frank Moore Cross. For the preliminary edition of these manuscripts, see my 1988 Harvard University dissertation "Seven Deuteronomy Manuscripts from Cave IV, Qumran: 4QDt^a, 4QDt^c, 4QDt^d, 4QDt^f, 4QDt^g, 4QDtⁱ, and 4QDtⁿ."

² See Sidnie Ann White, "Special Features of Four Biblical Manuscripts from Cave IV, Qumran: 4QDt^a, 4QDt^c, 4QDt^d, and 4QDt^g," *RevQ* 15 (1991) 157-67.

³ The reconstruction follows the MT, unless otherwise noted.

⁴ The textual apparatus includes readings from the other major witnesses to Deuteronomy outside Qumran. It does not contain cross-reference to other Qumran Deuteronomy manuscripts. These cross-references will appear in the *editio princeps* of all the Cave 4 Deuteronomy manuscripts forthcoming in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XI* (Oxford University Press).

on the fragment, but the writing is remarkably consistent in following a hypothetical horizontal dry line. The average space from line to line is 9 millimeters. The width of the margin to the sewn edge is 12.5 millimeters. The column width in letter spaces is 51–61 spaces, and in centimeters 12.75 (reconstructed).

Empty spaces are present in this manuscript which agree with the placement of *setûmôt* in MT (indicated by VACAT in the transliteration). These occur before 24:1; 24:5; 24:7 (the space here is very small); and possibly after 24:8 (the manuscript breaks off at this point). An empty space is not present before 24:6 (□ in MT). There are no empty spaces on this manuscript that do not agree with *setûmôt* in MT.

The manuscript preserves portions of Deut 23:26–24:8.

Paleography establishes this hand in the transition period from the archaic to the formal Hasmonean hand, ca. 175–150 BCE.⁵ The letter size is variable: for example, the *'alep* can be quite small, while the *taw* is still fairly large. In later Hasmonean scripts, letter size becomes standardized, e.g., 4QD^tc, 4QSam^a.⁶ Thick and thin pen strokes are still in use, e.g., *yod* and *mem*. The script is slightly later than that of 4QSam^b and 4QJer^a, but earlier than that of 4QSam^a (for example, the bending to the left of the leg on medial *šadê* in 4QD^ta does not occur in either 4QSam^b or 4QJer^a).

The orthography of 4QD^ta is occasionally more archaic than, but usually agrees with, the Masoretic tradition, with כִּי, לֹא, and the short pronominal forms (e.g., הִנֵּה, הִנֵּה, and הִנֵּה). *Yod* is used as a *mater lectionis* only for *ī and *ay > ê. *Waw* is used regularly for *ū, *aw > ô, and the suffix of the third singular, and it is occasionally used to mark *ā > ō when accented (e.g., לְהוֹיִת), but not for any shorter *u* vowel (e.g., יַעֲבֹר, כֹּל). In the one instance where the orthography of the Samaritan Pentateuch differs from the extant text of 4Q and that of MT, it uses double *matres lectionis*, e.g., 4Q, MT נִקְיָא] נִקְיָא SP (this orthography is found in MT only in Jonah 1:14).

The following is a list of merely orthographical variants found in this manuscript:

24:3 (line 4): כִּרְיָתָ] כִּרְיָתָ MT SP. The 4Q form is archaic; it is not attested elsewhere. In this manuscript we would expect a *yod* written for *ī. We do not expect a *mater lectionis* for *u.

24:4 (line 5): הָרָאִישׁ] הָרָאִישׁ MT SP. 4Q has not marked *ā > ō.

4Q preserves a morphological variant at line 8:

24:5 [וְלֹא יַעֲבֹר עָלָיו כָּל] וְלֹא יַעֲבֹר עָלָיו לְכָל MT SP Tar: *wl' n'zl lkl* Syr.

⁵ Frank Moore Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (Anchor Books A431; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965) 166.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 167.

4Q preserves a unique variant. ל in the other forms of the text is functioning as the direct object marker; this is a late influence on Hebrew from Aramaic (G, which is in the dative case, is ambiguous). Cf. Syr, Tar, where ל is expected.

4QDt^a is difficult to place in a textual family, because of its small size, which limits the number of variants preserved. Nor does the text that is preserved on the fragment contain any obvious errors, which makes the question of textual affiliation unresolvable.

Deut 23:26–24:8

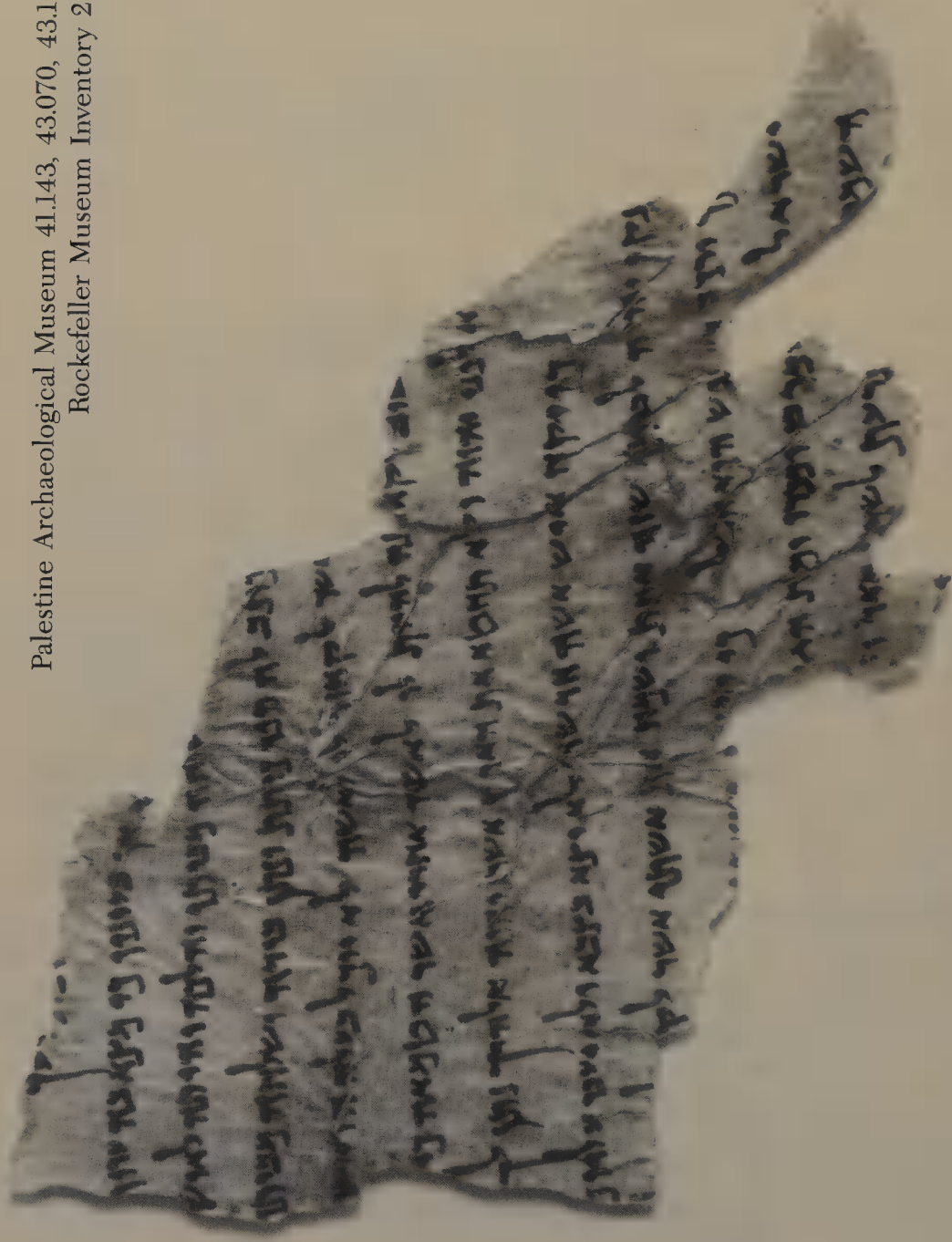
1	1	בַּקְמַת רֶעֶךְ וְקַטְפַּת מְלִילָה בִּידֶךָ וְחֶרֶם לֹא תִנִּיחַן עַל [קִמְחָ רֶעֶךְ VACAT]
2	24:1	כִּי יִקַּח אִישׁ אִשָּׁה וְבָעֵלָה וְהָיָה אִם לֹא תִמְצָא חֵן בְּעֵינָיו כִּי מִצָּא בָּהּ עֲרוּתָּה
3	3	וְדָבַר וּכְתַב לָהּ סֵפֶר כְּרִתָּת וְנָתַן בִּידָהּ וְשָׁלַח מִבֵּיתוֹ וְהָלַכָה וְהָיְתָה לְאִישׁ
4	4	אַחֵר וְשִׁנְאָה הָאִישׁ הָאֲחֵרוֹן וְכָתַב לָהּ סֵפֶר כְּרִתָּת וְנָתַן בִּידָהּ וְשָׁלַח מִבֵּיתוֹ
5	5	אוֹ כִּי יָמוּת הָאִישׁ הָאֲחֵרוֹן [אֲשֶׁר לָקָהּ לוֹ לְאִשָּׁה ⁴ לֹא יֻכַּל בְּעֵלָה הָרִאשֹׁנָה
6	6	וְאֲשֶׁר שָׁלַח לָ[שׁוּב לְקַחְתָּהּ לִהְיוֹת לוֹ לְאִשָּׁה אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר הִטְמִינָהּ כִּי
7	7	תֹּעֲבָה הִיא לִפְנֵי יְהוָה וְלֹא תִחַטֵּא אֶת הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נָתַן לָךְ
8	8	[נִחְלָה] VAC ⁵ כִּי יִקַּח אִישׁ אִשָּׁה חֲדָשָׁה לֹא יֵצֵא בְּצָבָא וְלֹא יַעֲבֹר עָלֶיהָ כָּל[
9	9	וְדָבַר] נָקִי יִהְיֶה לְבֵיתוֹ שְׁנָה אַחַת וְשִׁמַּח אֶת אִשְׁתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר לָקָחָהּ ⁶ [לֹא תִחַבֵּל]
10	10	[רַחֲמִים וְרִכָּב כִּי נֶפֶשׁ הוּא חֲבֹל VAC ⁷ כִּי יִמְצָא אִישׁ גִּזְנוֹב נֶפֶשׁ מֵאֲחֵיו מִבְּנֵי
11	11	יִשְׂרָאֵל [וְהָתַעֲמַר בּוֹ וּמָכְרוֹ וּמָת הַגִּזְנוֹב הַהוּא וּבָעֵרַת הָרַע מִקֶּרְבְּךָ
12	12	הַשְּׁמֵרָן בְּנִגְעָה [וְצָרַעַת לְשִׁמְרָן מֵאֵד וְלָ[עֲשׂוֹת כָּכָל אֲשֶׁר יֹרֶוּ אֶתְכֶם]
13	13	[הַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם כְּאֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתָם] תִּשְׁמְרוּ לַעֲשׂוֹת VACAT

Notes on Readings

line	Deut	
5	24:4	הָרִאשֹׁנָה A damaged letter is extant to the left of <i>šin</i> . It appears to be the curve of final <i>nun</i> . It could conceivably be interpreted as a <i>waw</i> , but given the orthographical practice of this manuscript, it should be final <i>nun</i> .
13	24:8	צִוִּיתָם The head of final <i>mem</i> is extant on the leather. To its right traces of ink are discernible. Based on our reconstruction of the text, according to the number of letter spaces available, we have restored <i>taw</i> .

Textual Notes

line	Deut	
2	24:1	[אִשָּׁה וְבָעֵלָה] MT G Tar Syr SP. The SP text is excluded by calculation of the space at our disposal.



The verse must begin at the beginning of line 2, because we have an empty space at the end of line 1, the end of chap. 23. We have space at the beginning of line 2, before the extant text, for approximately 35 letter spaces. If we restored the text of SP, the letter space count would be 44, giving a line that would be much too crowded. The text of SP is expansionistic, affected by the text of 22:13.

- 3 24:2 ושלחה מביתו ויצאה מביתו והלכה] G Vg] MT SP Tar: *wnšryh wtpwq mn byth w'n t'zl* Syr. 4Q, G, and Vg have the same shorter text (contra *BHS*; ἀπερχεσθαι = הלך). Syr does not repeat מביתו, although it does have the two verbs of MT. This may indicate that the longer text of MT et al. is conflate, with Syr showing only partial conflation. The text of 4Q, G, et al. then would be preferable. On the other hand, it could be argued that 4Q et al. have suffered from haplography and that the longer text of MT is preferable. Syr would then be showing partial correction back to the text of MT.
- 4 24:3 בידה MT SP Tar] εις τας χειρας G: *lh* Syr: > Vg.
- 5 24:3 לו לאשה MT SP G] > Syr: cf. Tar.
- 6 24:4 לקחתה לו לאשה] MT SP Tar Vg] לקחתה להיות לו לאשה G: *nsbyh* Syr.
- 7 24:4 תחטא] תחטאו MT Tar Syr: SP G.
- 7 24:4 יהוה MT SP Syr Tar] יהוה אלהיך G. G is an example of the unconscious assimilation to a conventional formula (or anticipation; see end of verse); יהוה אלהיך is found throughout Deuteronomy. The shorter text of 4Q, MT, et al. is preferable.
- 8 24:5 כי MT SP Tar] וכי G Syr.
- 8 24:5 ולא יעבר עליו לכל] ולא יעבר עליו כל] MT SP Tar: *wl' n'zl lkl* Syr. See above (p. 24).
- 9 24:5 יהיה MT SP G Tar] י' *nhw'* Syr = *sed vacabit* Vg.
- 9 24:6 יחבל] MT SP Tar. The 2nd masc. sing. form of the verb is correct in this negative commandment. We may assume that the 3rd masc. sing. verb in MT et al. is the result of reminiscence and anticipation of the surrounding verses. We would restore what we believe to be the preferable reading, although it is impossible positively to determine the reading of 4Q.
- 10 24:6 ורכב MT SP G Tar] cf. Syr.
- 10 24:6 כי נפש הוא חבל] MT SP G Syr] cf. Tar.
- 10 24:7 כי MT SP Tar] וכי G Syr.
- 10–11 24:7 כי ימצא איש גנב נפש מאחיו מבני ישראל] MT SP G Tar] *w'n nštkh gbr' mn bny 'ysryl dngnwb npš' mn 'nnwhy mn bny 'ysryl* Syr.

11	24:7	ומה MT SP G Tar] <i>mtqtlw ntqtl</i> Syr.
12	24:8	ולעשות MT Syr Tar] לעשות MT ^V ken 9 SP G.

4QDtd

4QDtd is a yellowish-brown manuscript, stained gray in places, with some blackened portions. The leather is smooth and glossy. A certain amount of wrinkling and shrinkage has taken place, causing some damage to the surface. The leather is of average thickness. The left margin has a sewn edge. There are visible horizontal dry lines on the manuscript.

The manuscript consists of two partially damaged columns. The average inscribed column width is 10.8 centimeters, while the width in letter spaces for col. 1 is 59–68 spaces, and for col. 2, 53–63 spaces. The width of the left margin from the inscribed text to the edge of the fragment is 10 millimeters; the width of the margin between the columns is 12 millimeters (averaged). The average space from line to line is 8 millimeters. There are approximately 27 lines per column (reconstructed according to *BHS*). The height of the extant inscribed column, from the lowest point to the highest point, is 16.9 centimeters.

4QDtd contains an empty space at the end of chap. 3 (col. 2, line 20), which agrees with the placement of a פ in MT. It does not, however, observe the empty spaces that the MT contains at 2:30; 3:17; and 3:22 (marked with □). The columns preserve portions of Deut 2:24–36 and 3:14–4:1.

The paleographical study of this manuscript places it in the middle Hasmonian period, ca. 100 BCE. The letters are of standard size and unornamented. The script is characterized by the use of ligatures for certain letters, particularly medial *nun*. Several features of the script are important for dating: the base stroke of *bet* is penned from right to left; *dalet* has a very deep-cornered head, typical of the Hasmonian form; *tet* is made in two strokes, with a slight bump formed by the juncture of the base and the right downstroke; *yod* is short, with a triangular head; medial *kaf* appears in two forms, with the late Hasmonian form of a straight, slightly slanted downstroke predominating; finally, the flaring tick common on the head of *qof* in earlier scripts has practically disappeared.

The orthography of 4QDtd is consistently more defective than the traditions of either MT or SP. The manuscript uses *matres lectionis* to indicate *aw > ô (e.g., עור). However, this usage is not clear for the hiphil of verbs I *yod* (e.g., חסר, col. 2, line 16). A *mater lectionis* is used to mark *ay > ê (e.g., בני, בעיניך, עיניך); *ī is marked with a *mater lectionis* (e.g., כי, עיר, and סיחן). A *waw* is usually used to mark *ū (e.g., אסור, עשו, גבול). Accented *ā > ō is sometimes indicated by a *mater lectionis* (e.g., חשבון, col. 1, line 3), but this usage is not consistent (accented *ā > ō is consistently not marked with *waw* in verbs III *he*, e.g., הראה, col. 2, line 10). Unaccented *ā > ō is consistently not marked with *waw* (e.g., לא, all forms of אלהים, and all examples of the

participle). A *mater lectionis* is not used to indicate *u > o (e.g., כל). The manuscript consistently uses the short forms of the pronominal suffixes (e.g., ת-, י-, etc.).

The following is a list of orthographical variants not subsumed under the above rules:

- 2:26 (col. 1, line 2) קדמות] קדמת MT SP
 2:26 (col. 1, line 3) סיחון] סיחן MT SP
 2:27 (col. 1, line 4) ושמאל] ושמאל MT SP
 3:18 (col. 2, line 5) חלוצים] חלצים MT SP
 3:25 (col. 2, line 5) נה] נא MT SP
 3:28 (col. 2, line 19) ינחיל] ינחל MT SP^{mss}. The context demands a hiphil verb. 4Q has not marked *ī.
 4:1 (col. 2, line 21) ועתה] ועתא MT SP

The following is a list of morphological variants:

- 2:25 (col. 1, line 2) ישמעו] ישמעון MT SP
 3:18 (col. 2, line 4) ואצו] ואצה MT SP
 3:19 (col. 2, line 6) ומקניכם] ומקנכם MT SP. The Masoretes pointed the word as a plural; the consonantal text could be either singular or plural (without the *mater lectionis yod*). 4Q usually marks *ay > ê vowels with a *mater lectionis*, therefore we understand 4Q as a singular.
 3:20 (col. 2, line 6) ויירשו] וירשו MT SP. 4Q and MT have the perfect form of the verb, as does G. SP has indicated the imperfect form.
 3:21 (col. 2, line 6) הממלכות] הממלכת MT SP. 4Q may be reading a singular noun, but since it is not consistent in its practice of marking accented *ā > ō, we cannot be sure.
 3:23 (col. 2, line 12) ואתחננה] ואתחנן MT SP SP^{mss}.
 3:26 (col. 2, line 16) חוסף] חוסף MT SP: חוסף SP^{mss}. The verb form of 4Q may be a qal imperfect. 4Q would mark the vowel *aw > ô in the hiphil of verbs I *yod*, since this is the original spelling. 4Q does mark *aw > ô in other examples (e.g., עזר). יסף in the qal can function with an infinitive construct in the same way that a hiphil verb does, that is, meaning “to do again.”⁷ Therefore, the texts of 4Q and MT and SP are equivalent in meaning.

4QDt^d, as a Hasmonean manuscript and therefore relatively archaic (particularly in its orthographic practices), is fairly free of error (in fact, it contains no unique errors). It is thus difficult to place within a textual tradition.

⁷ BDB, 414.



Where the manuscript does share error with the other witnesses, it appears to fall most frequently within the shared textual tradition of MT and SP. At 2:27 (line 4) and 2:31 (line 9) 4QDt^d shares a scribal error with MT and SP against G. The error at 2:31, conflation, is not likely to have arisen independently and therefore may be cited as evidence that 4QDt^d falls into the textual tradition of MT and SP. At 3:21 (line 10) 4Q agrees with MT and G against SP in assimilation to a common formula, an error that may have arisen independently in any of the witnesses. At 2:25 (line 10), 4Q agrees with SP against MT in the addition of the direct object marker, and at 3:19 (line 6), 4Q agrees with MT and G against SP in assimilation to a common word order. Again, either of these scribal errors could have arisen independently. These statistics do not leave us with a very clear picture of the textual tradition of 4QDt^d. We must simply say that 4QDt^d is an ancient, good manuscript that preserves original readings in the majority of cases and preserves an archaic orthography.

Column 1 Deut 2:24–36

1	את סיחן מלך חשבון האמרי ואת ארצו החל רש וה' תָּגֵר בו מלחנמה ²⁵ היום הזה
2	אחל תת פחדך ויראתך על פני העמים תחת כל השמים אשר ישמעון את שמעך
3	ורגזו וחלו מפניך ²⁶ ואשלח מלאכים מן מדבר קדמת אל סיחן מלך חשבון דברי
4	שלום לאמר ²⁷ אעברה בארצך בדרך בדרך אלך לא אסור ימין ושמאל ²⁸ אנכל בכסף
5	תשברני ואכלתי ומים בכסף תתן לי ושתיתי רק אעברה ברגלי ²⁹ כאשר עשו לי
6	בני עשו הישבים בשעיר והמואבים הישבים בערן עד אשר אעבר את הירדן
7	אל הארץ אשר יהוה אלהינו נתן לנו ³⁰ ואלא אבה סיחן מלך חשבון העברנו בו כי
8	הקשה יהוה אלך את רוחו ואמץ את לבבו למען תתן בדרך כיום הזה ³¹ ויאמר
9	יהוה אלי ראה החלתי תת לפניך את סיחן ואת ארצו החל רש לרשת את ארצו
10	³² ויצא סיחן לקראתנו הוא וכל עמו למלחמה יהצה ³³ ויהוה אלהינו ונו
11	ונך אתו ואת בנו ואת כל עמו ³⁴ ונלכד את כל עריץ בעת ההיא ונחרם את כל
12	עיר מתם והנשים והטף לא השארנו שריד ³⁵ רק הבחמהן בזונו לנו ושלל הערים
13	אשר לכדנו ³⁶ מערער אשר על שפת נחל ארנן והעיר אשר בנחל ועד הגלעד לן היתה

Notes on Readings

line	Deut	
2	2:25	שמעך SP reads את שמעך, while MT reads שמעך. The traces of the letter cannot be <i>šin</i> , with a stroke coming down from the left, but this can be the downstroke of <i>'alep</i> . The right arm of <i>'alep</i> is also extant. Therefore we have restored את, in agreement with SP.
8	2:30	יהוה There are two traces of ink extant on the bottom of

the fragment. Based on the amount of space available in the reconstructed text, we would read *waw* and *he*.

- 11 2:34 הָהִיא The crossbars of both *he*'s are extant. A trace of ink is discernible to the left of the second *he*. Since the confusion of הָיָא and הִיא does not occur in this manuscript, and since הִיא is the correct pronoun, we have restored *yod*.

Textual Notes

line	Deut	
2	2:25	אֵת שְׁמַעְךָ SP] שְׁמַעְךָ MT Tar (see note above).
4	2:27	בְּרֹךְ בְּרֹךְ MT SP Tar] בְּרֹךְ SP ^P G Vg: <i>b'wrnn' 'wrnn'</i> Syr. We have a clear case of dittography in 4Q, MT, et al. ⁸
4	2:27	אֵלךְ MT SP G Tar] <i>n'zl</i> Syr.
4	2:27	לֹא MT SP G Tar Vg] <i>wl'</i> Syr.
4	2:27	אֲסֹר MT SP G Tar Vg] <i>nst'</i> Syr.
5	2:28	וְשָׁתִיתִי MT SP G Tar] <i>wnšt'</i> Syr: <i>et sic bibemus</i> Vg.
5	2:28	אֶעֱבְרָה בְּרַגְלִי MT SP GA dn(p)t O Tar] <i>παρελευσομαι τοις ποσιν</i> G ^B C OL: <i>brglyn n'br</i> Syr.
5	2:29	לִי MT SP G Tar] <i>ln</i> Syr.
7	2:30	כֹּחַ MT SP G] <i>bttnwmh</i> Syr = בתְּחוּמֶיהָ Tar.
8	2:30	בְּיָדְךָ MT SP Tar Vg] בִּידֶיךָ G Syr.
9	2:31	רֵשׁ לִוְשָׁתָהּ MT SP G ^O Tar] לְרֵשֶׁתָּהּ GA B C dn(p)t Syr.
10	2:33	וַיִּתֵּן זֶהוּ MT SP GA B dn(p)t O Tar Syr Vg] <i>και παρεδωκεν αυτους</i> G ^C .
10	2:33	אֱלֹהֵינוּ MT SP G Tar Vg] > Syr.
10	2:33	לְפָנֵינוּ] נוּ MT SP GA B C O- Tar Syr: <i>εις τας χειρας ημων</i> G ^{dn(p)t} OL: + <i>εις τας χειρας ημων</i> G ^{O-} : <i>nobis</i> Vg. We have two ancient variants present, one of which is reflected in MT et al., the second in G ^{dn(p)t} and OL. The variants appear to be conflated in certain Hexaplaric manuscripts. It is impossible to tell which of the variants was present in 4Q; it did not contain a conflate text.
11	2:34	עָרִיךָ MT SP G Tar Syr] <i>πολεων</i> OL: <i>urbes</i> Vg.
11	2:34	הָהִיא SP] הָהוּא MT (see note above).
12	2:35	הַבְּהֵמָהּ MT SP GA B dn(p)t O Tar Syr Vg] + <i>αυτων</i> G ^C .
13	2:36	וְעַד הַגִּלְעָדָן MT SP Tar Syr Vg] <i>και εως ορους του Γαλααδ</i> G.

⁸ A case could also be made for haplography in G et al., but since the text is sensible without the second בְּרֹךְ, on the principle of *lectio brevior* we prefer to view this as a dittography.

Column 2 Deut 3:14–4:1

- 1 [הגשורי והמעכתי ויקרא אתם על שמו את הכשן ח[ו]תן יאיר ע[ל] היום הזה]
- 2 [15] ולמכיר נתתי את הגלעד ¹⁶ ולראובני ולגד[ו]ן נתתי מן הגלעד עד נחל ארנן]
- 3 [תוך הנחל ונבל ועד יבק הנחל] ⁵ גבול בני עמון ¹⁷ והערבה והירדן וגבול]
- 4 [מ]כנרת ועד ים הערבה ים [המלח תחת אשדת הפסגה מזרחה] ¹⁸ ואצו אתכם
- 5 [בע]תן ההיא לאמר יהוה אלהיכם נתן לכם את הארץ הזאת לרשתה חלצים
- 6 [תעברו לפני] א[ח]יכם בני ישראל כל בני חיל ¹⁹ רק נשניכם טפ[ו]כם ומקנכם ידעתי
- 7 [כי מ]קנה רב לכם ישבו בעריכם אשר נתתי לכם ²⁰ עד [אשר ינח יהוה ל]אחיכם
- 8 [ככם] וירשו גם הם את הארץ אשר יהוה אלהי[נ]יכם נתן להם בעב[ו]ר הירדן]
- 9 ושבתם איש לירשתו אשר נתתי לכם ²¹ ואת יהושע צייתי בעתן ההיא]
- 10 לאמר עיניך הראת את כל אשר עשה י[הוה] א[ל]היכם לשני המלכים הא[נ]לה
- 11 כן יעשה יהוה לכל הממלכת אשר אתה ברע שמה ²² [לא תיראם כי יהוה
- 12 אלהי]כם הוא הנלחם לכם ²³ ואתחנן א[נ]ל יהוה בעת ההיא לאמר ²⁴ אדני
- 13 יהוה אתה החלת להראת את עבדך את גדלך ואת ירך החוקה אשר
- 14 מי אל בשמים יבא[ר]ען אשר יעשה כמעשיך וכגבורתך ²⁵ א[ע]ברה נא ואראה
- 15 את הארץ הטבה אשר בעב[ו]ר הירדן ההר הטוב [הזה והלכנו] ²⁶ ויתעבר
- 16 יהוה כי למענכם ולא שמע[ו] אלי ויאמר יהוה אלי רב לך אל תספ[ו] רבר
- 17 אלי עוד ב[ו]ב[ו]ר הזה ²⁷ על ראש הפסגה ושא עיניך ים וצפנה תימנה
- 18 ומזרחו וראה בעי[נ]יך כי לא תעבר את הירדן הזה ²⁸ וצו[ו] א[נ]ל יהושע וחזקהו
- 19 [ואמצהו כי] הוא יעבר לפני העם הזה והוא ינחל אתם אתה הארץ אשר]
- 20 [תראה ²⁹ ונש]ב בניה מול בית פעור VACAT]
- 21 [4:1] ועתה ישראל שמע [אלן החקים ואל המשפטים] אשר אנכי מלמד אתכם]

Notes on Readings

- | | | |
|------|------|--|
| line | Deut | |
| 14 | 3:24 | יבא[ר]ען The <i>waw</i> is written supralinearly. |
| 14 | 3:25 | ואראה There is a spot of ink on the leather above the <i>waw</i> . |

Textual Notes

- | | | |
|------|------|---|
| line | Deut | |
| 2 | 3:16 | עד G MT SP Tar Syr Vg. |
| 4 | 3:17 | הפסגה MT SP G Tar Vg] <i>wpsg' dbrmt'</i> Syr. |
| 4 | 3:18 | אתכם MT SP GA C O Tar Syr Vg] <i>ημων</i> GB dn(p)t OL. <i>ημων</i> is the result of inner Greek confusion of <i>υμων</i> and <i>ημων</i> . This |

confusion happens throughout Deuteronomy and should not be taken as an indication of the original Hebrew text.⁹

- 5 3:18 הלצים MT SP G Tar] *kol mzynyn 'ntwn* Syr.
- 6 3:19 טפכם [נשׁיכם] נשיכם וטפכם MT G Tar Syr Vg; טפכם ונשיכם SP.
- 6 3:19 ומקנכם MT SP G Tar] + *šbwqw* Syr.
- 6 3:19 ידעתי MT SP G Tar Vg] *nd' 'n' gyr* Syr.
- 7 3:19 בעריכם MT SP GA B dn(p)t O Tar Syr Vg] *εν ταις πασαις πολεσιν* GC.
- 7 3:20 יהיה MT SP Tar Syr Vg] + אלהיכם GA B C O; אלהינו Gdn(p)t.
- 8 3:20 אלהיכם MT SP GA- O Tar Syr] *ο θεος ημων* GA- B C dn(p)t.
- 8 3:20 להם MT SP GA C dn(p)t O Tar Vg] *ημιν* GB; *lkw'n* Syr.
- 10 3:21 עיניך MT SP Tar Syr Vg] *οι οφθαλμοι υμων* G.
- 10 3:21 אלהיכם MT GA- OL Tar Syr Vg] *ο θεος ημων* GA- B C dn(p)t O; > SP.
- 11 3:21 יהיה MT SP GO- OL Tar Syr] + *ο θεος* Gdn(p)t; + *ο θεος υμων* GO-; + *ο θεος ημων* GA B C.
- 11 3:21 הממלכת MT SP G Tar Vg] *hlyn mlkw't* Syr.
- 11 3:21 אתהן ברע MT SP G Tar Vg] *gbryn 'ntwn* Syr.
- 11 3:22 תיראם MT^{mss} SP Vg] תיראום MT GA C dn(p)t O Tar Syr (omit suffix OL); *φοβηθησθ* GB.
- 12 3:22 אלהיכם MT SP GC O- OL Tar Syr Vg] אלהינו GA B O-.
- 12 3:23 יהוא SP] ההוא MT.
- 12 3:24 At the beginning of the verse, Syr adds *bb'w*.
- 13 3:24 יד החזקה MT SP Tar Vg] *και την χειρα την κραταιαν και τον βραχιονα τον υψηλον* G; *w'ydk tqypt' wdr'k rm'* Syr.
- 15 3:25 הטבה MT SP Tar Syr] + *ταυτην* G; *hanc optimam* Vg.
- 15 3:25 הוזה [הטוב MT SP GO- Tar Vg] הוזה GA- C dn(p)t Syr; omit הוזה GA- B O-.
- 16-17 3:26 הוזה תספרו עלי עוד כדבר הזה MT SP Tar] *προσθης επι λαλησαι τον λογον τουτον* G; *twsp twb lmmllw wdmv ptgm' hn'* Syr.
- 17 3:27 על ראש G] ראש MT; אל ראש SP Tar Syr; *cacumen* Vg.
- 17 3:27 עיניך MT SP GA- C dn(p)t O Tar Syr Vg] *τοις οφθαλμοις* GA-B.
- 17-18 3:27 ימה וצפנה ותימנה ומזרחן] *ים וצפנה תימנה ומזרחן* MT SP G Tar Vg; *lmdnh' wlm'rb' wlgrbn' wltymn'* Syr. The text of MT et al. has added the locative *he* on ים and has added a conjunction.

⁹ Joseph Ziegler, "Zur Septuaginta-Vorlage im Deuteronomium," ZAW 72 (1960) 245.

4QDt^g

4QDt^g consists of eleven fragments, from four columns of text (the groupings are: fragment 1; fragments 2 and 3; fragments 4–9; fragments 10 and 11). The manuscript's original color was a yellowish brown; it is now faded to grayish brown in some places, stained a darker brown in others, and blackened in others. The surface of the leather was originally fairly smooth and matte. Fading has occurred in some places, and other places are so blackened that the letters are no longer visible. Some shrinkage and wrinkling have occurred, so that the leather becomes very thick in places. Some damage to the surface of the leather is visible. There are visible horizontal dry lines on the manuscript on fragment 3. The average space from line to line is 7 millimeters. The column width in letter spaces is 52–67, and in centimeters 12.5 (estimated). The number of lines per column was approximately 27. There are three bottom margins present (frags. 1, 3, and 11), one top margin (frag. 4), two left margins (frags. 2 and 9), and one right margin (frag. 6).

The empty spaces in the manuscript correspond exactly to the *petûḥôt* and the *setûmôt* of MT: the empty spaces after 25:16 (reconstructed) and 25:19 (reconstructed) correspond to *petûḥôt* in MT, and the empty spaces after 24:16 (reconstructed), 24:18 (reconstructed), 24:19, 24:20, 25:3 (reconstructed), and 25:4 (reconstructed) correspond to *setûmôt* in MT (after 24:19 there is only an unmarked space in *BHS*).

The fragments preserve portions of Deut 9:12–14; 23:18–20; 24:16–22; 25:1–5; 25:14–26:5; 28:21–24; 28:27–29.

The paleographical study of 4QDt^g establishes its hand in the middle Herodian period, ca 1–25 CE. The letter size has become equal (see especially *taw*). Many letters are distinguished by *keraiai* or are thickened at the top (note particularly 'alep, gimel, zayin, tet, nun, 'ayin). Several features of the script mark it as Herodian: the base stroke of *bet*, which is penned from left to right, breaks through slightly at the corner of the downstroke; the crossbar of *het* projects to the right; *yod* is much shorter than *waw*, which is a decisive characteristic of later Herodian scripts (compare, for example, the *yod* and *waw* of 4QDtⁿ 10); the head of final *kaf* loops into the downstroke at the right shoulder; and the usual form of medial *mem* is penned with the late Herodian technique, the left oblique being drawn upward to the right shoulder, then down into the downstroke and base. A tick is added on the left. Most significantly, on one letter this tick breaks through the left oblique (frag. 1, line 3).

The orthographic practice of 4QDt^g never varies from that of the Masoretic Text. It uses *matres lectionis* to indicate *ay > ê (e.g., שְׁנִיָּהּ, frag. 2, line 3, and עֲלִיךְ, frag. 10, line 4), *ū (e.g., מִרְיָ, frag. 1, line 1, and תְּשׁוּבָה, frag. 3, line 4), and *ī (e.g., רִאֲיוֹנִי, frag. 1, line 2, and כִּי, frag. 3, line 2) (there are

¹⁰ White, "The All Souls Deuteronomy and the Decalogue," *JBL* 109 (1990) 193–206.

no extant examples of *aw > ô). A *mater lectionis* is used to mark *ā > ō when accented (e.g., כֹּחַ [א], frag. 3, line 1, and לִירוֹם, frag. 3, line 4), but not when unaccented (e.g., אֲנִי, frag. 3, line 3, and all forms of אֱלֹהִים). לֹא is consistently spelled defectively. However, וּנְה (frag. 2, line 2) is spelled with a *waw* in 4Q, as in MT and SP (this is inconsistent with the above-mentioned practice, but consistent with 4QDtḡ's constant agreement with MT; see below). The manuscript does not use *matres lectionis* to indicate any proto-Semitic short vowels, e.g., *a, *i, or *u. It uses the short forms for all pronominal suffixes and endings (e.g., ךְּ, תְּ, ם, מֵהֶם).

There is one morphological variant in the tradition:

28:24 (frag. 10, line 4) השמיד MT] השמיד SP. 4Q and MT are reading a niphil infinitive construct, while SP is reading a hiphil.

This manuscript stands squarely in the proto-rabbinic tradition in both orthography and text. 4Q never differs from MT in text or orthography (with one possible exception; see below at 23:20, line 4). Where there are disagreements among the other witnesses, when the reading of 4Q is clear, 4Q has the preferable text in all but three instances. In one case, it agrees with MT, G^{dn(p)t} O and SP against G^{A B C} in an explicating plus (25:18, line 4). At 28:29, line 3, it agrees with MT and the daughter versions in the addition of a prose particle. At 24:19, line 5, if G is original, then 4Q and MT, SP share an error. If G is an error, then 4Q does not share it. These statistics of shared error are certainly not definitive; however, there is no evidence to place 4QDtḡ in either the Old Greek or the Samaritan traditions. In addition, in its extant portions 4Q never disagrees with MT, consistently agreeing with it in all readings (of whatever type). Therefore, we believe 4QDtḡ is a member of the same textual family as MT.

Fragment 1 Deut 9:12–14

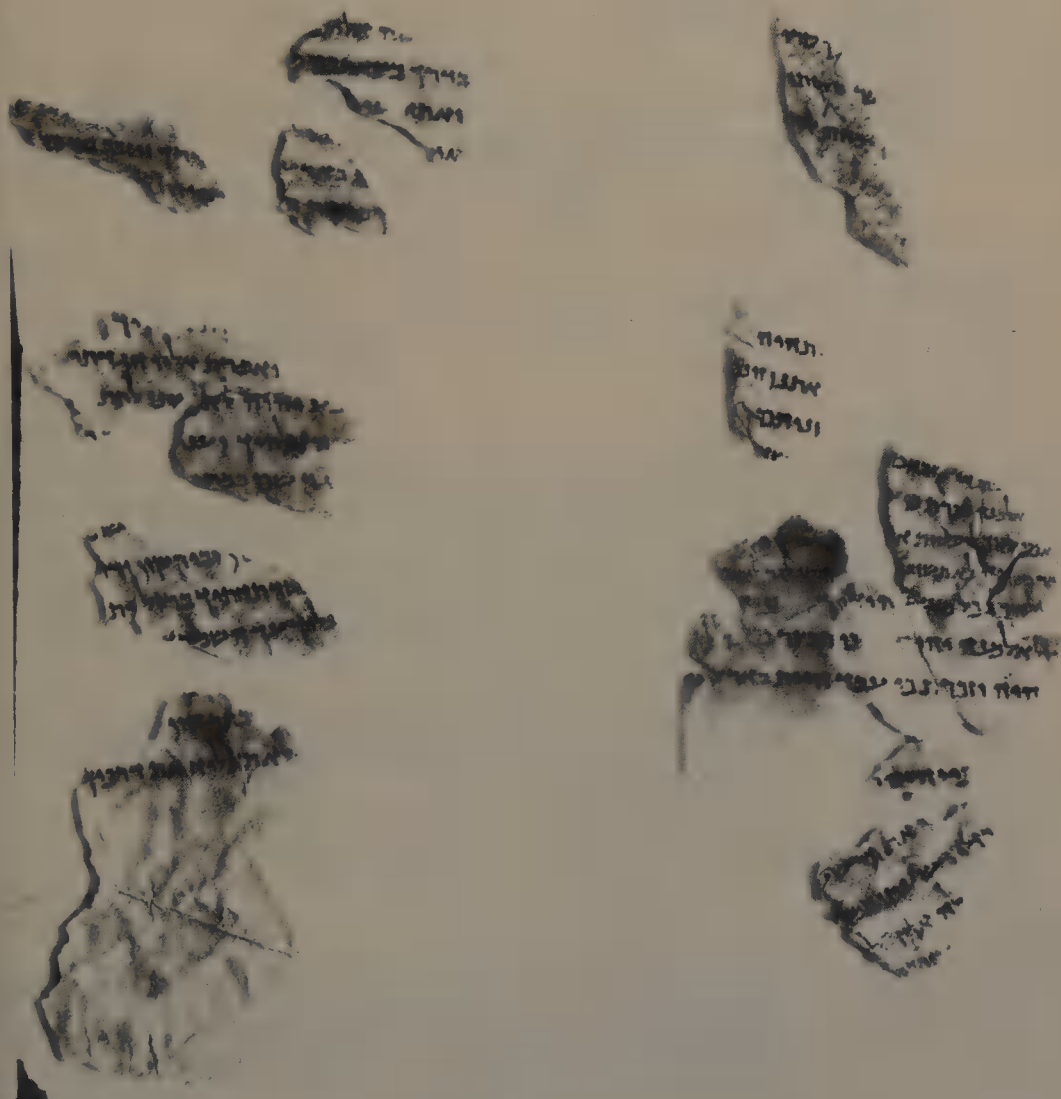
- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | [הוצאת ממצרים סרון מהר מן הדרך אשר צויתם עשו להם מסכה ¹³ ויאמר] | 1 |
| 2 | [יהוה אלי לא]מר ראיתין את העם הזה והנה עם קשה ערף הוא ¹⁴ הרה ממני] | 2 |
| 3 | [ואשמידם] ואמחה אתן שמם מתחת השמים ואעשה אותך לגוי עצום ורב] | 3 |

Bottom Margin

Textual Notes

- | | | |
|------|------|--|
| line | Deut | |
| 1 | 9:12 | סר MT SP G ^{A B} dn(p)t O Tar Vg] και παρεβησαν GC: stw
lhwn Syr. |
| 2 | 9:13 | יהוה אלי לא]מר MT SP Tar Vg] ly mry' Syr: after אלי, G
adds λελαληχα σε απαξ και δις. According to the space |

16 vt 8



Palestine Archaeological Museum 42.001,
42.636, 42.713, 42.732, 43.063
Rockefeller Museum Inventory 400

available at the beginning of line 2, 4Q does not have G's plus (since the reconstruction of line 1 gives us approximately 60 spaces already, there is no room available to accommodate the longer text of G), nor does it agree with Syr, since the *mem* and *reš* of לאמר are extant.

Fragment 2 Deut 23:18–20

18	לא תהיה	VACAT	]	1
	זונה	19	לא תביא	2
	ומחיר כלב בית יהוה אלהיך לכל נדר כי תועבת יהוה אלהיך גם שניהם			3
	20	לא תשיך לאחריך נשך כסף נשך אכל נשך כל דבר אשר ישיך		4

Notes on Readings

line	Deut	
2	23:19	זונה This word is slightly smaller than the others, but written in the same hand. It is written in the margin at the end of the line.
3	23:19	גם שניהם Since the photograph of this fragment was taken, a new join has been made, which is reflected in the transcription at this point.
4	23:20	ישיך There is a small trace of ink visible on the right edge of the fragment, which could be either <i>yod</i> or <i>taw</i> (see below); we are restoring with MT.

Textual Notes

line	Deut	
2	23:18	At the end of v. 18 in MT, SP, Tar, Syr, and Vg, G has ουκ εσται τελεσφορος απο θυγατερων Ισραηλ και ουκ εσται τελισχομενος απο υιων Ισραηλ (under the + in Syh G). This appears to be a conflate Greek text. If our reconstruction of lines 1 and 2 is correct, 4Q does not have the plus, since we already have a line of 48 letter spaces between the extant portions of lines 1 and 2.
3	23:19	גם שניהם MT SP G Tar Vg] 'lhk tryhwn Syr.
4	23:20	ישיך MT SP Tar] εκδανεισης G (+ τω αδελφω σου GA-dn(p)t); rb' Syr. The G reading is under the + in Syhm. The 4Q reading is not certain (see above under "Notes on Readings").

Fragment 3 Deut 24:16–22

- 1 [על א]בות איש בחטאָן יומתו¹⁷ VACAT לא תטה משפט גר יתום ולא תחבל
2 [בג]וֹ אלמנה¹⁸ וחכרת כי עבד [ה]ניית במצרים ויפדך יהוה אלהיך משם על
3 [כן] אנכי מצוך לעשות את הדבר הזה¹⁹ VAC כי תקצר קצירך בשדך ושכחת
4 עֲמֹד בשדה לא תשוב לקחתו לגר ליתום ולא־למנה יהיה למען יברכך
5 [יהוה] אלהיך בכל מעשה ידיך²⁰ VAC כי תחבֹּט וְנִיתָךְ לא תפאר אחרֶיךָ לגר
6 [ליתום] ולא־למנה יהיה²¹ VAC כי תבצר כרמך לאן תעולל אחרֶיךָ לגר ליתום
7 [ולא־למנה] יהיה²² וחכרת כי עבד היית בארץ מִצְרַיִם על כן אנכי מצוך לעשות

Bottom Margin

Notes on Readings

The leather of this fragment is split and shrunken; therefore some letters, while extant, are split in two or fragmentary.

Textual Notes

- | | | |
|------|-------|---|
| line | Deut | |
| 1 | 24:16 | איש MT SP G Tar] kl 'nš Syr. |
| 3 | 24:18 | אנכי מצוך לעשות MT SP G Tar Vg] mpqd 'n' lk w'mr 'n' lk dt'bd Syr. |
| 4 | 24:19 | בשדה MT SP GB O- Tar] εν τω αγρω σου GA C dn(p)t O-;
> Syr. |
| 4 | 24:19 | לקחתו MT SP Tar Syr Vg] λαβειν αυτο τω πτωχω G. |
| 4 | 24:19 | לגר ליתום ולא־למנה יהיה MT SP Tar: και τω
προσηλυτω και τω ορφανω και τη ξηρα εσται G: l' thw' l'mwr'
wlytm' wl'rmlt' Syr: advenam et pupillum et viduam Vg. |
| 5 | 24:19 | מעשה ידיך MT SP GO Tar ^P Syr Vg] מעשי ידיך GA B C Tar ^O . |
| 5 | 24:20 | כי MT SP Tar Vg] וכי G Syr. |
| 6 | 24:20 | After the end of v. 20 in 4Q, MT, SP, GO, Tar, Syr, and
Vg (marked by an empty space in 4Q and a □ in MT),
GA B C adds και μνηθηση οτι οικετης ησθα εν γη Αιγυπτω δια
τουτο εγω σοι εντελλομαι ποιειν το ρημα τουτο. |
| 6 | 24:21 | כי MT SP GA- Tar Vg] וכי GB C dn(p)t O Syr. |

Fragments 4 and 5 Deut 25:1–5

Top Margin

- 1 ^{25:1}כי יהיה רִיב בין אנשים ונגשו אל המשפט ושפטום והצדיקו את
2 [הצדיק והר]שִׁיעוֹן את הרשע² והיה אם בן הכות הרשע והפילו השפט

- 3 [והכהו לפניו] כדי רשעתו במספן³ ארבעים יכנו לא יסיף פן יסיף להכתו
 4 [על אלה מכה רבה ונק] לה אחיד לענין VACAT⁴ לא תחסם שור בדיושו [VACAT]
 5 [כי ישכו אחים יחדו ומ] ת אחד מהם וכן אין לו לא תהיה אשת החוצה⁵

Textual Notes

line	Deut	
1	25:1	כי MT SP Tar Vg] וכי G Syr.

Fragments 6–9 Deut 25:14–26:5

- 1 [ואיפה נ]וללה ונקטנה¹⁵ אבן שלמה וצדק יהיה לך איפה שלמה וצדק יהיה לך
 2 [למען]ואריכון ימיד על האדמה אשר יהוה אלהיך נתן לך¹⁶ כי תועבת יהוה אלהיך
 3 [כל]עשה אלה כל עשה עול VACAT¹⁷ זכור [את אשר עשה לך עמלק
 4 בדרך בצאתכם ממצרים¹⁸ אשר קרד בדרך ויזנב בך כל הנחשלים אחרך
 5 ואתה עיכף [וי]גזע ולאן ירא אלהים¹⁹ והיה בהניח יהוה אלהיך לך מכל
 6 אינך מסבין בארץ אשר יהוה אלהיך נתן לך נחלה לרשתה תמחה את
 7 [זכר עמלק מתחת השמים לא תשכח VACAT
 8 [26:1 והיה כי תבוא א]ל הארץ אשר יהוה אלהיך נתן לך נחלה וירשתה וישבת
 9 [בה ולקחת מראשית כל פרי האדמה אשר תביא מארצך אשר יהוה אלהיך
 10 [נתן לך ושמת בטנא והלכת אל המקום אשר יבחר יהוה אלהיך לשכן שמן
 11 שם³ וכאת אל הכהן אשר יהיה בימים ההם ואמרת אליו הגדתי
 12 [היום ליהוה אלהיך כי באתי אל הארץ אשר נשבע יהוה לאבותינו לתת
 13 לנו⁴ ולקח הכהן הטנא מידך והניחו לפני מזבח יהוה אלהיך⁵ וענינת ואמר
 14 לפני יהוה אלהיך ארמי אבי וירד מצרימה ויגר שם במתין מעט ויהי

Notes on Readings

The top of fragment six is much damaged; the reading is certain, but the leather is split and shrunken so that the letters are split and at an angle.

line	Deut	
1 and 2	25:14–16	Since the photograph of frag. 6 presented in this article was taken, a new join has been made, reflected in the transcription of these lines.
13	26:4	אלהיך The 'alep is extremely large and bold (and apparently made by a different hand), as if to conceal an error.

Textual Notes

line	Deut	
3	25:16	אלה כִּלֵּי MT SP G Tar] <i>hlyn wkl</i> Syr.
3	25:17	זכור את אשר עשה MT SP G Tar Vg] <i>'tdbr kwl mdm d'bd</i> Syr.
4	25:17	בצאתכם MT SP G ^{dn(p)t} Syr Tar Vg] <i>εμπορευομενου σου</i> GABCO.
4	25:18	ויזנב כך MT SP G Tar Vg] <i>wqtlw bkwn</i> Syr.
4	25:18	כל MT SP G ^{dn(p)t} O OL Tar Syr] <i>> GABCVg.</i>
6	25:19	מסבין MT SP GA- O OL Tar Syr] <i>καλω σου</i> GA- B C ^{dn(p)t} .
12	26:3	יהוה MT SP G Tar] <i>mry' 'lhk</i> Syr.

Fragment 10 Deut 28:21–24

- 1 [עד כלתו אתך מעל הארמה אשר אתה בא שמה ל[שְׂתִנָּה ²²יככה יהוה בשחפת]
- 2 [ובקדחת ובדלקת ובחרחר ובחרב ובשד] פֶּן וּבִירְקוֹן וּרְדִנְפוֹךְ עַד אֲבֹדְךָ ²³וְהָיוּ
- 3 [שְׁמִידָךְ אֲשֶׁר עַל רִאשְׁךָ נִחֲשֶׁת וְהָאָרֶץ] אֲשֶׁר תַּחֲתֶיךָ בְּרוּל ²⁴יִתְּנָן יְהוָה אֶת מַטְרָן
- 4 [אַרְצְךָ אֲבָק וְעֹפֶר מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם יִרְדּוּ] עֲלֶיךָ עַד הַשְׁמִידְךָ ²⁵יִתְּנָךְ יְהוָה נֶגֶף לִפְנֵי

Textual Notes

line	Deut	
2	28:22	וּרְדִנְפוֹךְ MT G Tar Vg] SP Syr.
4	28:24	עֲלֶיךָ MT SP GA C ^{dn(p)t} O Tar Syr Vg] <i>> GB.</i>
4	28:24	עַד הַשְׁמִידְךָ MT Tar Syr] SP: <i>εως αν εκτριψη σε και εως αν απολεση σε</i> GA C ^{dn(p)t} O; GB also adds <i>εν ταχει</i> .

Fragment 11 Deut 28:27–29

- 1 [מִצָּרִים וּבַעֲפָלִי] וּבִגְרֵב וּבַחֲרָם אֲשֶׁר לֹא תוּכַל לִהְרַפָּא ²⁸יִכְכָּה יְהוָה בְּשַׁנְעוֹן
- 2 [וּבַעֲוֹרֹן] וּבַחֲמָהוֹן לִבְךָ ²⁹וְהָיִיתָ מִמֶּשֶׁשׁ בְּצִהְרִים כֹּאֲשֶׁר יִמְשַׁשׁ הָעוֹר
- 3 [כֹּאֲפֵלָה] וְלֹא תַצְלִיחַ אֶת דְּרִכְיָךְ וְהָיִיתָ אֶךְ עֲשׂוֹק וְגִדּוּל כָּל הַיָּמִים

Bottom Margin

Notes on Readings

line	Deut	
1	28:27	וּבַעֲפָלִי] A portion of the base of final <i>mem</i> is extant. Based on the amount of space available to us, we can restore [וּבַעֲפָלִי] or [בַּמְחָרִי] (see below under “Textual Notes” for further commentary).

Textual Notes

line	Deut	
1	28:27	<p> וּבַעֲפָלִי]ֹן MT SP TarO בַּטַּחֲרִים MTQere V Ken 9.69 SPmss TarJ: εν ταις εδραις GA C dn(p)t O: νην εδραν GB: bṭšwr Syr. Our 4Q text could preserve either בַּעֲפָלִים or בַּטַּחֲרִים. The G text could also be a translation of either word; it is also lacking <i>waw</i>. The Syriac text and GB preserve a singular noun. בַּעֲפָלִים ("hemorrhoids") must be original, and בַּטַּחֲרִים a change to a less offensive expression; therefore, we have restored בַּעֲפָלִים in 4Q. </p>
3	28:29	<p> תַּצְלִיחַ אֵת MT Tar ευσωσει G (+ τοτε Gdn(p)t): תַּצְלִיחַ SP (Syr and Vg translate תַּצְלִיחַ; it is not clear whether or not they contained אֵת). </p>
3	28:29	<p> רִכְכִּין MT G Tar Vg רִכְכִּךְ SP: 'wrnnk lryš Syr. </p>

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ROMANS 11:3–4 FOR THE TEXT HISTORY OF THE LXX BOOK OF KINGDOMS

CHRISTOPHER D. STANLEY

Hastings College, Hastings, NE 68902

I. The Nature of the Problem

The text history of the LXX book of Kingdoms (the standard Greek translation of the Hebrew books of Samuel and Kings) has been a subject of controversy ever since Henry St. John Thackeray published the results of his painstaking research in this area in the early part of the century.¹ According to Thackeray, the Greek text preserved in the codices (A, B, \aleph , etc.) is actually a composite work, the result of a rather complicated redaction process that occupied at least four independent translators before the present edition was completed some time in the first century BCE. Working from his own observations regarding the different translation techniques employed in various parts of the book, Thackeray divided the present work into five sections, which he labeled α (1 Kingdoms), $\beta\beta$ (2 Kgdms 1:1–11:1), $\beta\gamma$ (2 Kgdms 11:2–3 Kgdms 2:11), $\gamma\gamma$ (3 Kgdms 2:12–21:43), and $\gamma\delta$ (3 Kgdms 22:1–4 Kgdms 25:30).² Sections $\beta\gamma$ and $\gamma\delta$ he traced to a single translator on the basis of several translational peculiarities found also in the later Greek version of Theodotion.³ Since the historical Theodotion's activities are normally assigned to the second century CE, Thackeray coined the term "proto-Theodotionic" to describe the method of this translator. As the final redactor of the book of Kingdoms, the primary aim of this unknown "proto-Theodotion" was to render into Greek those sections of the narrative that his predecessors had left untranslated in their concern to veil from pagan eyes some of the more unsavory aspects of Israel's history.⁴

¹ H. St. J. Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of the Four Books of Kings," *JTS* 8 (1907) 262–78; idem, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship* (2d ed.; London: H. Milford, 1923) 20–28.

² The typical features of each section are discussed in "Greek Translators," 267–76.

³ For a more recent summary of the similarities, see Kevin G. O'Connell, "Greek Versions (Minor)," in *IDBSup*, 378.

⁴ As Thackeray points out, the former section contains the story of David's sin with Bathsheba and its outcome (an episode omitted from the book of Chronicles as well), while the latter offers a graphic portrayal of the moral and spiritual decline of the later monarchy, culminating in the exile. In Thackeray's words, "It is not difficult to see the reason for the unwillingness of the earlier

Subsequent studies have confirmed Thackeray's insights regarding the composite nature of the book of Kingdoms as it appears in the codices, though the reasons he gave for the diversity of translators have met with little acceptance. Continued research has uncovered similar translation techniques in other portions of the Greek Bible, including (according to one such list) the B version of Judges; the standard text of Lamentations, Song of Songs, and Ruth; the "Theodotonic" text of Daniel, Job, and Jeremiah; and certain parts of Origen's Hexapla.⁵ The turning point in the discussion came in 1952 with the discovery of the fragmentary Greek Minor Prophets scroll 8HevXIIgr, published by Dominique Barthélemy in his landmark study *Les devanciers d'Aquila*.⁶ Here at last was a clearly datable Greek biblical text that showed many of the same characteristics as sections $\beta\gamma$ and $\gamma\delta$ in the "LXX" version of Kingdoms. From this new evidence it became clear that Thackeray's "proto-Theodotonic" translator was in fact a reviser who simply imposed a uniform "hebraizing" translational schema onto portions of an earlier Greek rendering of the Jewish scriptures.⁷

From here the focus shifted to identifying the Greek text that served as the *Vorlage* for this later reviser's work. The ensuing debate has been complicated by the presence of a distinctive textual tradition in the so-called Lucianic manuscripts of the book of Kingdoms, a tradition most apparent in the four minuscules commonly known as boc_2e_2 (MSS 19, 82, 127, and 93 in the Göttingen numbering system).⁸ The difference between this tradition and the version preserved in the codices is greatest in sections $\beta\gamma$ and $\gamma\delta$, where the "Lucianic" text shows almost none of the peculiarities that characterize the so-called proto-Theodotonic version. The antiquity of this Lucianic tradition was noted already by Thackeray, who saw in its continuation of 2 Kingdoms through the end of David's reign (i.e., through 3 Kgdms 2:11) a valuable witness to the original dividing point between the Hebrew books of Samuel and Kings. But since the church father Lucian to whom this version was attributed did not live until the late third century CE, the only explanation that Thackeray could offer for the differences was that "Lucian has removed from the text of 3 Kin. 1–2:11, presumably as monstrosities, practically all the characteristic marks of the ["proto-Theodotonic"] translator of $\beta\gamma$."⁹

translators to bring such a story of disasters before the notice of heathen readers" ("Greek Translators," 263). In his later work (*The Septuagint*, 18), Thackeray allows for the possibility that the earlier version might have contained a brief summary instead of a total void at this point.

⁵ O'Connell, "Greek Versions," 379.

⁶ *Les devanciers d'Aquila* (VTSup 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963). A more recent edition of the same text is Emanuel Tov, ed., *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Hever* (8HevXIIgr) (DJD 8; Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).

⁷ See Barthélemy, *Les devanciers*, 102–13, 141–43.

⁸ The designations are those of Brooke-McLean (= Alan England Brooke, Norman McLean, and Henry St. J. Thackeray, eds., *The Old Testament in Greek* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906–40]). The Göttingen edition of the book of Kingdoms is not yet available.

⁹ Thackeray, "Greek Translators," 266.

Subsequent research has taken the “Lucianic” materials more seriously as a witness to the ancient Greek text of the book of Kingdoms. At least four positions can be identified in the ensuing debate. (1) According to Dominique Barthélemy, the whole idea of a fourth-century “Lucianic” revision of the Old Greek text is a figment of the traditional imagination, contrived to lend an air of authority to an old popular text that somehow survived the hebraizing redaction that shaped sections $\beta\gamma$ and $\gamma\delta$ into their present form. Though this “Lucianic” text is not to be equated with the original “Old Greek” rendition — Barthélemy describes it as “the ancient Septuagint, more or less debased and corrupted”¹⁰ — it nonetheless offers valuable evidence for the wording of the earliest Greek translation in these sections. (2) Emanuel Tov, while allowing for a genuine recensional layer in the present text of MSS boc_2e_2 , discovers beneath this veneer a substantial substratum of ancient material that he cautiously describes as “either *the* Old Greek translation or *any* Old Greek translation.”¹¹ At the same time, his preference for the former option (“*the* Old Greek translation”) is only thinly veiled.¹² Thus Tov agrees with Barthélemy in viewing the “Lucianic” version as a valuable witness to the language of the original Greek rendering of the book of Kingdoms, while leaving room for a certain amount of recensional activity above and beyond Barthélemy’s inevitable “corruptions.” (3) After a careful review of the “Lucianic” texts of several different books of the Greek Bible, Sebastian Brock concluded that the “Lucianic” tradition as a whole (i.e., not just in the book of Kingdoms) showed signs of having passed through a distinct recensional phase in which the primary concern seems to have been to improve the readability of the Greek original. In the book of Kingdoms, the *Tendenz* of the “Lucianic” manuscripts is the same in section α , which by all accounts escaped the hand of Thackeray’s “proto-Theodotionic” reviser, as in section $\beta\gamma$, where the same editor left his indelible signature on the version preserved in the codices.¹³ Recovering the wording of the original is thus a tedious process of evaluating each distinctive reading on its own merit, versus privileging one text over the other from the start.¹⁴ (4) The key point in Frank Moore Cross’s evaluation of the evidence

¹⁰ Barthélemy, *Les devanciers*, 127.

¹¹ E. Tov, “Lucian and Proto-Lucian: Toward a New Solution of the Problem,” *RB* 79 (1972) 103, 108–10 (italics his).

¹² As appears from the arguments that he adduces in favor of the first solution throughout his article (see n. 11). To be fair, Tov shows more certainty about the nature of the underlying text in sections $\beta\gamma$ and $\gamma\delta$ (“*the* Old Greek”) than in the remainder of the book (“Lucian and Proto-Lucian,” 109).

¹³ Examples in Sebastian Brock, “Lucian *redivivus*: Some Reflections on Barthélemy’s *Les devanciers d’Aquila*,” *SE* 5 (ed. F. L. Cross; TU 103; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1968) 177–79. So also Natalio Fernández Marcos, “The Lucianic Text in the Books of Kingdoms: From Lagarde to the Textual Pluralism,” in *De Septuaginta: Studies in Honour of John William Wevers on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. Albert Pietersma and Claude Cox; Mississauga, Ont.: Benben Pubs., 1984) 172–73.

¹⁴ In his 1966 Oxford dissertation (“The Recensions of the Septuagint Version of 1 Samuel”),

is the close link that he finds between the Greek text of the minuscules boc_{2e_2} (the primary “Lucianic” witnesses) and the old Hebrew fragment 4QSam^a discovered at Qumran. A careful comparison of these texts reveals several “Lucianic” readings in a *Hebrew* manuscript copied some four centuries before the church father Lucian.¹⁵ The most obvious explanation is that the so-called “Lucianic” manuscripts preserve the remains of an early “proto-Lucianic” revision designed to bring the language of an even earlier Greek translation into conformity with a Hebrew text of the type that Cross calls “Palestinian.”¹⁶ Since this “Palestinian” text-type clearly antedates the “proto-Masoretic” text presupposed in the Greek “proto-Theodotonic” recension (first century CE), this “proto-Lucianic” revision must have been carried out no later than the first century BCE, and possibly much earlier.¹⁷

The differences among these four interpretations of the evidence are significant. At this point most investigators seem inclined to accept (contra Barthélemy) the reality of some sort of third-to-fourth-century revision of the Greek biblical text that may or may not have been associated with the church father Lucian. Differences remain, however, over the nature of the Greek text that served as the basis for this “Lucianic” revision and its relation to the so-called proto-Theodotonic text (often called the “ $\chi\alpha\lambda\gamma\epsilon$ recension,” after one of its more distinctive translation equivalents) that appeared in Palestine no later than the late first century CE. The difficulty is heightened by a relative paucity of datable evidence from around the turn of the era, when according to some theories both editions may have been in circulation at the same time. Thus any data that promise to shed light on the status of the Greek text in this important period should receive our serious and careful attention.

II. Romans 11:3–4 = 3 Kingdoms 19:10, 18

The only explicit quotation from the book of Kingdoms in the New Testament appears in Rom 11:3–4.¹⁸ Here the apostle Paul recalls the story of Elijah’s

Brock argues that the Greek text used in the fourth-century “Lucianic” revision diverged from the primary tradition no later than the first century CE, with no reciprocal influence thereafter (cited by N. Fernández Marcos, “The Lucianic Text,” 168). This places its testimony on a par with the first-century “proto-Theodotonic” revision in sections $\beta\gamma$ and $\gamma\delta$.

¹⁵ First noted in F. M. Cross, “The History of the Biblical Text in Light of Discoveries in the Judean Desert,” *HTR* 57 (1964) 292–97.

¹⁶ The development of Cross’s well-known “local texts” theory can be traced in several articles, among them (in addition to the previous note) “The Contribution of the Qumran Discoveries to the Study of the Biblical Text,” *IEJ* 16 (1966) 81–95; “The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts,” in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. Frank Moore Cross and Shemaryahu Talmon; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1975); and “The Text Behind the Text of the Hebrew Bible,” *BibRev* 1 (1985) 13–25.

¹⁷ Cross speculates that the revision could go back as far as the original introduction of the “Old Greek” translation into Palestine, which he dates to the late third or early second century BCE (“The Evolution,” 314).

¹⁸ In his only quotation from section $\gamma\gamma$ of Kingdoms (*Quod Deus* 138), Philo cites 3 Kgdms

encounter with Yahweh at Horeb (3 Kingdoms 19) as part of his broader argument that Yahweh has likewise preserved a “remnant” of Israel in his own day, viz., those few Jews who have responded positively to the Christian gospel (Rom 9:27–29; 10:11–13; 11:5–7). The story must have been a familiar one, since Paul simply assumes that his Roman audience will understand the reference without further explanation.

Only two verses from the biblical narrative receive explicit attention in Paul’s presentation: Elijah’s complaint (3 Kgdms 19:10, quoted in Rom 11:3) and the final words of Yahweh’s response (3 Kgdms 19:18, quoted in Rom 11:4). In both cases the Pauline wording differs sharply from the primary LXX tradition, as can be seen below.¹⁹

Romans 11:3 (= 3 Kingdoms 19:10)²⁰

Paul: κύριε, τοὺς προφῆτας σου ἀπέκτειναν {...}, {...} τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου κατέσκαψαν, ἀγὼ ὑπελείφθην μόνος, καὶ ζητοῦσιν τὴν ψυχὴν μου {....}.

LXX: [καὶ εἶπεν Ἡλίου Ζηλῶν ἐξήλωκα τῷ κυρίῳ παντοκράτορι, ὅτι ἐγκατέλιπόν σε οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ·] τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου κατέσκαψαν καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας σου ἀπέκτειναν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ, καὶ ὑπολείμμαι ἐγὼ μωνώτατος, καὶ ζητοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν μου λαβεῖν αὐτήν.

LXX_L: τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου κατέσκαψαν καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας σου ἀπέκτειναν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ, καὶ ὑπελείφθην ἐγὼ μωνώτατος, καὶ ζητοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν μου λαβεῖν αὐτήν.

MT: [וַיֹּאמֶר קְנָא קְנֵאתִי לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת כִּי־עָזְבוּ בְרִיתִי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל] אַתְּ־מְחַכְתִּיהָ הָרְסוּ וְאַתְּ־נִבְיָאֶיהָ הָרְגוּ בַּחֶרֶב וְאַחֲרָי אֲנִי לְבָדִי וַיִּבְקְשׁוּ אֶת־נַפְשִׁי לְקַחְתָּהּ

Romans 11:4 (= 3 Kingdoms 19:18)

Paul: { } κατέλιπον ἑμαυτῷ {...} ἐπταχισχίλους ἄνδρας οἵτινες οὐκ ἔκαμψαν γόνυ τῇ Βάαλ.

17:18 in a version that finds no support in any of the mss. All of his minor variants (adding τοῦ before an infinitive, replacing ἀδικίας with τὸ ἀδίκημα, dropping the final clause in favor of the redundant καὶ ἀμάρτημά μου) can be understood as either memory slips or interpretive renderings, making them useless for the present study.

¹⁹ Plain text = Full agreement between all traditions

{Braces} = Words “missing” from the Pauline text (versus LXX)

Dotted underline = Likely Pauline adaptations

Single underline = Divergent readings not attributable to adaptation (marked in all texts)

Double underline = Places where Pauline readings find support in “Lucianic” manuscripts

Italic = Textual differences of uncertain origin

²⁰ The wording is identical in 3 Kgdms 19:14 except for the substitution of τὴν διαθήκην σου for σε and καθεῖλαν for κατέσκαψαν.

LXX: καὶ καταλείψεις ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν, πάντα γόνατα, ἃ οὐκ ὥκλασαν γόνου τῷ Βααλ, [καὶ πᾶν στόμα, ὃ οὐ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ].

LXX_L: καὶ καταλείψω²¹ ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν, πάντα τὰ γόνατα, ἃ οὐκ ἔκαμψαν γόνου τῇ Βααλ.²²

MT: וְהִשָּׂאֲרֹתַי בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל שְׁבַעַת אֲלָפִים כָּל־הַבְּרָכִים אֲשֶׁר לֹא־בָרַעְוּ לְבַעַל וְהִפָּה אֲשֶׁר לֹא־נִשְׁקָה לוֹ

Both quotations come from section γγ of the book of Kingdoms, a portion that by all accounts escaped the hand of the so-called proto-Theodotonic reviser. This means that here if anywhere (according to most theories) the codices should have preserved the wording of the “original” translation. So how are Paul’s divergences to be explained?

Clearly, several of the differences between Paul’s quotations and the version that appears in the codices (labeled “LXX” above) can be traced to the exegetical and rhetorical interests of the apostle himself. Without entering into an extended discussion of each point, it should be noted that the bulk of the unique phrasing in Rom 11:3 serves to mold Elijah’s complaint into a well-rounded rhetorical unit, one presumably better suited for moving a divine judge to act. In the absence of manuscript support for any of these rhetorical “improvements,” it seems fair to conclude that the reversal of the first two clauses, the dropping of the connective καί, and the omission of the phrases ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ and λαβεῖν αὐτήν (all marked with dotted underlines above) should be traced to Paul himself.²³ This leaves the phrase καὶ γὰρ ὑπελείφθην μόνος (versus the LXX’s καὶ ὑπολέλειμμαι ἐγὼ μονώτατος) as the only part of v. 3 that warrants attention from a text-critical standpoint (marked with underlines above). One could always argue that Paul has introduced this change as well, but such a minor stylistic variation would be highly irregular in view of the way Paul

²¹ Only MS i, closely allied with the “Lucianic” texts, agrees with Paul in reading κατέλιπον here and omitting the initial καί. The same manuscript follows the majority tradition for the remainder of the verse, except that it reads ἐκλίναν in place of ὥκλασαν. A similar pattern can be seen in v. 10, where MS i differs from the majority only in advancing μου ahead of τὴν ψυχὴν (with codex B).

²² The text given here is the reading of MSS b c₂ e₂, the only variation being the alternate spelling ἔκαμψαν that appears in MS e₂. MS o follows an independent course in v. 18. While it agrees with the majority tradition (against the “Lucianic” text) in reading ἐν and ὥκλασαν and omitting τά, it has καταλείψει for the initial verb and gives Ἰλημ (= Ἰερουσαλημ) instead of Ἰσραὴλ. The former is a unique reading, while the latter finds support only in MS h (so far as the evidence of Brooke-McLean goes).

²³ A detailed analysis of the changes can be seen in the author’s volume in the SNTS Monograph Series, *Paul and the Language of Scripture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 147–58.

handles the wording of quotations elsewhere in his letters.²⁴ While it is common to see Paul adding or omitting words, replacing one word or phrase with another, reversing the order of clauses, and otherwise adapting the biblical text for his own rhetorical ends, the reasons for such “interpretive renderings” can normally be inferred from a careful study of the way the verse functions in its new Pauline context. No such connection is apparent in the present instance.

When we turn to the manuscript evidence, on the other hand, the picture becomes clearer. It is precisely at this point that we encounter the only difference between the “Lucianic” manuscripts and the primary text of 3 Kgdms 19:10, the use of the aorist ὑπελείφθην instead of the perfect ὑπολέλειμμαι to translate the Hebrew וַאֲחֵר (marked with double underlines above). The fact that the “Lucianic” version agrees with the primary tradition for the remainder of the phrase (καὶ . . . ἐγὼ μονώτατος) while the Pauline text diverges from both (κἀγὼ . . . μόνος) renders it unlikely that the language of Rom 11:3 has been assimilated to the “Lucianic” text by a later scribe or vice versa. What we have instead are two independent witnesses to a Greek text that used the aorist rather than the perfect (both with forms of καί) to translate the Hebrew וַאֲחֵר. As for the rest of the phrase, the unanimous reading of the codices and the “Lucianic” manuscripts (καὶ . . . ἐγὼ μονώτατος) stands somewhat closer to the Masoretic Hebrew text (וַאֲחֵר אֲנִי לְבַדִּי) than does the Pauline κἀγὼ . . . μόνος (note the position of ἐγὼ in each), though there is no way to ascertain from this limited amount of evidence the precise relationship between the three texts. While one could argue that the Pauline version arose from an attempt to improve the Greek style of the original, the possibility remains that the reading of the codices could represent a later “hebraizing” revision of a Greek text similar to the one presupposed in the Pauline quotation.²⁵

As we move on to Rom 11:4, however, the evidence becomes less ambiguous. Here again the Pauline wording diverges sharply from both the codices and the “Lucianic” witnesses, but this time only the omission of the

²⁴ See the discussion of Paul’s normal citation technique in chap. 6 of the study cited in n. 23. Philo, on the other hand, regularly “improves” the Greek style of his biblical quotations (see chap. 8 of the same study).

²⁵ The reasons cited by Dietrich-Alex Koch (*Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums* [Tübingen: Mohr, 1986] 74–77) for thinking that the Pauline text represents a “sprachliche Verbesserung” are weak: the superlative μονώτατος is said to be “unsinnigen” in the LXX text, the aorist ὑπελείφθην is “gelaüfiger” than the perfect ὑπολέλειμμαι, and the Pauline placement of ἐγὼ is more grammatically correct. If on the other hand the Pauline version (or a similar text) were the earlier of the two, it would be easy to see why a subsequent editor might have wanted to “correct” this portion of the verse to bring it into closer alignment with his own “proto-Masoretic” Hebrew text (וַאֲחֵר אֲנִי לְבַדִּי). Both the placement of the first person pronoun and the substitution of the aorist verb for the perfect can be explained along these lines. The word μονώτατος is limited almost exclusively to the book of Kingdoms in the LXX (8x), where it alternates with the simple μόνος (13x) to render the Hebrew לְבַד from 2 Kgdms 13:22 through 4 Kingdoms (sections βγ/γγ/γδ).

phrase ἐν/ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ and (possibly) the addition of ἐμαυτῷ can be linked with any degree of probability to a specific Pauline purpose.²⁶ Even the unusual aorist κατέλειπον at the beginning of the verse most likely goes back to a Hebrew text like the one presupposed in the “Lucianic” witnesses (note the first person singular in both) from which the initial ἰ has fallen out.²⁷ The remainder of the differences are purely stylistic in character—none of them affects the sense of the verse in any way. Other points of contact with the “Lucianic” text of 3 Kgdms 19:18 include the use of ἔκαμψαν (“bend, kneel”) instead of the LXX’s ὥκλασαν (“slacken, stoop”) to render the Hebrew verb כָּרַעַ and the use of the incongruous feminine article τῇ in conjunction with the clearly masculine noun Βααλ (both marked with double underlines above). For the bulk of its wording, however, the “Lucianic” version follows the primary LXX tradition over against the Pauline form of the text, a fact that once again renders transcriptional contamination unlikely. Instead, it appears that here as in v. 3 the Pauline quotation offers independent testimony to a Greek text that bears some relation to the “Lucianic” tradition, but is not identical with that tradition.

Thus we come again to the problem of defining the precise relationship between three distinctive witnesses to the Greek text of 3 Kingdoms. In this case, however, the remainder of the verse offers enough data to at least point the way toward a resolution of the problem. The evidence can be discussed under two headings, the first examining the way each text renders the phrase “seven thousand men” and the second analyzing the language used to describe those who have not yet “bowed the knee” to Baal.

“Seven Thousand Men”

In the only other place where either χιλιάς or χίλιοι appears in his letters, Paul simply reproduces the wording of his biblical *Vorlage* (χιλιάδες in 1 Cor 10:8).²⁸ This is exactly what one would expect in view of Paul’s evident reluctance to introduce simple stylistic changes elsewhere in his quotations.²⁹ The total absence of scribal substitutions in the textual tradition of 3 Kgdms 19:18 likewise argues against the possibility that the Pauline ἐπταχισχιλίους arose out of a desire (whether by Paul or a pre-Pauline scribe) to “improve”

²⁶ See the discussion in the study cited in n. 23.

²⁷ In Rom 11:4, the aorist κατέλειπον is read by \aleph B D Ψ \mathfrak{M} Did, while the imperfect κατέλειπον appears in \mathfrak{p}^{46} A C F G L P 104 1175 1739 2464 *al.* A few manuscripts read the first aorist form κατέλειψα (81 1506 *pc*). The sense is little different in either case: any would be a suitable translation for a Hebrew text that began with כָּרַעַ (without the initial ἰ). The unusual second person singular in the LXX version renders a similar Hebrew text from which the final י has fallen out.

²⁸ Whether Paul’s biblical text read “twenty-three thousand” in Num 25:9 or whether he simply confused this passage with Num 26:62 is irrelevant for the present argument, since both passages employ the plural χιλιάδες as in 1 Cor 10:8.

²⁹ See nn. 23 and 24 and the related comments above.

the Greek style of the present LXX text.³⁰ On the whole, there is no reason to think that Paul would have had any interest in changing ἐπὶ χιλιάδας to ἐπτακισχιλίους in Rom 11:4. Three other facts combine to suggest that an earlier ἐπτακισχιλίους might in fact have been changed to ἐπὶ χιλιάδας as part of a later round of editorial activity. (a) The primary tradition in the book of Kingdoms shows a clear preference *across all sections* for expressions with χιλιάς (60x) rather than χίλιοι (11x); (b) forms of χιλιάς are used to denote plurals throughout the “LXX” edition of the book of Kingdoms, whereas χίλιοι is normally reserved for the singular “one thousand”;³¹ and (c) the word χίλιοι (including its compounds) appears nowhere in the “LXX” version of section γγ (3 Kgdms 2:12–21:43). The compound form ἐπτακισχιλίους (employing the less common χίλιοι in an equally uncommon plural enumeration) would clearly be anomalous in such a linguistic environment.

“Bowing the Knee”

When viewed as a revision of the form found in the codices, the clause in Rom 11:4 that refers to those whom Yahweh has preserved from “bowing the knee” to Baal shows three changes from 3 Kgdms 19:18: the elimination of the intrusive phrase πάντα γόνατα; the conversion of the relative pronoun from neuter plural ὅ (modifying γόνατα) to masculine plural οἵτινες (modifying ἄνδρας); and the substitution of the verb ἔκαμψαν (“bend, kneel”) for its near-synonym ὥχλασαν (“slacken, stoop”) (marked with underlines above). While the syntax of the LXX version is awkward by any account (“seven thousand men, every knee that has not bowed the knee to Baal”), a compelling reason for converting the verb from ὥχλασαν to ἔκαμψαν as part of a “grecizing” revision is hard to find.³² When the process is viewed in reverse, on the

³⁰ Contra Koch (*Die Schrift*, 76 n. 90), who sees here an attempt to conform the text to “gewöhnlichen griechischen Sprachgebrauch.” Koch himself notes that the patterns of classical usage regarding numbers are ignored in the book of Kingdoms, though he is incorrect in his judgment that the two words are “nicht differenziert” in this text (see next note).

³¹ The pattern is consistent across all sections of this composite work. Only six times (out of sixty occurrences) does χιλιάς appear without a numeral, and three of these are repetitions of the famous taunt about Saul having slain his “thousands.” Χίλιοι, on the other hand, bears this generalized sense in eight of its eleven occurrences. The only exceptions are 1 Kgdms 13:2; 25:2; and 4 Kgdms 24:16, all of which use compounds.

³² Koch traces the change to a concern for verbal precision, noting that κάμπτειν is more common with γόνυ than ὀκλάζειν, which normally refers to “squatting” (*Die Schrift*, 75 n. 89). Though ὀκλάζειν is rare in the LXX (only here and 3 Kgdms 8:54, where it appears with the phrase ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα), its frequent use by Symmachus (eight times, including 1 Kgdms 4:19 and 24:9) shows that it was not a rare word per se in Jewish circles. In fact, fully half of Symmachus’s uses of ὀκλάζειν occur in contexts involving physical obeisance, though none includes the word γόνυ as here. Κάμπτειν is the most common rendering of כָּרַע in the LXX (8x), but the association is by no means fixed: fully eighteen different words are used to translate the qal alone, including κλίνειν (3x), κατακλίνειν (3x), ὀκλάζειν (2x), πίπτειν (3x), προπίπτειν (2x), and συμποδίζειν (3x). In texts describing the “bending” or “bowing” of the knees (γόνατα), forms of κάμπτειν are once again

other hand, it becomes clear why a "hebraizing" reviser of 3 Kingdoms 19 would have been troubled by the relatively "free" rendering of the Hebrew implied in the Greek text of Rom 11:4. Here again the reason for changing the verb is by no means clear, but the reading ἑξαμψαν finds solid support in the "Lucianic" tradition as well.³³

Viewing the "LXX" version as a later revision also helps to explain the different forms of the article that accompany the masculine noun Βααλ in the two traditions. The use of the feminine article with Βααλ (as in Rom 11:4 and the "Lucianic" witnesses) goes back to the common Jewish practice of substituting the feminine בִּזְיוֹן ("object of shame"; cf. Greek ἡ αἰσχύνη) or עֲבוֹדָה זָרָה ("loathsome worship") for the masculine כְּעַל to preclude the possibility of inadvertently pronouncing the divine name while reading the biblical text.³⁴ The origins of the practice are obscure, but it appears some twenty times in the Septuagint (out of sixty-seven references to Βααλ), and the language of Rom 11:4 shows that it was still current in some form around the turn of the era. On the hypothesis that the Greek text of Paul's quotation in Rom 11:4 represents a "grecizing" revision of the text found in the codices, it becomes nearly impossible to explain the shift from the grammatically "correct" masculine article to the technically incongruous feminine form that appears also in the "Lucianic" witnesses. It requires little imagination, on the other hand, to understand how a later Christian scribe or editor unacquainted with Jewish practice could have thought that he was actually correcting the text of 3 Kgdms 19:18 by substituting the "proper" masculine article to go with the masculine noun Βααλ in the present "LXX" version.

Taken together with the earlier discussion of Rom 11:3, the evidence seems strong that the Greek text quoted by Paul in Rom 11:3–4 reflects an *earlier*

the most common (seven out of fourteen occurrences), but the evidence is too divided to speak of any "established" usage. Both words were in common use in the patristic period: see G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961–68), who cites Justin *Dial.* 90.5 as a passage that speaks of Moses "kneeling" in prayer (ἐν γόνασιν ὀκλάσαντός).

³³ For the evidence, see n. 22. Justin also uses a form of κάμπτειν (along with ἐπτακισχιλίου) in his allusion to this passage in *Dial.* 90.5, which shows no signs of Pauline influence.

³⁴ The classic study is A. Dillmann, "Über Baal mit dem weiblichen Artikel (ἡ Βάαλ)," *Monatsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* [1881] (Berlin: Verlag der königlich Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1882) 601–20 (cited in Koch, *Die Schrift*, 75 n. 87). After examining and rejecting a number of history-of-religions explanations, Dillmann brings forward a wealth of evidence to show how the practice of introducing a substitute for כְּעַל in the public reading of scripture became normative in postbiblical Judaism, even influencing the transmission of the Hebrew text. The frequent appearance of the feminine article with Βάαλ in the LXX (= ἡ αἰσχύνη) reflects the same process. Dillmann traces the substitution to an increasing veneration of the divine name, which led to an avoidance of the generic term Βάαλ even as the names of other deities continued to be pronounced. The same practice can be seen in 'A Σ Θ and the targumim (for examples from rabbinic literature, see Str-B 3. 288). Dillmann points to Lev 24:16 and Hos 2:16–17 as important passages for understanding the development of this attitude. Its influence is apparent in such Hebrew texts as Hos 9:10 and Jer 3:24; 11:13, as well as the LXX of 3 Kgdms 18:19, 25.

stage in the textual history of 3 Kingdoms than the version that appears in the codices (the so-called “LXX” text). The majority tradition of 3 Kingdoms 19 would then represent a later “hebraizing” revision of a rather loose Greek translation of the type used by Paul in Rom 11:3–4. That the two texts arose independently of one another seems unlikely in view of their simultaneous addition of the words ἀνδρῶν/ἄνδρας and γόνυ to the Hebrew text. Only the divergent forms of the initial verb in 3 Kgdms 19:18 (first person aorist versus second person future) would appear to reflect a difference in the Hebrew *Vorlagen* of the two texts.³⁵

III. The Text History of 3 Kingdoms 19

Still unanswered is the question of how the unified “Lucianic” tradition relates to the versions of 3 Kingdoms 19 found in Rom 11:3–4 and the codices. On the whole, the “Lucianic” manuscripts stand quite close to the codices, agreeing with the majority tradition on over 85 percent of the language of the verses in question. This includes two places where the “LXX” version shows a concern to bring the Greek tradition into closer alignment with a “proto-Masoretic” Hebrew text (καὶ . . . ἐγὼ μονώτατος in v. 3, ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν, πάντα [τὰ] γόνατα in v. 4). When set alongside the handful of agreements with Rom 11:3–4 noted above (the use of the aorist instead of the perfect in v. 3, the forms of the two verbs and the feminine article in v. 4), the evidence for a close link between the “Lucianic” and “LXX” texts becomes impressive indeed. But which came first? At least four of the six non-“LXX” readings in the “Lucianic” manuscripts appear already in Rom 11:3–4 (marked with double underlines above), a text that has been shown to be earlier than the version contained in the codices. From these agreements one can reasonably infer that the “Lucianic” text of 3 Kingdoms 19 likewise antedates the primary tradition. Otherwise we would have three places in two verses where a later “Lucianic” reviser of the majority text accidentally arrived at the same renderings of the Hebrew as the Greek text quoted by Paul in Rom 11:3–4.³⁶ Since none of these common readings offers any notable improvement over the language of the codices, the chances of such an independent agreement appear slight indeed.³⁷

Taken together, the evidence examined here favors the view that the “Lucianic” manuscripts of 3 Kingdoms 19 preserve traces of an earlier Greek

³⁵ See n. 27.

³⁶ As was noted in the discussion of v. 3, the fact that the “Lucianic” texts show no acquaintance with any of the more assured Pauline adaptations in either verse makes transcriptional contamination unlikely.

³⁷ On the use of the aorist κατέλιπον in Rom 11:4 rather than the future καταλείψω of the “Lucianic” text, see n. 27. The origins of the other two minor differences (the use of ἐν versus ἐξ and the inclusion/omission of the neuter article τὰ in v. 4) remain obscure, though a transcriptional explanation appears likely.

text similar to the one cited by Paul in Rom 11:3–4. For the most part, however, the text that appears in these manuscripts has been revised to conform to a “proto-Masoretic” Hebrew lemma.³⁸ The majority “LXX” tradition (as exemplified in the codices) would then reflect a further minor revision of this “Lucianic” edition. The line of development thus runs from the Pauline text through the “Lucianic” tradition to the version that appears in the great codices of the fourth and fifth centuries.

Just how far we can generalize from these preliminary findings remains unclear. While it seems fair to assume that the same line of development would hold for the whole of section $\gamma\gamma$ of Kingdoms (3 Kgdms 2:12–21:43), more evidence would be needed before the results could be generalized to the book of Kingdoms as a whole. For this small portion of the text, however, it appears that Frank Moore Cross has been vindicated in his insistence that the substratum of the “Lucianic” version is itself a revision of an earlier Greek text, and not simply, as Emanuel Tov puts it, “either *the* Old Greek translation or *any* Old Greek translation.”³⁹ If this is correct, then section $\gamma\gamma$ joins the ranks of sections $\beta\gamma$ and $\gamma\delta$ as places where the majority tradition presents us with a later edition, and not the earliest known translation of the book of Kingdoms. The latter honor would appear to belong at this point to the Greek text quoted by Paul in Rom 11:3–4.⁴⁰

³⁸ This is not to deny the possibility that the extant “Lucianic” manuscripts might also contain “grecizing” revisions of the type noted by Brock (see n. 13), though there is no evidence of such revisions in the present passage.

³⁹ A similar conclusion was reached by M. Victoria Spottorno after a review of several NT passages that show contact with the “Lucianic” tradition (“The Lucianic Text of Kings in the New Testament,” in *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* [ed. Claude E. Cox; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991] 279–84): “The presence of some clear Lucianic readings in the NT proves once more the existence of a Protolucianic revision of the OT” (p. 283). Natalio Fernández Marcos makes the same point (including brief comments on Rom 11:3–4) in “La biblia de los autores del Nuevo Testamento,” in *II Simposio Bíblico Español (Córdoba, 1985)* (ed. V. Collado Bertomeu and V. Vilar Hueso; Valencia-Córdoba: Publicaciones del Monte de Piedad y Casa de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1987) 177 (cf. 175).

⁴⁰ An earlier version of this paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in New Orleans in November 1990.

THE "WEAKER SEX" IN THE TESTAMENT OF JOB

SUSAN R. GARRETT

Yale University, New Haven, CT 06511

The *Testament of Job* is an intriguing document for a number of reasons. In this Hellenistic Jewish retelling of the story of Job,¹ the roles of Satan and of Job's wife (here named "Sitidos"²) are greatly magnified. Further, Satan is given a motive for his attack on Job: Job, identified as a king of Egypt (formerly named Jobab), had destroyed a nearby idol's temple in which Satan was worshiped (*T. Job* 5:2). Job had been forewarned by an angelic voice that if he attacked the temple, Satan would rise up against him for battle and would inflict many misfortunes on him. But if Job endured the attack, his name would be made "renowned in all earthly generations until the consummation of the age," and he would be raised up in the resurrection (4:4-9).³ The angel continues, "You will be like an athlete who spars and endures hard labors and wins the crown" (4:8). Thus the story of Job is changed from one of passive suffering to one of active conflict between Satan and Job.⁴ Further, the angelic

¹ On the Hellenistic Jewish character of the document, see Cees Haas, "Job's Perseverance in the Testament of Job," in *Studies on the Testament of Job* (ed. Michael A. Knibb and Pieter W. van der Horst; SNTSMS 66; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 151-52, esp. n. 85 and the works cited therein. The attempt by Russell P. Spittler ("The Testament of Job: Introduction, Translation, and Notes" (diss., Harvard University, 1971) to identify chaps. 46-53 of the work as a Christian Montanist addition has been refuted by Pieter W. van der Horst, "Images of Women in the Testament of Job," in *Studies on the Testament of Job*, 107-9. Regarding date: The document was written sometime between the first century BCE and the middle of the second century CE; see the discussion in Berndt Schaller, *Das Testament Hiobs* (JSHRZ III/3; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1979) 311. A date of composition prior to the advent of Christianity seems reasonable, though it cannot be proved; see Dankwart Rahnenführer, "Das Testament des Hiob und das Neue Testament," ZNW 62 (1971) 93.

² The MSS of *T. Job* exhibit confusion about the correct spelling of the name. Van der Horst ("Images of Women," 96-97) observes that all forms seem to be variations on either "Sitis" or "Sitidos." He argues for the primacy of "Sitidos," deriving it from σίτος, "bread," or σιτίζω, "to give bread, to feed" (the wife's struggle to provide bread for her husband being a prominent theme of the work).

³ All quotations from the Greek text and all English translations of *T. Job* are taken from *The Testament of Job According to the SV Text* (ed. Robert A. Kraft et al.; SBLTT 5; SBL Pseudepigrapha Series 4; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1974).

⁴ As observed by John J. Collins, "Testaments," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (ed. Michael E. Stone; Assen; Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) 349. Haas ("Job's

forewarning serves to mark Job as the recipient of revealed knowledge: thereafter his insight into spiritual realities is contrasted with the ignorance of those around him.⁵ The canonical Job's existential crisis in the face of suffering has been completely eliminated in this retelling: Job understands precisely what is happening to him, and trusts fully in God's promise to reward his obedient endurance.

One of the most fascinating characteristics of the book is its strong interest in women. This interest is exhibited in the author's treatment of three sets of characters: a female doorkeeper of Job; Job's (first) wife, Sitidos; and Job's three daughters (born of his second wife, Dinah, after Job's restoration). In the MT and LXX versions of the book of Job, the roles of the wife and the three daughters are not nearly as elaborate as in *Testament of Job*, and the female servant does not appear at all.⁶ The additions and expansions in *Testament of Job* are not, however, sympathetic toward women: the servant disobeys Job's direct command and then acts as a mouthpiece of Satan, and the ignorance of Job's wife contrasts sharply with Job's insight into the heavenly realm. Indeed, John J. Collins has argued that women symbolize ignorance in *Testament of Job*, much as women represent the ignorance associated with "sense perception" throughout the writings of Philo.⁷

This negative assessment has been sharply qualified by Pieter van der Horst, in an article entitled "Images of Women in the Testament of Job."⁸ Though he certainly recognizes that Sitidos plays into the work's contrast between the ignorance and knowledge of supramundane reality,⁹ van der Horst suggests that the woman's ignorance is offset by her uxorial virtues; she is "the

Perseverance") examines the use of the terms ὑπομονή, καρτερία, and μακροθυμία and their respective cognates in *T. Job*. He concludes that ὑπομένω as used in this text is much more than "to endure" or "to bear passively." "It is a very active reaction of Job to what is threatening him and requires all his strength" (p. 119).

⁵ Cf. John J. Collins, "Structure and Meaning in the Testament of Job," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1974 Seminar Papers* (ed. George MacRae; 2 vols.; Cambridge, MA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1974) 1. 41.

⁶ According to van der Horst ("Images of Women," 95), "no fewer than 107 out of 388 verses in *T. Job* deal with women, i.e., almost thirty times as much space as in the biblical book." In addition to the female doorkeeper, Job's first wife, and his three daughters, one other set of females makes an appearance in the work: Job's female slaves, whose murmuring or grumbling prompts Job to sing them songs, accompanying himself on the harp (*T. Job* 14:4-5). This brief and enigmatic passage, which takes as its starting point Job 31:13 LXX, does not warrant detailed attention in this essay; see van der Horst, "Images of Women," 96.

⁷ According to Collins ("Structure and Meaning," 42, 43-44; "Testaments," 352-53), the document's portrayal of women advances the pervasive contrast in the work between revealed knowledge and satanic deception.

⁸ See n. 1 above.

⁹ Van der Horst, "Images of Women," 99-100. Van der Horst also makes the connection with Philo and other Jewish writers who present women "as creatures who can easily be misled and seduced (and themselves easily seduce)" (p. 100).

good wife," as depicted in Proverbs 31.¹⁰ More importantly, van der Horst points to the "extraordinarily positive role" of Job's daughters in the final portion (chaps. 46–53) of the document. Picking up on canonical Job 42:15, the author of *Testament of Job* tells how Job's daughters inherit with their brothers, but then elaborates extensively on the nature and consequences of that inheritance. The legacy consists of three golden boxes filled with shimmering "cords" or "girdles"; when each of the daughters in turn dons her girdle, she is given "another" or a "changed" heart, with the result that she ceases to think about worldly things and begins to speak in angelic tongues (48:2–3; 49:1–2; 50:1–2). Van der Horst points out that the daughters outstrip their brothers in spiritual achievements, privileged as the three females are to focus on the heavenly realm, and even to see the heavenly chariot coming to take Job away at his death. Van der Horst writes, "Nothing of this applies to Sitidos. And this essential difference makes it impossible, in my opinion, to speak in a generalizing way of women as symbols of ignorance in T. Job."¹¹ The unequivocally positive portrayal of the daughters cannot, van der Horst contends, have derived from the same source as is used by the author in the first forty-five chapters of *Testament of Job*. Very likely the treatment of the daughters in the "somewhat clumsily appended" chaps. 46–53 depends on a source from an otherwise unknown Jewish ecstatic-mystical group "in which women played a leading role by their greater ecstatic gifts and their superior spiritual insight into heavenly reality."¹²

In this essay I will argue, contra van der Horst, that the differences in *Testament of Job*'s portrayal of the female servant and Sitidos on the one hand and of Job's daughters on the other hand are superficial. A fundamentally negative view of females as preoccupied with that which is earthly and corruptible underlies the document from beginning to end. This underlying view is, indeed, similar to that of Philo and other Jewish and early Christian writers: in Philo's words, the female "clings to all that is born and perishes; it stretches out its faculties like a hand to catch blindly at what comes its way" (*On the Special Laws* 3.178).¹³ Job's wife, Sitidos, epitomizes the feminine preoccupation with the cycle of birth, life, death, and burial. Her heart is weighed down, trapped in the realm of the corruptible, and therefore easily led astray by Satan. She errs, not "in spite of her virtues," as van der Horst contends,¹⁴ but *because of them*. The daughters, by contrast, obtain "changed hearts." They give up all concerns pertaining to the earthly realm. For first-century Jewish females, these would have included concerns of the sort that had preoccupied

¹⁰ Her virtues are especially "her never-failing loyalty and sincere love" for her husband and her care to bury her children, by which she demonstrates that "she lives up to the standards of Israel's piety" (van der Horst, "Images of Women," 99; cf. 101).

¹¹ Ibid., 106.

¹² Ibid., 113.

¹³ Trans. F. H. Colson (LCL, Philo, vol. 7).

¹⁴ Van der Horst, "Images of Women," 99.

Sitidos: worries over the care and nurture of living family members and the burial of deceased ones. The portrayal of the daughters in *Testament of Job* is thus analogous to that of the Therapeutae in Philo's *On the Contemplative Life*. Philo describes the Therapeutae as mostly "aged virgins," so eager to have wisdom for their life mate that "they have spurned the pleasures of the body and desire no mortal offspring but those immortal children which only the soul that is dear to God can bring to the birth unaided because the Father has sown in her spiritual rays enabling her to behold the verities of wisdom" (*On the Contemplative Life* 68).¹⁵ Philo can speak positively about the women among the Therapeutae because they have abandoned interest in those aspects of their femaleness that would otherwise bind them to the corruptible realm: intercourse, conception, and the bearing of children. In analogous fashion, the author of *Testament of Job* approves of Job's daughters because their "changed hearts" will never be weighed down with earthly concerns, as the heart of Sitidos had been. Below, after defending my thesis that a fundamentally negative view of women underlies both parts of *Testament of Job*, I will reflect briefly on the significance of my findings for the provenance of the document and its underlying source(s).

I. Women as Agents of Satan

Twice in *Testament of Job*, Satan uses women to try to gain access to Job. First, Satan disguises himself as a beggar and dissuades Job's female doorkeeper from heeding Job's strict instructions to turn all visitors away (6:1–7:13). Later, Satan disguises himself as a bread-seller and convinces Sitidos to sell her hair in exchange for three loaves of bread with which she might feed her starving husband (23:1–13; 24:6–10). Thus, each of the women falls victim to Satan because of an action regarded as typically "feminine" by writers of this era: the doormaid disobeys her master, and Sitidos focuses on corporeal affairs (specifically, the nourishing of Job's body). Van der Horst argues that the failing of Sitidos, at least, is mitigated by her abundant displays of virtue. She is solicitous of her husband's needs, and concerned about the proper burial of her dead children. I would counter that, according to the ideology of the female presupposed by the author,¹⁶ the "virtues" displayed by the doormaid

¹⁵ Trans. F. H. Colson (LCL. Philo, vol. 9).

¹⁶ I use the expression "ideology of the female" to refer to the socially constructed view of the female gender taken for granted by the author, and presumably by many of the author's contemporaries. As recent studies have demonstrated, gender issues in the ancient world were intertwined with issues pertaining to the economic structure of ancient society, to persons' relative class/status, and to socialization processes ("the formation of the self") in various segments of society (see, e.g., John J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* [New York: Routledge, 1990]; Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1988]; and Elizabeth A. Clark, *Ascetic Piety and Women's Faith: Essays on Late Ancient Christianity* [Studies

and by Sitidos are not virtues at all but the very attributes that tie females to the perishable realm and so enable Satan to use them to reach less vulnerable males. These two women are victims of Satan, but in turn they are also *agents* of Satan. Like their foremother Eve, they are first deceived—but in falling prey to the tempter's deceit they threaten to bring the noble Job down with them (cf. 1 Tim 2:13–14). The roles of victim and agent are interdependent rather than mutually exclusive.¹⁷ I now turn to a closer analysis of Satan's interaction with each of these women.

The Disobedient Doorkeeper (6:1–7:13)

In *Testament of Job*, Satan is given a motive for his attack on Job: Job razes an idol's temple, thereby depriving Satan of the human worship he had received there. After destroying the temple, Job withdrew into his house and ordered the doors to be secured. He commanded the doorkeepers to tell any who came seeking him that "he has no time; he is inside concerned with an urgent matter" (6:2). Unfazed by the defenses, all-knowing Satan arrives at the door dressed as a beggar. The doormaid (ἡ θυρωρός) fails to discern that the "beggar" is really the devil. There follows a lengthy interchange between Satan and Job. The most remarkable feature of this interchange is that Satan and Job never confront one another directly. *Their remarks are mediated entirely through the person of the hapless doormaid.* Thus she serves as the mouthpiece of Satan.

Satan asks for bread, and Job instructs the maid to give a burnt loaf to him. The story continues:

And the doormaid, ashamed to give him the burnt and ashen loaf, since she did not know he was Satan, took a good loaf from her own and gave it to him. But when he received it, and since he knew what had occurred, he said to the girl: Away with you, evil servant, bring me the loaf which was given you to be given to me. And <the girl> wept with deep grief saying: You quite properly say that I am an evil servant, since I did not do just as I was instructed by my master [ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου μου]. (*T. Job* 7:5–7)

The maid, like Sitidos later in the narrative, seems hardly to deserve the chastisement. How was this servant possibly to know that the beggar was not what he seemed? How could she be blamed for an act of charitable compassion—especially in view of the high regard for charity exhibited elsewhere in the narrative? We may choose to read Satan's reprimand as an instance of his characteristic wily deceptiveness, inferring that the maid was *not* an "evil

in *Women and Religion* 20; Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1986)). A "thick description" of gender issues raised by an ancient text would seek to read the document against these and other variables; in the case of *T. Job* the effort is hampered by our lack of reliable information regarding the precise social location of the work's author and early readership.

¹⁷ On this point I disagree with Collins ("Structure and Meaning," 44) and van der Horst ("Images of Women," 98), who argue that the doorkeeper and Sitidos are portrayed only as victims of Satan, not as agents.

servant,” and that in calling her such Satan was lying. But ancient Jewish and Christian readers might rather have interpreted Satan’s description of what had occurred as accurate; the maid had indeed disobeyed the explicit instructions of her master. It was precisely her disobedience that made her vulnerable to Satan’s onslaught: had she followed Job’s instructions, she would have turned Satan away at the door.

In disobeying her master, the doormaid serves as a literary foil to Job himself. Job is fully obedient to *his* master, God. When messengers first report to Job that his possessions and his children have been destroyed, Job cries out, saying,

The Lord has given, the Lord has taken away. As the Lord decided, so it has happened. Blessed be the name of the Lord. (*T. Job* 19:2–4)

Soon afterward Job is struck with a cruel skin disease. He sits on the dung heap and his body becomes infested by worms. He reports that, if any worm fell off in the discharge that dripped from his body, he would “pick it up and return it to the same place saying: Stay in the same place in which you were put until you receive instructions from the one who commanded you” (20:10). Job’s instructions to the fallen worms seem to parallel his own rule for enduring the afflictions that God, through Satan, has brought upon him.¹⁸ Job recognizes that “we are fleshly and have our lot in dust and ashes”; hence we ought not to busy ourselves with heavenly matters (38:3). The irony is that Job—perhaps *because of* his humility and his obedience to God—does indeed have insight into “the great things of the Lord.” Therefore Job’s mouth shall in no way “blunder respecting the master” (δεσπότης, 38:2).

By failing to be obedient to her δεσπότης, Job’s doormaid opened herself to Satan’s attack. No matter that she acted out of compassion and charity; she should have known that the devil is the craftiest of all creatures, using the cleverest disguises and the smoothest words.¹⁹ Thus had he deceived Eve the first time, by enticing her to eat of the tree of knowledge; and (according to a legend known already to the apostle Paul) again a second time, by transforming himself into the appearance of an angel and luring Eve up out of the

¹⁸ Though Job knows that Satan is the direct instigator of his affliction, when questioned by one of the visiting friends (who are portrayed as kings in *T. Job*), Job attributes the maladies to God (37:4). The underlying assumption is that Satan acts as God’s agent (as in the canonical Job account). This assumption is in tension with another of the work’s presuppositions, that Satan opposes God by promoting idolatry.

¹⁹ Cf. Gen 3:1 LXX: The serpent is φρονιμώτατος πάντων τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. It is unclear precisely when the serpent in the garden was first identified with the devil; the link seems already to be presupposed in Wis 2:23–24. The apostle Paul seems also to have made the link in 2 Cor 11:14; see n. 20 below. In *T. Job* 43:6, 9, the association of the diabolically controlled Elious (cf. 41:7) with the “serpent” and “asp” may likewise indicate that the link between Satan and the serpent was taken for granted. Perhaps the motif in *T. Job* that Satan regularly “disguises himself” (μετασχηματίζεσθαι; cf. 2 Cor 11:14) depends on an assumption that he had done likewise in the garden, appearing there as a serpent and (according to legend) as an angel of light.

water of the Tigris river, in which she had been standing in repentance (2 Cor 11:14; cf. *LAE [Vita]* 6–11/ [*Apoc.*] 29).²⁰ Ignorance of Satan's designs did not excuse Eve from the consequences of her transgression; nor does ignorance excuse Job's doormaid. Hence her reply: "You quite properly say that I am an evil servant, since I did not do just as I was instructed by my master" (*T. Job* 7:8).

Sitidos

Job's wife is not introduced until chap. 21, after the death of their ten children. Job recounts how he sat, worm-infested, on a dung heap outside the city, watching with his own eyes his first wife "carrying water into the house of a certain [nobleman] as a maidservant until she could obtain bread" to bring to Job (21:1).²¹ Job is stunned, and laments the arrogance of the rulers—previously his own inferiors in wealth and status—who would allow his wife to be used as a slave. But then he resumed his "rational composure" (λογισμὸς <μακρόθυμος>, 21:4).

Eventually Sitidos's masters cut her rations to barely enough for a single person. She would divide what little she received between the two of them, more concerned for Job than for herself:

Woe is me! Soon he will not even get his fill of bread! (22:2)

She resorts to begging bread from the bread-sellers in the marketplace. Satan knows this, and disguises himself as a bread-seller. "And it happened by coincidence that my wife went to him to beg bread, thinking he was a man" (23:2). Like the doormaid earlier in the narrative, Sitidos is easily fooled by Satan's ruse; this gullibility contrasts with Job's instantaneous discernment of Satan's presence a few chapters later.

Satan refuses to give Sitidos bread at no cost, but offers three loaves in exchange for her hair. The story continues:

Then she says to herself: What value to me is the hair of my head compared to my hungry husband? And thus disdaining her hair, she said to him: Arise and shear it. Then he took scissors and removed the hairs of her head and gave her three loaves, while all were looking on. And when she received (them) she came and brought (them) to me. And Satan followed her along the road walking stealthily and leading her heart astray. (23:9–13)

²⁰ Concerning 2 Cor 11:14, C. K. Barrett writes, "The thought was connected with the deception of Eve, and the reference to this in verse 3 was no doubt still in the back of Paul's mind" (*The Second Epistle to the Corinthians* [HNTC; New York: Harper & Row, 1973] 286).

²¹ The reading "nobleman" (εὐσχήμονος), given by MS P, is preferable to "crude person" (ἀσχήμονος) given by MSS SV, and favored by Kraft et al. The reading εὐσχήμονος coheres better with Job's ensuing exclamation against "the rulers of this city" (21:2); moreover, εὐσχήμονος fits the motif in *T. Job* of the opportunism of Job's fellow aristocrats, who were formerly his inferiors, but who take advantage of the righteous and charitable man when he is down and out (cf. 18:2–4).

When Sitidos sees Job, she cries out to him, asking how long he will continue to sit on the dung heap, awaiting salvation. She laments her own wretched situation as vagabond and maidservant and mourns the loss of her children — “my sons and the daughters, the pangs and pains of my womb, for whom I toiled in vain, with hardships” (24:3). She tells him how “the bread-seller” bargained with her for her hair, and how—to her disgrace and to the amazement of the staring crowd—she had allowed it to be sheared (24:7–10).

As with the story of the doormaid, a modern reader is likely to sympathize with Sitidos. How could one not admire her Herculean labors or her noble sacrifices on behalf of Job? But readers who shared the author’s ideological construction of the female would have had a different set of reactions to this portrayal of Job’s wife. Among such readers, the most striking aspect of the portrayal would probably have been the *exposure* entailed by the public shearing of Sitidos’s hair. An ensuing lament for Sitidos highlights the stark contrast between this exposure and the noblewoman’s former state of inaccessibility:

Who is not amazed that this is Sitidos, the wife of Job? Who used to have fourteen draperies sheltering her chamber and a door within doors, so that one was considered quite worthy merely to gain admission to her presence: Now she exchanges her hair for loaves! Who had camels, loaded with good things, that used to carry (them) off to the proper places for the indigent— For now she gives her hair in return for loaves! (25:1–3; cf. vv. 4–7)

Readers would have perceived Sitidos’s new poverty and resultant exposure to public view as a source of great humiliation, not only for her but also for her husband (cf. 21:2–3). Moreover, the incident would have had distinctly sexual undertones. For a Jewish married woman of Roman imperial times to expose her hair to public view was considered highly shameful. Loosed hair was associated with adultery and sexual promiscuity.²² For Sitidos to allow her hair to be exposed, loosed, and then cut off in public view would not have been construed by early readers of *Testament of Job* as a noble act of largesse, a gift of love à la O. Henry, but as a shameless forfeiture of the dignity and

²² As is presupposed by Paul in 1 Cor 11:5–6. Cf. Philo’s elaboration of Num 5:18, on the trial of the woman accused by her husband of adultery, in *On the Special Laws* 3.56. The LXX text specifies that “the priest . . . shall uncover the head of the woman”; Philo explicates as follows: “the priest . . . removes her kerchief, in order that she may be judged with her head bared and stripped of the symbol of modesty [ἡ αἰδοῦς], regularly worn by women who are wholly innocent” (trans. F. H. Colson [LCL, Philo, vol. 7]). The passage is discussed in Dorothy Sly, *Philo’s Perception of Women* (BJS 209; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990) 205. Additional citations of texts that presuppose the shamefulness of women’s *exposing* of their hair, from Roman imperial and also rabbinic times, can be found in H. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975) 185 n. 39; and Str-B 3. 427–34. The association of *loosed hair* with adultery and sexual promiscuity, which derives from Num 5:18 MT, probably underlies the portrayal of the “sinful woman” in Luke 7:36–50. Being *shorn* was considered extremely disgraceful; see *m. Nazir* 4:5 (cited in Str-B 3. 434), and the texts and secondary literature cited in van der Horst, “Images of Women,” 97 n. 15.

sexual modesty appropriate to one of Sitidos's station. It was a tragic and culpable move.

Careful study of the author's use of the term "heart" (καρδία) in connection with Sitidos, Job, and the three daughters leads one to infer that it is Sitidos's very loyalty to Job and (later in the narrative) concern for her children's burial that blind her to heavenly realities and make her vulnerable to Satan's wiles. After Sitidos allows Satan to shear her hair so that she might feed Job, she departs, and Satan follows her along the road "walking stealthily and leading her heart astray" (23:13). She immediately goes to Job and rehearses her own desperate situation — lamenting the passing of her children, her own hardship and toil, the difficulty of watching Job in his wretched state, and the cuts in the provisions that she shares with Job. She thinks "in [her] heart" how terrible it is that Job does not get his fill of bread (24:5), and is "pierced to [her] heart" that it did not suffice to beg bread from the bread-seller (24:6). A little later she tells Job that "the weakness of my heart crushes my bones"; at this point she utters the fateful instructions to "say some word against the Lord and die" (25:9). Immediately Job informs Sitidos that the devil is standing behind her, "troubling your reasoning [διαλογισμός] so that he might deceive even me" (26:7). Sitidos's wifely and maternal passions bound her to the corruptible earthly realm and provided an easy avenue of access for Satan. He who knows persons' hearts (cf. 17:1) was therefore able to lead *her* heart astray.

The narrative's attention to Sitidos's "heart" is all the more striking when compared with the story's usage of this term elsewhere to describe Job's and his daughters' participation in the heavenly realm. For example, when the kings (i.e., friends) of Job question him as to whether or not his heart is in a stable condition (μήτι ἄρα ἐξέστη αὐτοῦ ἡ καρδία, 35:5; cf. 36:3, 9; 38:1, 4), Job responds:

It is not involved with earthly things, since the earth and those who dwell in it are unstable. But my heart is involved with heavenly things for there is no upheaval in heaven. (36:4–5)

Similarly, when the daughters of Job receive the heavenly girdles, they are said to receive "changed hearts," so that they no longer worry about earthly or worldly things (48:2; 49:1; 50:1).²³ When the depiction of Sitidos is contrasted with that of her husband and his daughters, the nature of her problem becomes clear: *her heart was involved with earthly things*. Thus, contra van der Horst, Sitidos's expressions of concern for her husband and for burying the dead would *not* have been seen as displays of virtue by the author and by ancient readers who shared the author's ideological construction of the female. Quite the opposite: for such an audience, Sitidos's preoccupation with mundane matters would have been the very *essence* of her ignorance.

²³ Van der Horst points out that the motif of receiving "another heart" derives from 1 Sam 10:9, where it is said of Saul in connection with his becoming ecstatic ("Images of Women," 103 n. 27).

The nature of Sitidos's failings emerges even more clearly when one compares her with another famous mother, the mother of seven martyred sons in 4 Maccabees. The author of 4 Maccabees describes the work as an effort to demonstrate that "pious reasoning" (ὁ εὐσεβῆς λογισμός) is master of the passions (4 Macc 1:1). "For the temperate mind is able to conquer the urgency of the passions, and to quench the heat of inflamed desire, and to wrestle down the pains of the body when they are excessive, and by means of the excellency of reasoning [καὶ τῆς καλοκαγαθίας τοῦ λογισμοῦ] to spurn all the controlling claims of the passions" (3:17–18).²⁴ The author illustrates this thesis with the story of an elderly man, Eleazar, and of a mother with her seven sons, all of whom "conquered" (νικῆσαι) the tyrant Antiochus Epiphanes by their "manliness and endurance" (ἡ ἀνδρεία καὶ ἡ ὑπομονή) when confronting their torturers.²⁵ The author first describes Eleazar's resoluteness in the midst of grotesque physical abuse. No amount of pain could convince the old man to forsake the Jewish law by eating a piece of pork, and so, physically ruined, he dies. The author observes that "the reasoning [λογισμός] of our father Eleazar, like a superior helmsman—steering the ship of piety in the sea of passions, abused by the threats of the tyrant, and washed over by the breakers of torture—in no way turned back the rudders of piety until he had sailed into the haven of the victory of immortality" (7:1–3).²⁶ Next the author considers the mother and her seven sons. The mother watches as each of her sons in turn submits to the torturer's ghastly devices. She does not beg them to give in to the command to eat pork, but rather *urges them on in their resistance*. Although even irrational animals teach that creatures will do anything to save their offspring (14:13–19), with equanimity the mother of the seven watched her sons' gory deaths. The author acclaims her fortitude as all the more astonishing *because she was a woman and a mother*. Indeed, he praises her for the "manly virtue" displayed in her overcoming of passion:

O mother of a nation, avenger of the law, champion of piety, and victor in the struggle with the affections! O one more noble than males with respect to endurance and more courageous [or "manly"] than men with respect to

²⁴ This and all subsequent translations from the LXX are my own.

²⁵ Haas identifies significant parallels between *T. Job* and 4 Maccabees in their respective uses of various terms for "endurance" or "patience" ("Job's Perseverance," 142–43). Irving Jacobs contends that *T. Job* is "an early example of Jewish martyr literature" ("Literary Motifs in the Testament of Job," *JJS* 21 [1970] 1–4). Haas similarly finds that early Jewish and Christian accounts of suffering and martyrdom offer the most relevant parallels to certain elements of *T. Job* ("Job's Perseverance," 142–54). Haas does not, however, regard the parallels with Christian texts as sufficient grounds to question the essentially Jewish character of *T. Job* (*ibid.*, 151–54).

²⁶ Haas draws attention to the parallel between this passage and *T. Job* 18:6, 7, where Job's suffering and perseverance are described as a dangerous voyage to a city ("Job's Perseverance," 142). Haas observes that Philo also makes use of the image (n. 77), in connection with the combat of the wise man with the passions (in *On Dreams* 2.225; and *On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain* 90).

patience! [ὦ ἀρρένων πρὸς καρτερίαν γενναϊότερα καὶ ἀνδρῶν πρὸς ὑπομονὴν ἀνδρειότερα] (4 Macc 15:29–30)²⁷

The contrast between this mother and Sitidos could hardly be sharper. The mother in 4 Maccabees perceived that she and her sons were engaged in a contest (ὁ ἀγὼν, 16:16): the opponent was the tyrant and eternal life was to be the victory crown (17:11–15). Only by endurance could the tyrant be conquered, and so in a “manly” fashion the mother urged her sons on to victory, no matter how bloody the struggle became, or how acutely painful to her as a mother. Thus, by her power of reasoning (ὁ λογισμός) and by her manliness (ἡ ἀνδρεία), the mother of the seven conquered her feminine passions.²⁸ Sitidos, by contrast, is not manly but *quintessentially female* in her focus on caring for Job’s bodily needs. She fails utterly to perceive that Job is engaged in a contest with a tyrant and that only by endurance can he gain the victory crown (*T. Job* 4:4–9). When she ought to be cheering Job on to victory, instead she exhorts him to “say some word against the Lord and die”—in other words, she instructs him to do the very thing that will permit Satan to gain control over Job’s soul and thus to win the contest (cf. 20:1; 27:7). On that occasion Job says to her that the devil is “troubling your reasoning [διαλογισμός] so that he might deceive even me” (26:7).²⁹ Sitidos allowed her wifely and maternal passions (rather than her διαλογισμός) to rule her own life and, in turn, to threaten Job’s victory. These passions were the means by which Satan won control of Sitidos, “leading her heart astray.”

Neither is Sitidos’s effort to bury her children to be taken as a positive example of Jewish piety. Rather, it is illustrative of the “blind” or “ignorant” persons’ preoccupation with the corruptible world. Sitidos approaches the kings who are visiting Job to seek help in recovering her children’s corpses from under the building that collapsed upon them, “so that <at least> their

²⁷ Chaps. 14–16 of 4 Maccabees reflect extensively on the remarkable nature of the mother’s achievement, given her gender. Especially pertinent is 4 Macc 16:5–11, in which the author considers what the woman *might* have said about the deaths of her sons, had she been fainthearted; the words sound like the mourning of Sitidos in *T. Job*.

²⁸ Elizabeth Castelli shows that in early Christianity, women ascetics who overcame the passions were regularly praised as “manly” (“Virginity and Its Meaning for Women’s Sexuality in Early Christianity,” *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 2 [1986] 74–75). For example, Castelli refers to Gregory of Nyssa’s biography of Macrina: “At the tragic and unexpected death of her brother Naucratus, Macrina uses reason (*logismos*) against passion (*pathos*) to overcome her grief, and thereby becomes her mother’s instructor in the Stoic virtue, courage (*andreia*)” (p. 74). Castelli discusses further whether the word ἀνδρεία connoted “manliness” or merely a (neuter concept of) “courage” when applied to early Christian women (pp. 76–77). She concludes that the nuance of “manliness” is indeed present in such uses, even if that is not the word’s only meaning (cf. Clark, *Ascetic Piety*, 45). With regard to 4 Macc 15:29–30 (quoted above), numerous passages in the surrounding context highlight the mother’s “manliness” (and not simply her “courage”) — she persevered *in spite of* being a woman and a mother.

²⁹ By contrast, when Job had seen Sitidos suffer at the hands of her cruel masters, he himself had mourned the fact but then had quickly regained his “rational composure” (λογισμός <μακρόθυμος>, 21:4).

bones might be preserved as a memorial since we were unable (to do so) because of the costs. Thus we can look at something, even if it is their bones" (39:5–6). Job, however, forbids the kings from helping her, saying that the children will not be found, inasmuch as they have been "taken up into the heavens by the creator, their king" (39:9). All think Job mad until they look into the heavens and see his children "crowned alongside the splendor of the heavenly one" (40:5). Sitidos's ignorance contrasts with Job's insight: she longs to set up a memorial of *dead bones*—destined to return to dust and ashes (cf. 38:3)—whereas Job knows that only a heavenly memorial is worthwhile. He himself will have such a memorial, an eternal throne in heaven:

My throne is in the supra-terrestrial realm, and its splendor and majesty are from the right hand of <the Father> in the heavens. My throne is eternal—the whole world shall pass away and its splendor shall <fade> and *those who cling to it shall be (caught) in its demise*. But my throne is in the holy land and its splendor is in the unchangeable world. (33:3–5)³⁰

Sitidos, unlike her husband and children, has no such heavenly memorial. Consumed by her labors for that which is earthly and corruptible, she is "caught in the world's demise." She symbolizes for the author of *Testament of Job* those who focus on the earthly and transient and so remain ignorant of the heavenly and eternal. At her own passing, she is mourned by animals—a symbol for the irrational.³¹

By no means does the author of *Testament of Job* attribute ignorance of heavenly realities exclusively to women: the kings who visit Job are likewise oblivious to the supraterrrestrial realm (chaps. 28–44). But as one caught up in the cycle of birth, life, death, and decay, Sitidos epitomizes the earth-bound perspective. The author's use of this character to symbolize preoccupation with earthly affairs would have been readily understood by many early readers of *Testament of Job*, inasmuch as this symbolization shared in a then-current ideology of the female. Comparison with the writings of Philo is especially instructive. In Philo's allegorization of the Genesis account of the creation of the first humans, the male regularly stands for sovereign mind (νοῦς), while

³⁰ Italics mine. Cf. 43:2, 13, where it is said that Elious, whose throne is decayed and the honor of whose pretense is in Hades, shall have no memorial among the living.

³¹ Philo characterizes animals as irrational in, e.g., *Who Is the Heir* 138 and *On the Contemplative Life* 8. Richard A. Baer writes, "Philo closely associates sense perception with the blood-soul (ἡ ἔναιμος ψυχή), the life principle in animals, and claims that this irrational part of man has kinship with the maternal and female line but has no part in the male line. No one who desires the life of the blood can become an heir of divine things. Man is to leave behind feminine, sense-perceptible passion, and to give forth as incense 'the manly reasoning schooled in fortitude' (τὸν ἀνδρεῖον καὶ καρτερίας ἀσκητὴν λογισμὸν)" (citing *Allegorical Interpretation* 3.11) (*Philo's Use of the categories Male and Female* [ALGHJ 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970] 43). In *T. Job*, Sitidos did not become an "heir of divine things" because, rather than displaying "manly reasoning schooled in fortitude," she allowed her reasoning to be upset by her irrational feminine preoccupation with Job and her children.

the female stands for sense perception (αἰσθησις).³² Mind and sense perception are both regarded as component parts of man's³³ soul, but νοῦς was created to rule over αἰσθησις. Richard Baer points out that Philo uses woman to symbolize αἰσθησις in his discussion not only of the creation narratives but also of other passages from the Hebrew scriptures. Female terminology is emphasized whenever Philo describes the irrational soul in pejorative terms: "Indeed, it is precisely by exploiting the female terminology of the Biblical text that Philo most clearly expresses his depreciation of the irrational soul and of the perishable realm of creation."³⁴ Baer contends that this pejorative use of female terminology to describe the irrational soul and the created world is intertwined with Philo's depreciation of actual women. "Philo's usual practice is to speak disparagingly of actual women on the basis of the literal meaning of a text and then to allegorize the passage in terms of sense-perception."³⁵ Philo views actual women as weak, irresponsible, and easily deceived; analogously, the female component of man's soul is readily led astray by the objects of sense perception. The male part of the soul is directed toward God, but the female part of the soul "clings to all that is born and perishes; it stretches out its faculties like a hand to catch blindly at what comes its way" (*On the Special Laws* 3.178).

Baer's findings have now been confirmed and nuanced in a major study of Philo's view of women by Dorothy Sly.³⁶ Sly explores the tension, unresolved in Baer's work, between Philo's expressed abhorrence of things female and his acceptance of a role for women in God's order.³⁷ Adducing numerous passages as evidence, Sly demonstrates that Philo interprets *womanhood* as that stage in the female's life marked by menstruation, intercourse, and child-bearing, as well as the experience of sexual passion. Although explicitly Philo praises motherhood and insists that women do have a proper and necessary role (i.e., operating within a framework prescribed by men, and in their actions deferring to men), nonetheless "an unarticulated revulsion against womanhood is revealed in his association of words," especially on the allegorical level.³⁸ Philo repeatedly links "virgin" with "undefiled," "motherlessness" with "purity," "motherhood" with "corruption," and "the female" with "blood." At one point

³² See, e.g., *On the Creation of the World* 165. Richard Baer's important study (n. 31 above) explored the symbolic equivalences in detail. In a work that builds in part on Baer's findings, Dorothy Sly (*Philo's Perception*; see n. 22 above) argues that Philo drew, at least indirectly, on Aristotle's teaching about women: "Whereas Aristotle says that mind is to body as man is to woman, Philo says that man allegorically means mind, and woman, sense" (p. 27).

³³ Sly demonstrates that Philo's generalizations about "man" do not clearly and consistently pertain to "woman" as well (*Philo's Perception*, 59–70).

³⁴ Baer, *Philo's Use*, 40.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ See n. 22 above.

³⁷ Sly, *Philo's Perception*, 57.

³⁸ Ibid., 82.

Philo compares menstrual blood to “the spring of all evil that befalls man: of folly (*aphrosynē*), of injustice and wrongdoing (*adikēmata*) of passions (*ta pathē*) and of sins (*ta hamartēmata*).”³⁹ *Virginity* is for Philo the opposite of womanhood; it is the state that both precedes and follows womanhood. It is characterized by freedom from lust and other passions, and constitutes an escape from bondage to the body; hence, “becoming virgin” is soteriologically equivalent to “becoming male,” as Baer had established.⁴⁰ Virgins can bear soul-children, fathered by God; indeed, Philo attributes virginity (at least at the allegorical level) to certain women whom the scriptures present as married (e.g., Hannah, Tamar, Zipporah, Sarah, Leah, and Rebecca). Sly summarizes:

God may elevate the great women of Scripture by transforming them into virgins. But there is nothing to rescue the ordinary woman. Throughout her child-bearing years, she cannot escape the fate imposed by her body. The odyssey of the soul is denied her, for she is trapped in a foreign land, the land of Egypt, of passion, the land whose river flows with blood. She is incapable of self-control, being driven by passion, and so must be controlled from without.⁴¹

I suggest that the construction of womanhood assumed by the author of *Testament of Job* has important similarities to Philo’s view as explicated by Sly and to the view of the author of 4 Maccabees. Despite their many differences, all three authors assume that the natural state of women is one of preoccupation with corporeal affairs. The admirable woman, by contrast, is the one who abandons such preoccupation. For the author (and no doubt for many early readers) of *Testament of Job*, Sitidos is no such “admirable woman.” She is trapped by her feminine passions and so is unable to participate in the heavenly realm.

II. The Daughters of Job

The closing segment of *Testament of Job*, supposedly related by Nereus, Job’s brother, describes Job’s distribution of his inheritance to his seven sons and three daughters prior to his death. The sons receive all the “property” (τὰ ὄντα), the “goods” (τὰ χρήματα, 46:1–2). The daughters are distressed and ask whether they are not his children also. Job replies, “Do not be upset, my daughters, for I did not forget you. For I have already selected for you an inheritance better than that of your seven brothers” (46:4–5). Job then has the daughter named Hemera retrieve three golden boxes, which contain three bands (χορδαί) of indescribable appearance, “flashing with bright sparks like rays of the sun” (46:8). At first the daughters are not impressed. The daughter named Kasia asks, “We won’t be able to sustain our life from them, will we?” (μὴ ἐκ τούτων ἔξομεν τοῦ ζῆν, 47:2). The question rings with irony, because the bands will enable the daughters not only “to sustain their lives,” but to

³⁹ Ibid., 88. The reference is to *On Flight and Finding* 188–94.

⁴⁰ Sly, *Philo’s Perception*, 71–73.

⁴¹ Ibid., 89.

live in a better world, in the heavens (47:3). These are the very cords with which the Lord had instructed Job “to gird your loins like a man” (ζῶσαι ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπος τὴν ὀσφύν σου, 47:5), that Job’s body might be healed. He reports that when he had put the cords on, “my body grew strong as if it had not suffered anything at all. But I could even forget the pains in my heart!” (47:8–9). Now that the daughters each have a cord—a “protective amulet [φυλακτήριον] of the Lord”—they will not have “the enemy” opposing them at all, nor will they have anxieties about him in their minds (47:11).

One by one the daughters gird themselves with a magic cord. As each does so, she receives “another” or a “changed” heart, chants verses in the angelic language, and ceases to think about “earthly” or “worldly” things (τὰ τῆς γῆς, 48:2; τὰ κοσμικά, 49:1; 50:1). By thus entering the heavenly realm, the daughters imitate the earlier experience of Job, while he was yet suffering the devil’s plagues. The kings had inquired whether Job’s heart “was in a stable condition” (ἄρα ἐν τῷ καθεστῶτι ἐστὶν ἡ καρδιά σου, 36:3). To their inquiries Job had replied,

It is not involved with earthly things, since the earth and those who dwell in it are unstable. But my heart is involved with heavenly things for there is no upheaval in heaven. (36:4–5)

There is a wordplay here: Job’s friends had wondered whether he was “out of his mind” (μήτι ἄρα ἐξέστη αὐτοῦ ἡ καρδιά, 35:5), but in truth he had been engaged in heavenly “ecstasy” (ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις συνέστηκεν ἡ καρδιά μου, 36:5). The magic cords enable the daughters also to engage in such ecstasy, to cease to be concerned about “earthly things.”

The author never specifies what are the “earthly things” that will no longer trouble the daughters. Modern readers, trying to flesh out the content of this general expression, might think of wealth and property. Surely ancient readers would have thought of these as well, especially given the document’s emphasis on the possession of/loss of property. But I suggest that, in the perception of ancient readers sympathetic to the author’s ideology of the female, forsaking property alone would not have made a crucial difference in the daughters’ condition. According to this ideology, it was not (or not primarily) wealth that kept women firmly anchored in the mundane realm, but their corporeal nature and corresponding preoccupation with such matters as the conception and bearing of children, the nurturing of family, death, and burial.⁴² Such concerns were regarded as constitutive of female selfhood. Hence, readers sharing the author’s ideological perspective would have interpreted the attribution to Job’s daughters of “different” or “changed” hearts as implying that they were

⁴² Cf. 1 Cor 7:33, 34, where τὰ τοῦ κόσμου is defined as a concern with “how to please one’s wife/husband.” Clark points out that, in late antique Christianity, aristocratic women were thought able to redeem their otherwise hopeless condition by renouncing their own sexuality, while (at least in some instances) retaining considerable control over their own property (*Ascetic Piety*, 175–208).

abandoning key elements of womanhood. "The enemy" will no longer be able to oppose them precisely because they have left behind the typical female preoccupations that made the doormaid and Job's first wife so ignorant, vulnerable, and dangerous.

III. Conclusion

I have argued that a single, coherent view of women underlies chaps. 1–45 and chaps. 46–53 of *Testament of Job*. In both parts of the document, women are those whose hearts are naturally preoccupied with "earthly affairs." This preoccupation of the heart makes women vulnerable to the onslaughts of Satan, by interfering with the reasoning power that would have enabled them to discern Satan's presence and to know how to "conquer" this tyrant. Job's second set of daughters do not display such preoccupation with earthly affairs—but only because they have been given "different" or "changed" hearts. The implication is that otherwise the mundane realm would have been the focal point of their existence, as it had been for Sitidos.

Based on my findings, I must dispute van der Horst's contention that different sources underlie the two parts of the document. Nor is it necessary to suppose that the final chapters of the work derive from Jewish ecstatic mystics among whom women played a major role, whether one supposes them to be the Therapeutae (as suggested by M. Philonenko and others)⁴³ or another Jewish ecstatic-mystical circle (as suggested by van der Horst).⁴⁴ To be sure, such authorship—or even authorship by a woman⁴⁵—is a possibility. It is equally possible, however, that the account of the daughters' inheritance was authored by a male as misogynistic as Philo, who had granted that women (such as the Therapeutae) *could* attain to lofty spiritual heights—but only by abandoning the traits that constituted the very essence of womanhood as he understood it.

The portrayal of Job's daughters in *Testament of Job* as gaining spiritual insight does balance and resolve the work's earlier portrayal of women as exemplifying ignorance.⁴⁶ But this resolution does not contradict either the work's fundamental view of women as by nature concerned with earthly affairs, or its strictly negative evaluation of such concern. Regrettably, *Testament of Job* does not offer a visionary precedent to feminism. Those searching for such a precedent will have to look elsewhere.

⁴³ Suggested by K. Kohler, "The Testament of Job, an Essene Midrash on the Book of Job," in *Semitic Studies in Memory of Rev. Dr. Alexander Kohut* (ed. George Alexander Kohut; Berlin: S. Calvary, 1897) 264–95; M. Philonenko, "Le Testament de Job et les Thérapeutes," *Sem* 8 (1958) 41–53; and idem, "Le Testament de Job: Introduction, Traduction et Notes," *Sem* 18 (1968) 1–75, esp. 15ff.

⁴⁴ Van der Horst, "Images of Women," 113.

⁴⁵ See *ibid.*, 114, esp. n. 61, on the question of female authorship. Authorship by a woman is possible, inasmuch as most women probably accepted without question the ideological construction of their own gender offered by contemporary males.

⁴⁶ As suggested by Collins, "Structure and Meaning," 44, 48.

DIE ECHTHEIT VON 2 COR 6:14-7:1

FRANZ ZEILINGER

Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, Austria

I. Problemstellung

Der vieldiskutierte Abschnitt bildet das Mittelstück im Schlußteil (2 Cor 6:11-7:4) der sogenannten Apologie des Apostolates (2 Cor 2:14-7:4). Ebenso viel diskutiert ist die Frage nach der Eigenständigkeit der Apologie im 2 Korintherbrief. Trotz einiger Stichwortverbindungen¹ und inhaltlicher Bezüge zum Rahmen, dem sogenannten Versöhnungsbrief 1:1-2:13. 7:5-16,² wie auch einiger thematischer Gemeinsamkeiten mit dem Vierkapitelbrief 2 Cor 10-13³ spricht dennoch viel dafür, die "Apologie" als einen eigenständigen *literarischen* Block zu betrachten. Dafür spricht vor allem die rhetorische Struktur der Apologie, wie kürzlich A. de Oliveira eindrücklich nachzuweisen vermochte.⁴ Das Initium 2:14-16a fungiert demnach "als brieftypische Danksagung und 2:16b-17 als Themasatz,"⁵ der Schlußteil 6:11-7:4 dagegen ganz im Sinn des paulinischen Briefformulars als Briefschluß.⁶ Offen

¹ Insbesondere macht 7:5-7 den Eindruck, durch die in 7:4 vorgegebenen Stichworte *θλίψις* (v. 5), *παράκλησις* (vv. 6-7) und *χαρά* (v. 7) motiviert bzw. ausgelöst zu sein. Allerdings ist zu beachten, daß in 7:4 von Paraklese und Freude im Anschluß an die Bitte um Vertrauen (6:13) und Öffnung (7:2) die Rede ist. Beides *wäre* gegeben, wenn diese Bitten in Korinth erhört würden (siehe R. Bultmann, *Der zweite Brief an die Korinther* [KEK Sonderband, ed. E. Dinkler; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976] 180). In 7:6-7 ist aber der Bericht des Titus über die tatkräftig vollzogene Wende der Gemeinde zu ihrem Apostel die Weise der göttlichen Paraklese und Ursache seiner Freude (cf. 7:7, 16) *nach* erduldetem Leid. Die Konsequenzen sind somit gleich, beruhen aber auf unterschiedlichen Prämissen (vgl. A. de Oliveira, *Die Diakonie der Gerechtigkeit und der Versöhnung in der Apologie des 2. Korintherbriefes: Analyse und Auslegung von 2 Kor 2,14-4,6; 5,11-6,10* [NTAbh NF 21; Münster: Aschendorff, 1990] 16).

² Dies gilt vor allem für das in 5:18-20 behandelte und christologisch begründete Versöhnungsthema. Es entsteht so der Eindruck, daß die im "Versöhnungsschreiben" (1:1-2:13; 7:5-16) vollzogene Versöhnung des Apostels mit seiner Gemeinde in 5:18-21 ihre theologische Begründung findet, und damit auch der theologische Grund des "Rahmens" offengelegt wird.

³ So etwa die Verteidigung gegen den Vorwurf, Paulus "verschachere" das Wort Gottes (2:17), "empfehle sich selbst" (3:1), sei als Apostel nicht "geeignet" (3:5-6), sei "hinterhältig" (4:2) und "undurchschaubar" (5:11) etc.

⁴ De Oliveira, *Diakonie*, 199.

⁵ Siehe H.-J. Klauck, *2. Korintherbrief* (Kommentar zum Neuen Testament mit der Einheitsübersetzung 8; 2d ed.; Würzburg: Echter-Verlag, 1988) 31b.

⁶ So A. de Oliveira, *Diakonie*, 18; Linda L. Belleville versucht dagegen anhand eingehender Untersuchungen zum Briefformular und unter vergleichender Beiziehung hellenistischer Brief-

bleibt allerdings die Frage, ob die Apologie ursprünglich ein wirklicher selbstständiger Brief war, oder eher eine theologische *Abhandlung in Briefform!* Diese hätte es ermöglicht, das Elaborat den Lesern gleichsam "zuzueignen" und sie somit persönlich anzusprechen.⁷

Unter dieser Voraussetzung enthält der "Briefschluß" die Bitte des Paulus, ihn so zu nehmen wie er ist und als Apostel sein muß (6:11–13), und die Zusicherung seiner besonderen Verbundenheit mit der korinthischen Gemeinde (7:2–4). Rhetorisch handelt es sich dabei um die *conquestio*, deren Aufgabe es ist, in letztmöglicher Weise die Leser "für die eigene Partei günstig zu stimmen."⁸

Die zwischen den beiden Stücken stehende *Paränese in apokalyptischen Stil* (6:14–7:1) ist aber in zweifacher Weise umstritten:

Erstens: Aufgrund der plötzlichen Häufung von neutestamentlichen *Hapax legomena*, der sachlichen Nähe zur Qumranliteratur und der als Schriftbeweis für die Forderung, sich von (heidnischer ?) "Gesetzlosigkeit" abzuwenden, dienenden Catena alttestamentlicher Zitate wird die *paulinische Herkunft* des Abschnittes angezweifelt.⁹

Da zweitens der Text die freundliche *conquestio* abrupt und scheinbar unmotiviert unterbricht, steht auch seit langem die *originale Stellung im heutigen Kontext* in Frage. Es gibt die unterschiedlichsten Vermutungen, wo die Verse ihren originalen Platz eingenommen hätten.¹⁰ Weiters wird vermutet, es handle sich um die "Christianisierung" eines essenisch-apokalyptischen

literatur die Kapitel 1 (1:8)–7 als ursprüngliche Einheit zu erweisen ("A Letter of Apologetic Self-Commendation: 2 Cor 1:8–7:16," *NovT* 31 [1989] 142–63). Die gängige Theorie einer "secondary editorial activity" wird unter Beiziehung vieler Argumente a priori abgelehnt (p. 143 n. 4). Die von de Oliveira vorgebrachten mitunter minuziösen Beobachtungen am Text (cf., e.g., *Diakonie*, 17), wie auch seine überzeugenden Formanalysen legen es dennoch nahe, 2 Cor 2:14–7:4 als in sich geschlossene literarische Einheit zu betrachten.

⁷ Eine ähnliche Form gibt auch der Hebräerbrief zu erkennen, der wohl prinzipiell als eine Predigt oder als ein theologisch-kerygmatischer Traktat zu verstehen ist, durch den beigegebenen Briefschluß Heb 13:18–25 aber das "Aussehen" eines Briefes erhält, womit die beabsichtigte persönliche Wirkung auf die Leser erhöht wird. Siehe A. Vanhoye, *La Structure littéraire de l'Épître aux Hébreux* (Studia Neotestamentica 1; Paris/Bruges: Desclee de Brouwer, 1963) 219–22.

⁸ H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik: Eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft I* (2d ed.; München: Hueber, 1973) 436.

⁹ Zum Problem, siehe D. Georgi, *Die Gegner des Paulus im 2. Korintherbrief* (WMANT 11; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1964) 21–22; P. Feine, J. Behm, und W. G. Kümmel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (13th ed.; Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1964) 212–13.

¹⁰ H. Windisch denkt an eine versehentliche oder absichtliche Versetzung durch die Endredaktion (*Der zweite Korintherbrief* [KEK 6; 9th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1924] 220). W. Schmithals vermutet den ursprünglichen Standort nach 6:1–11 bzw. vor 9:24–27 (*Die Gnosis in Korinth* [2d ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969]). R. H. Strachan (*The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians* [MNTC; 4th ed.; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1948] 3–6) und Bultmann (*Der zweite Brief an die Korinther*, 182) denken an den in 1 Cor 5:9 erwähnten und verlorenen Brief etc.

Textes durch einen unbekannten Christen,¹¹ der im Rahmen der Endredaktion entweder einem libertinistischen Denken wehren soll,¹² oder aufgrund von antipaulinischen Vorstellungen sogar aus den Kreisen der Gegner in Korinth stammen könnte.¹³ K. G. Kuhn nimmt dagegen an, Paulus selbst habe einen essenischen Text christianisiert.¹⁴ In letzter Zeit wird die paulinische Herkunft und die Ursprünglichkeit des Textes im Rahmen der Apologie aber wieder stärker betont.¹⁵

Es ist also zu fragen, warum der Abschnitt *gerade hier* zwischen 6:13 und 7:2 geboten wird, da sowohl die Endredaktion dafür einen Grund haben mußte,¹⁶ als auch Paulus selbst, will man nicht annehmen, er habe die mit 6:2 begonnene Paränese bereits dortselbst unterbrochen und in 6:14–7:1 weitergeführt.¹⁷ Inhaltlich kommt noch das Problem hinzu, wieso in Folge der in 6:11–13 erbetenen Einheit der Adressatengemeinde mit ihrem Apostel eine Verbindung mit der heidnischen Umwelt ausgeschlossen sein soll,¹⁸ da

¹¹ Siehe J. Gnika, "2 Kor 6,14–7,1 im Lichte der Qumranschriften und der Zwölf-Patriarchen-Testamente," in *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze: Festschrift für J. Schmid zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. J. Blinzler, O. Kuss, und F. Mussner; Regensburg: Pustet, 1963) 86–99, esp. 94. Ähnlich J. A. Fitzmyer, "Qumran and the Interpolated Paragraph in 2 Cor 6:14–7:1," in *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971) 205–17, esp. 217; H. J. Wendland, *Die Briefe an die Korinther* (NTD 7; 15th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968) 214; F. Lang, *Die Briefe an die Korinther* (NTD 7; 16th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986) 310; Klauck, *2. Korintherbrief*, 60–61.

¹² Lang, *Die Briefe an die Korinther*, 310–11.

¹³ Vgl. H. D. Betz, "2 Cor 6:14–7:1: An Anti-Pauline Fragment?" *JBL* 92 (1973) 88–108; J. J. Gunther, *St. Paul's Opponents and their Background: A Study of Apocalyptic and Jewish Sectarian Teachings* (NovTSup 35; Leiden: Brill, 1973) 308–13; M. Rissi, *Studien zum zweiten Korintherbrief: Der alte Bund—der Prediger—der Tod* (ATANT 56; Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1969) 79–80; Georgi, *Die Gegner des Paulus*, 22; H.-J. Findeis, *Versöhnung—Apostolat—Kirche: Eine exegetisch-theologische und rezeptionsgeschichtliche Studie zu den Versöhnungsaussagen des Neuen Testaments (2 Kor, Röm, Kol, Eph)* (FB 40; Würzburg: Echter-Verlag, 1983) 66 n. 14.

¹⁴ Dies gilt insbesondere für die Bezeichnung der Gemeinde als "Heiligtum" oder als "Tempel Gottes" (cf. 1 Cor 3:16; 2 Cor 6:16). Siehe K. G. Kuhn, "Les rouleaux de cuivre de Qumrân," *RB* 61 (1954) 193–205, esp. 203.

¹⁵ Vgl. A. Plummer, *Second Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians* (1915; ICC; repr. Edinburgh: Clark, 1968) XXV–XXVI; Klauck, *2. Korintherbrief*, 60–61; de Oliveira, *Diakonie*, 335–40.

¹⁶ Siehe Plummer, *Second Epistle*, xxv, 205; C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (Black's New Testament Commentaries; London: Adam & Charles Black, 1979) 23–24; G. D. Fee, "II Corinthians VI.14–VII.1 and Food offered to Idols," *NTS* 23 (1974–75) 140–61; M. E. Thrall, "The Problem of II Cor vi. 14–vii.1 in some Recent Discussion," *NTS* 24 (1977–78) 132–48; V. P. Furnish, *II Corinthians* (AB 32A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984) 380, 383.

¹⁷ So Barrett, *Second Epistle*, 194; Thrall, "The Problem," 144; J. Lambrecht, "The Fragment 2 Cor vi 14–vii 1: A Plea for its Authenticity," *Miscellanea Neotestamentica II* (ed. T. Baarda, A. F. J. Klijn, und W. C. van Unnik; NovTSup 48; Leiden: Brill, 1978) 143–61; esp. 151–52.

¹⁸ Vgl. Plummer, *Second Epistle*, xxv; E. B. Allo, *Saint Paul: Seconde Epître aux Corinthiens* (EBib; 2d ed.; Paris: Gabalda, 1956) 183; P. E. Hughes, *Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962) 243–44; Fee, "II Corinthians VI.14–VII.1," 155; J. D. M. Derrett, "2 Cor 6, 14ff.: A Midrash on Dt 22, 10," *Bib* 69 (1978) 231–50, esp. 233–35.

solches den Aussagen von 1 Cor 8–10 zumindest teilweise widerspricht.¹⁹ Damit erhebt sich schließlich noch die Frage, ob mit “Gesetzlosigkeit” in 6:14 unbedingt die heidnische Welt gemeint sein muß, und warum sich Paulus, wenn der Text von ihm stammt, apokalyptisch-essenischer Topoi bedient.

II. Standort und Funktion des Textes

Hinsichtlich des Standortes des Textes konnte A. de Oliveira recht überzeugend darlegen, daß die Apologie “nach der rhetorischen Dispositionstechnik der antiken Rede ausgeführt” ist:²⁰ Der *recapitulatio* der Apologie (5:12–6:10) folgt formulargemäß die *conquestio* in 6:11–13; 7:2–4, “die bereits von der formalen Textstruktur her die *indignatio* 6:14–7:1 einschließt,”²¹ denn die in der *conquestio* affektiv gestaltete “Liebeswerbung” um seine Gründung impliziert auch die Forderung des Apostels, sich von den Gegnern zu trennen.²²

Mit der formalen Korrektheit der Anlage ist zwar bewiesen, daß die Perikope als *indignatio* im Rahmen der *conquestio* den rechten Ort einnimmt, aber die Frage, warum in der *indignatio* Ausdrucksweisen verwendet werden, die sich von denen des Kontextes so auffällig unterscheiden, ist damit noch nicht beantwortet. Hinweise, daß Begriffspaare wie δικαιοσύνη/ἀνομία (cf. Rom 6:19), φῶς/σκότος (cf. 1 Thess 5:4–5; 1 Cor 4:5; 2 Cor 4:6; Rom 2:19; 13:12), σὰρξ/πνεῦμα (cf. 1 Cor 7:34; 2 Cor 2:13; 7:5), und atl. Zitatenskombinationen (cf. 1 Cor 15:54–55; Rom 3:10–18; 9:25–26, 33; 11:26–27, 34–35) von Paulus auch andernorts verwendet werden²³ und sich somit qumranische Motive nicht nur in unserer Perikope fänden,²⁴ können aber nicht die *massive Ballung* dieser Mittel in 2 Cor 6:14–7:1 eindeutig klären.

Denkbar ist, daß Paulus selbst ein “pre-existing Jewish-Christian document” redigiert und ad hoc adaptiert hat.²⁵ In concreto wird mitunter an eine im judenchristlichen Raum beheimatete *Taufparänese* gedacht,²⁶ welche die Neophyten ermahnt, die Gefahren des Kontaktes mit der heidnischen Umwelt

¹⁹ Vgl. Thrall, “The Problem,” 144.

²⁰ De Oliveira, *Diakonie*, 421; vgl. auch die zusammenfassende Darstellung der rhetorischen Elemente (pp. 421–22) exordium, narratio, argumentatio, probatio, refutatio, peroratio (bestehend aus *recapitulatio*, *conquestio*, *indignatio*).

²¹ De Oliveira, *Diakonie*, 422.

²² Ibid., 336.

²³ Siehe auch die Zusammenstellung einer Reihe einzelner Wörter und Ausdrücke der *indignatio*, die sich auch sonst in den Paulusbriefen nachweisen lassen, in de Oliveira, *Diakonie*, 337 n. 399.

²⁴ Siehe L. Salgero, “El dualismo y San Pablo,” in *Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus Internationalis Catholicus 1961, simul secundus Congressus Internationalis de re biblica II* (AnBib 18; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1963) 549–62, esp. 555–57.

²⁵ J.-F. Collange, *Énigmes de la deuxième épître de Paul aux Corinthiens: Étude exégétique de 2 Cor 2:14–7:4* (SNTSMS 18; New York/London: Cambridge University Press, 1972) 316–17.

²⁶ Siehe G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultes in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament* (SUNT 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971) 179–82.

zu meiden, da sie den “soeben erworbenen Glaubensstand bedrohen,”²⁷ und sie zugleich auffordert, der erhaltenen Gottesgemeinschaft entsprechend an ihrer Heiligung mitzuwirken.

Da die Perikope hinsichtlich einzelner Ausdrücke und Motive mit der Apologie selbst in Verbindung steht, ist zwar die Verwendung vorgegebener judenchristlicher Traditionen durch Paulus keineswegs auszuschließen, ebenso wenig aber auch, daß Paulus selbst bewußt die indignatio nach qumranisch-apokalyptischer Manier gestaltet hat.

Es ist daher zu fragen, ob auch in *anderen* Paulusbriefen ähnlich gestaltete Schlußmahnungen vorkommen, die darauf schließen lassen, daß sich Paulus selbst des öfteren dieser Art der Gestaltung von Schlußmahnungen bedient hat.

III. Schlußmahnungen anderer Paulusbriefe

Die auffälligste Analogie zu 2 Cor 6:14–7:1 findet sich in Rom 16:17–20.²⁸ Das Stück enthält unmittelbar vor dem Schlußabschnitt 16:21–24 eine zunächst unmotiviert wirkende, scharfe Warnung vor “Irrelehrern,” die Zwietracht und Ärgernis erregen. Wie die indignatio 2 Cor 6:14–7:1 in die beiden Teile der conquestio eingebettet ist, so findet sich die in diesem Fall nicht apokalyptisch stilisierte Mahnung zwischen zwei Gruppen von Grußlisten (Rom 16:3–16, 21–23). Wie im 2. Korintherbrief die indignatio dem “Liebesangebot” der conquestio mit der Forderung, sich von den Gegnern zu trennen, entspricht, so scheint die Schlußwarnung des Römerbriefs der Selbstdarstellung des Paulus als Völkerapostel in Rom 15:14–21 und damit seines Rechtgläubigkeits- und Sendungsanspruchs in analoger Weise zu entsprechen, da sie eindeutig eine Distanzierung gegenüber Unruhestiftern theologischer und praktischer Art bezweckt.²⁹

Sprachlich wird wie für 2 Cor 6:14–7:1 darauf verwiesen, daß eine Häufung von *Hapax legomena* vorliegt, die weder im NT noch in den Aposto-

²⁷ Klauck, *2. Korintherbrief*, 61.

²⁸ Zum Problem der Echtheit bzw. der originalen Zugehörigkeit des 16. Kapitels bzw. von 16:1–23 zum Römerbrief, siehe C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans* (1975; ICC.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1987) 1. 7–10; H. Schlier, *Der Römerbrief* (HTKNT 6; Freiburg/Basel/Wien: Herder, 1977) 10–12; U. Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer* (EKK VI/1, 3; Zürich/Einsiedeln/Köln: Benziger; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978, 1982) 1. 27–33; 3. 139–40; D. Zeller, *Der Brief an die Römer* (RNT; Regensburg: Pustet, 1985) 244–46; R. Pesch, *Römerbrief* (Die Neue Echterbibel, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament mit der Einheitsübersetzung 6; 2d ed.; Würzburg: Echter-Verlag, 1987) 20–21. Nach eingehender Diskussion der einschlägigen Probleme sprechen sich die genannten Autoren für die Echtheit und ursprüngliche Zugehörigkeit des Kapitels aus, da sich die gegenteiligen Argumente nicht als absolut stichhaltig erweisen.

²⁹ Cf. Cranfield, *Romans* 2.797: “The injunction to greet one another with a holy kiss, pointing as it does to the need and the obligation to maintain the peace of the church, contains within itself an implicit warning against those things which are able to destroy that peace and against the unholy kisses of those who would attach themselves to the church’s fellowship insincerely, remaining all the time alien from it in doctrine or life.”

lischen Vätern vorkommen. So etwa χρηστολογία, εὐλογία im negativen Sinn, ἄκακος (v. 18), ἀφίκεσθαι (v. 19), ἐν τάχει (v. 20). Ebenso sagt Paulus nicht σκάνδαλα ποιεῖν, sondern τιθέναι (Rom 9:33; 14:13). Schließlich verweise der Begriff διδαχή und der "apokalyptische Siegesruf" von v. 20a auf eine apokalyptisch-judenchristliche Mentalität.³⁰ Die daraus mitunter abgeleitete Hypothese, der Abschnitt sei interpoliert,³¹ wird allerdings nicht leicht zu beweisen sein, denn einerseits läßt sich nicht zwingend erhärten, daß die *Hapax legomena* nicht von Paulus sein können, andererseits macht sich die Interpolationshypothese dadurch verdächtig, daß sie die Frage nach der Identifizierung der Gegner umgeht.³² Weiters hat v. 18b eine paulinische Parallele in Phil 2:19: "Ihr Ende ist das Verderben, ihr Gott der Bauch."³³ Schließlich ist nicht zu übersehen, daß die moralische Diffamierung von Gegnern zur antiken Topik der Diskussion mit Andersdenkenden gehört.³⁴

Die Ansicht, die von Paulus verkettzten Unruhestifter konnten nur in Ephesus, nicht aber in Rom gewirkt haben, ist zwar von Phil 3:19 her denkbar, aber nicht beweisbar, zumal Rom 15:30–32 zeigt, daß Paulus nicht nur lokale Feinde hatte. Es dürfte also kein zwingender Grund vorliegen, den Abschnitt aus dem Zusammenhang des Römerbriefs zu lösen.³⁵ Wie vielmehr die Grüße von "allen Gemeinden" (16:16) die Römer (analog zur conquestio 2 Cor 6:11–13; 7:2–4) für Paulus gewinnen sollen, so sollen die Warnungen vor Leuten, die Paulus nicht anzuerkennen und zu integrieren bereit sind, den Wahrheitsanspruch des paulinischen Evangeliums und seines berufenen Apostels absichern. Der Warnung eignet somit *gleiche Funktion* wie der indignatio in 2 Cor 6:14–7:1.

Inhaltlich ist gleichfalls eine gewisse Nähe zum Grundanliegen der paulinischen Auseinandersetzung mit den Korinthern festzustellen. Paulus ersucht in 16:17 die "Brüder" in Rom, sich auf seine Seite zu stellen, indem

³⁰ Zum Ganzen, vgl. W. H. Ollrog, "Die Abfassungsverhältnisse von Röm 16," in *Kirche: Festschrift für G. Bornkamm zum 75. Geburtstag* (ed. D. Lührmann und G. Strecker; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1980) 221–44, esp. 226–34.

³¹ Siehe E. Käsemann, *An die Römer* (HNT 8a; 4th ed.; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1980) 397; Ollrog, "Abfassungsverhältnisse," 228.

³² Siehe U. Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer* (EKK VI/3; Zürich/Einsiedeln/Köln: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982) 140.

³³ Zu v. 17, cf. auch Phil 3:2: βλέπετε τοὺς καχοὺς ἐργάτας.

³⁴ Siehe K. Berger, "Die impliziten Gegner: Zur Methode des Erschließens von 'Gegnern' in Neutestamentlichen Texten," in *Kirche: Festschrift für G. Bornkamm zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Lührmann und Strecker, 373–400, esp. 379.

³⁵ Siehe H. W. Schmidt, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer* (THKNT 6; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1963) 257. Demgegenüber vertritt noch W. Schmithals, *Der Römerbrief als historisches Problem* (SNT 9; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1975) die Ansicht, Kapitel 16 wäre eine Stück oder ein Grußbrief des Paulus nach Ephesus und wäre später dem Römerbrief beifügt worden. T. W. Manson hält Kapitel 16 für eine Beifügung zu einer nach Ephesus gesandten Kopie des Röm. Beide Hypothesen sind weithin aufgegeben ("St. Paul's Letter to the Romans—and others," in *Studies in the Gospels and Epistles* [ed. M. Black; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1962] 225–41). Cf. D. Zeller, *Der Brief an die Römer* (RNT; Regensburg: Pustet, 1985) 246.

sie sich von den Gegnern abwenden. Sie sollen jene, die διχοστασίας, d.h. getrennte Standorte, und scandala schaffen (ποιεῖν), genau "unter die Lupe nehmen" (σκοπεῖν: v. 17b). Σκάνδαλον hat wohl anders als in Rom 14:13 die Bedeutung von "Anlaß zum Abfall," wie sie auch in Rev 2:14 und in qumranischen Äußerungen begegnet.³⁶

Paulus warnt also vor Leuten, die das Zerschneiden der Einigkeit der Gemeinde bzw. Kirche betreiben und so Anlässe zum Abfall schaffen. Dieser geschieht aber als Abfall von der tradierten διδασχά (v. 17), also vom vorgegebenen, gemeinsamen und von Paulus "authentisch" interpretierten Grundkerygma (cf. 1 Thess 4:1–12; 1 Cor 15:1–5), dem τύπος διδασχῆς (Rom 6:17).

Daher wird den Unruhestiftern in 16:18 auch bescheinigt, daß sie nicht δοῦλοι des Kyrios Christos sind (cf. Rom 1:1). Damit dürften Leute apostrophiert sein, die in Anspruch nehmen, im Dienst Christi zu stehen. Ähnliche Polemik findet sich auch in 2 Cor 11:13–15 gegenüber den "Nachmissionaren" in Korinth, die Paulus als Pseudapostel, ja als getarnte διάκονοι Satans bezeichnet.³⁷ Ihnen wird wie in Phil 3:18–19 und in 2 Cor 2:17 vorgeworfen, daß sie "ihrem eigenen Bauch" dienen, d.h. daß ihnen der Dienst des Kyrios dazu recht ist, um daran zu verdienen.³⁸ Paulus kann sich diesen Vorwurf leisten, denn er selbst hat ja für seinen Heildienst zumindest in Korinth keine materielle Remuneration angenommen, da er sich radikal als Sklave seines Herrn verstand und versteht (cf. 1 Cor 9:3–18; 2 Cor 11:7–12).

Der Vorwurf schließlich, die Gegner würden durch "wohlgesetzte und wohlklingende (εὐλογία)" Rede "arglose Herzen" zu täuschen suchen, hat sein Gegenstück in der Verteidigung des Paulus gegen den Vorwurf, seine Worte seien armselig (2 Cor 10:10b) und er selbst sei ein "ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ" (2 Cor 11:6) in Gegensatz zu den "Superaposteln" in Korinth. Hier wird der Vorwurf nur umgekehrt und auf ähnliche Leute angewandt. Die Krise von Korinth, die Paulus zutiefst erschüttert hatte (cf. 2 Cor 1:8–9), mag in dieser Paränese nachwirken. Ob er eine sein Kommen nach Rom oder Jerusalem (cf. Rom

³⁶ Cf. 1QH 16:15: "Nicht soll ihm begegnen irgendein verhängnisvoller Anstoß zur Entfernung von den Satzungen des Bundes." Cf. K. H. Müller, *Anstoß und Gericht: Eine Studie zum jüdischen Hintergrund des paulinischen Skandalon-Begriffs* (SANT 19; München: Kösel, 1969) 46–67. Cf. Matt 13:41; 18:7 par; mit σκανδαλίζειν Mark 4:17 par; 9:42 par; Matt 24:10.

³⁷ Zur Situation in Korinth und die offenbar durch das Auftreten theologisch anders orientierter Missionare verursachte Vertrauenskrise der Gemeinde ihrem Gründungsapostel gegenüber, siehe G. Bornkamm, "Die Vorgeschichte des sogenannten Zweiten Korintherbriefes," *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften – Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 1961 = *Geschichte und Glaube* (BEvT 53; München: Kaiser, 1971) 2. 161–94 = *Studien zum Neuen Testament* (Berlin/München: Kaiser, 1985) 237–69; ferner Georgi, *Die Gegner des Paulus*; C. J. A. Hickling, "Is the Second Epistle to the Corinthians a Source for Early Church History?" ZNW 66 (1975) 284–87; C. K. Barrett, "Paul's Opponents in 2 Corinthians," in *Essays on Paul* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1982) 60–86; Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 502–5; Chr. Wolff, *Der zweite Brief des Paulus an die Korinther* (THK 8; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1989) 5–8; etc.

³⁸ Cf. 3 Macc 7:11, wo von abgefallenen Juden gesagt wird, sie hätten "um des Bauches willen die göttlichen Gesetze übertreten."

15:30–32) bereits vorbereitende Aktion seitens seiner Widersacher wittert, vermutet oder kennt,³⁹ kann aus dem Text wohl nicht erhoben werden.⁴⁰ Jedenfalls appelliert Paulus in 16:19 an die Weisheit der Römer, die das Gute will und unfehlbar das Böse spürt und ablehnt (cf. Sir 19:22–25; Matt 10:16).

16:20 nimmt den Friedensgruß von 15:33 wieder auf. „Der Schlußsegen von 15,33 wird nun zur eschatologischen Schutzverheißung, die zugleich einen Fluch über die Gegner impliziert.“⁴¹ Denn wie in 2 Cor 11:14–15 sieht Paulus in seinen Gegnern den Satan selbst am Werk. Anhand eines apokalyptischen Bildes⁴² wird den Lesern *ihr* Sieg über Satan durch Gottes Mitwirkung ἐν τάχει zugesprochen oder zugewünscht.⁴³ Der geläufige Charissegen (v. 20b) bildet den Abschluß und das Pendant zu v. 20a.

Überblickt man die Aussagen der Schlußmahnung des Römerbriefs, so zeigt sich, dass *ähnliche* Umstände angesprochen werden, wie sie in der korinthischen Krise konkrete Aktualität erhalten hatten. Hier werden ihre typischen und weiterhin aktuellen Phänomene warnend zur Sprache gebracht. Sie decken sich prinzipiell mit den in 2 Cor 6:14–7:1 angesprochenen Gegensätzen. Obwohl die Sprache nicht „qumranisch“ verfremdet ist, fehlt das apokalyptische Element nicht ganz. Die Gegner werden dem Satan zugewiesen, wie sie nach 2 Cor 6:14 zu *Belial* gehören. Da sich auch hinsichtlich der Funktion des Abschnittes ein analoges, wenn auch nicht völlig paralleles Bild ergibt, gehören derartige teils apokalyptisch eingefärbte Warnungen vor Andersdenkenden offenbar zum paulinischen Briefeschatokoll!

Die eben genannte These dürfte ein Blick auf die Schlußmahnungen anderer Paulusbriefe verstärken. *Formal* ähnlich angelegt umschließen in 1 Thess 5:12–22 die Empfehlungen der Verantwortlichen in der Gemeinde (5:12–13) und sieben positive Mahnsätze (5:16–22) die Paraklese, die ἀτάκτους zurechtzuweisen etc. und darauf zu achten, daß keiner Böses mit Bösem vergilt (5:14–15).⁴⁴

Interesse verdient schließlich der Briefschluß 1 Cor 16:21–24, zumal der den Grüßen und der Aufforderung zum heiligen Kuß (16:19–20) beigefügte „eigenhändige Gruß“ (16:21) vor dem Charissegen (v. 23) und der Zusicherung der Liebe des Paulus (v. 24) die Fluchformel⁴⁵ bringt: εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν Κύριον, ἦτω ἀνάθεμα (v. 22). Dieser Verwerfungsspruch impliziert die Aussonderung aus der Heilsgemeinschaft des eschatologischen Gottesvolkes, damit aber auch die Trennung von Christus und in letzter Konsequenz von Gott. In Gal 1:8–9

³⁹ A. Suhl vermutet Judaisten als Gegner des Paulus (*Paulus und seine Briefe: Ein Beitrag zur paulinischen Chronologie* [SNT 11; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1975] 282). Ebenso Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 145.

⁴⁰ Gegen Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 145.

⁴¹ Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 143.

⁴² Cf. T. Sim. 6:6; T. Levi 18:12; As. Mos. 10:1; Jub. 23:29; Rev 20:1–3.

⁴³ A 365 630 pc; f g t vg^{c1} lesen den Optativ συντρίψαι.

⁴⁴ Cf. die Ermahnung für den konkreten Streitfall zwischen Evodia und Syntyche in Phil 4:2–3.

⁴⁵ Cf. H.-W. Kuhn, „ἀνάθεμα κ.τ.λ.,“ EWNT 1. 193–94.

werden jene, die ein “anderes Evangelium” verkünden (cf. 2 Cor 11:4), mit dem Anathem belegt. Die Fluchformel bezieht sich offenbar auf Leute, die das urchristliche Grundkerygma durch eine ihm nicht entsprechende Interpretation verfälschen, sich damit als ἄπιστοι, “die den Herrn nicht lieben,” erweisen und so dem eschatologischen Gegenspieler, also dem Satan/Beliar dienen. Aus der Sicht des Paulus sind es jene, die dem Wort des berufenen Apostels den Gehorsam verweigern.⁴⁶

Die indignatio 2 Cor 6:14–7:1 fungiert wie später Rom 16:17–20 als abschließende Aufforderung zur Distanzierung von kerygmatischen Gegenpositionen und ihren Vertretern. Durch die Einbeziehung apokalyptisch-dualistischer Begriffe, durch welche die Gegner in den Bereich des endzeitlichen Gegenspielers verwiesen, Paulus und seine Hörer aber als eschatologischer Tempel Gottes anhand des atl. Gotteswortes ausgewiesen werden, erscheint die indignatio wie ein *ausgebautes Anathem* (cf. 1 Cor 16:22). Ob allerdings aus dem Umstand, daß das Anathem über die den Herrn nicht Liebenden (cf. 1 Cor 16:22) auf die Aufforderung zum heiligen Kuß (1 Cor 16:20b) folgt (cf. Rom 16:16, 17–20), geschlossen werden kann, daß es wie dieser seinen “Ort” zu Beginn des eucharistischen Mahles hatte, von dem Unruhe-stifter bzw. “Ungläubige” auszuschließen waren,⁴⁷ mag dahingestellt sein.

IV. Ergebnis

1. Die Ansicht, 2 Cor 6:14–7:1 sei von der Endredaktion des 2 Korintherbriefs (oder von Paulus selbst) an falscher Stelle eingefügt worden, läßt sich aus der Anwendung vorgegebener rhetorischer Strukturen und dem auf die Situation wie auf die Aussagen der Apologie bezogenen Inhalt widerlegen.

2. Die Frage, ob der Text von Paulus selbst stammen kann, beantwortet sich vor allem durch den Vergleich mit Rom 16:17–20 und im Blick auf 1 Cor 16:22. Die Warnung vor “Irrlehrern” bildet rhetorisch die indignatio, sachlich ein erweitertes Anathem über jene, die nicht (mehr) im Glauben, und d.h. in der Einheit mit dem Apostel Christi stehen.

3. Die offenbar bewußte Einbeziehung apokalyptisch gefärbter Sprache verdeutlicht schließlich die Tiefendimension der theologischen Auseinandersetzung, indem sie diese in den Rahmen des eschatologischen Endkampfes Christi mit Beliar und deren Gefolge stellt. Διχαιοσύνη und Licht, ἀνομία und Finsternis (v. 14b/c) werden somit an Personen (v. 15a) gebunden, “indem die Herrscher dieser beiden Welten einander gegenüber treten.”⁴⁸ Die Gegner des Apostels werden somit indirekt dem Bereich der Satansmächte zugewiesen (cf. 11:13–15).⁴⁹ Ihr Tun erscheint dann gleichsam als antichristliche Agitation

⁴⁶ Zum deuteropaulinischen Nachklang cf. 2 Thess 3:14.

⁴⁷ Cf. C. H. Hunzinger, “Bann II.2” (TRE 5; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1980) 164–67, esp. 164.

⁴⁸ Wendland, *Die Briefe an die Korinther*, 213.

⁴⁹ Cf. 2 Cor 4:3–4, wo Paulus gleichfalls die Metapher von Dunkelheit und Licht auf Ungläubige und Gläubige appliziert.

gegen den apostolischen Christusglauben (cf. 11:3), bzw. gegen die wahre Gottesgemeinde, den "Tempel Gottes" (v. 15b, 16a/b cf. 1 Cor 3: 16f.; 6:19).

Daraus ergibt sich die im 2. Teil der Schriftcatena grundgelegte Aufforderung an die Gemeinde, sich von den sie "beschmutzenden" Gegnern abzuwenden und zum Imperativ des von Paulus verkündeten Evangeliums zurückzukehren. Das bedeutet, den täglichen Vollzug der erhaltenen "Heiligung in Gottesfurcht"⁵⁰ (7:1) wieder ernsthaft in Angriff zu nehmen, und so dem Taufimperativ gemäß zu leben. Solches verlangt die Ehrfurcht und Furcht vor dem Urteil des Pantokrator (6:18c).

⁵⁰ P⁴⁶ schreibt ἐν ἀγάπῃ. Die Lesart ist allerdings singulär.

"RICHES FOR THE GENTILES" (ROM 11:12): ISRAEL'S REJECTION AND PAUL'S GENTILE MISSION

TERENCE L. DONALDSON

College of Emmanuel & St. Chad, Saskatoon, SK, S7N 0W6, Canada

In recent years, the structure of Paul's thought, especially as it relates to Jews and Judaism, has been undergoing significant scholarly reappraisal.¹ This change has been effected in part by the emergence of a more accurate and sympathetic understanding of the nature of first-century Judaism.² Just as significant a factor, though, has been the sobering impact on Christian scholarship of the Holocaust and its aftermath. As they came to realize the extent of Christian complicity in the "final solution"³ — centuries of anti-Judaic preaching and teaching having contributed significantly to the creation of social attitudes capable of perceiving the continuing existence of Jews and Judaism as a problem — Christian scholars were driven to undertake a new and chastened examination of New Testament statements concerning Jews and Judaism, those of Paul included.⁴

In this scholarly reappraisal, Romans 11 plays a prominent, if paradoxical, role. On the one hand, the major themes of this reappraisal — justification by faith as a tactical argument to defend the Gentile mission, rather than the core of Paul's thought; Paul's conversion experience as a "call" to be a Jewish apostle to the Gentiles, rather than as an abandonment of his Jewish identity

¹ Some describe recent developments as a "paradigm shift"; see R. Jewett, "The Law and the Coexistence of Jews and Gentiles in Romans," *Int* 39 (1985) 341; John G. Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983) 198-99; Robert Morgan, as cited by P. Sedgwick, "'Justification by Faith': One Doctrine, Many Debates?" *Theology* 93 (1990) 11. Others make the same observation in different terms, e.g., J. D. G. Dunn, "The New Perspective on Paul," *BJRL* 65 (1983) 97, 100; M. A. Getty, "Paul and the Salvation of Israel: A Perspective on Romans 9-11," *CBQ* 50 (1988) 456.

² E. P. Sanders's work, of course, has been highly influential in this regard: *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977); and *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983). But his criticism of scholarly Christian caricatures of Judaism echoes notes already sounded earlier in the century by such Jewish scholars as C. G. Montefiore and S. Schechter, and sympathetic Christian scholars such as G. F. Moore and J. Parkes.

³ For a survey of this process of realization, see Gager, *Origins of Anti-Semitism*, 13-23.

⁴ Rosemary Ruether's *Faith and Fratricide* (Minneapolis: Seabury, 1974), of course, has been widely influential in this regard. Cf. H. Räisänen: "No one can study Paul today without being aware of the challenge of the Holocaust to biblical interpretation" ("Paul, God and Israel: Romans 9-11 in Recent Research," in *The Social World of Formative Christianity* [ed. J. Neusner et al.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988] 179).

altogether; Israel as an entity with continuing theological significance κατὰ σάρκα, not simply taken over by the church without remainder — have all been shaped in significant ways by the angle of vision provided by Romans 11.⁵ But on the other hand, Romans 11 contains statements that have been taken as supportive of what might be termed “replacement ecclesiology,” that is, the idea that the (Gentile⁶) church owes its existence to the rejection of Israel, God having rejected the one and put the other in its place. Such ideas formed a central strand of the *adversus Judaeos* tradition of early Gentile Christianity and thus contributed in no small measure to the legacy of Christian anti-Semitism. Much of Romans 11 could be referred to in this connection; but I want to draw attention in particular to vv. 11–12 and 15, where Paul states that the salvation/riches/reconciliation of the Gentiles has been made possible by the stumbling/defeat/rejection of Israel.

My purpose in this paper is to take a fresh look at these statements from the standpoint provided by the “new perspective on Paul,”⁷ inquiring as to the logic by which Paul links the “misstep of the Jews” to the “riches of the Gentiles,” with a view to shedding new light on the convictions undergirding Paul’s mission to the Gentiles.

I. Displacement Readings of Romans 11:11–12, 15

By the latter half of the second century CE, displacement approaches to the relationship between the church and Israel were well established within the developing Christian self-understanding.⁸ For Justin, the church is Rachel, the loved wife who has displaced the earlier wife Leah, laying sole claim to the name and family possessions of Israel in the process (*Dial.* 134–35). Tertullian sees the same displacement of the Jews by the Gentiles prefigured

⁵ As an example, one might point to the prominence of Romans 9–11 in K. Stendahl’s celebrated essay “Paul among Jews and Gentiles”; see the book by the same title (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976) 4. While the influence of other factors is not to be minimized, the point could be developed at length; cf. Jewett, “Coexistence of Jews and Gentiles in Romans.”

⁶ In Romans 11 Paul is discussing Jews and Gentiles, not Israel and the church. Unlike second-century apologists, for whom “church” and (Christian) “Gentiles” were synonymous terms (see, e.g., Tertullian, *Answer to the Jews* 1), for Paul these categories were quite distinct. His concern was with the inclusion of Gentiles into a church that was obviously Jewish in origin and essence. That is, if he has replacement in view, it is not the replacement of Israel by the church, but the replacement of some Jews by Gentiles. But in view of the rapid “Gentilization” of Christianity, the problems posed for Christian–Jewish dialogue by those aspects of Romans 11 under discussion here remain.

⁷ The phrase is that of J. D. G. Dunn; see “The New Perspective on Paul.”

⁸ While it is not to be denied that the roots of this approach go back much earlier, it is also to be recognized that it was not until the post-Bar Kokhba period that the separation of Christianity from Judaism was (in large measure) complete — and seen to be complete — by Christians, Jews, and Romans alike. See esp. Marcel Simon, *Verus Israel* (1968; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), and Peter Richardson, *Israel in the Apostolic Church* (SNTSMS 10; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

in the story of the usurper Jacob (*Answer to the Jews* 1). Cyprian assembles a massive collection of scriptural arguments to demonstrate that “the Gentiles instead of the Jews should attain to the kingdom of heaven” (*Test.* 1.23). This strand of the *adversus Judaeos* tradition has been well studied and need not be further developed here.⁹

Romans 11 does not figure prominently in the *adversus Judaeos* tradition; for reasons of apologetic effectiveness, that tradition consisted in large measure of ingeniously anti-Jewish interpretations of the Jewish scriptures themselves. But not surprisingly, especially in view of the pruning-grafting analogy of vv. 17–24, exegesis of the chapter from patristic times and into the present day has tended to assume that “displacement logic” is at work in Paul’s description of the “riches of the Gentiles.” John Chrysostom, for example, paraphrases Paul’s address to the Gentiles in these terms: “For it is *into their place* that you have been set, and their goods that you enjoy” (*Homilies on Romans* 19 [on Rom 11:18]). Lucien Cerfaux sounds a similar note in our own day: “The rejection of the mass of the Jewish people was necessary for God’s plan, and it *made way* for the Gentiles.”¹⁰

As these quotations illustrate, the logic of displacement operates on the basis of a concept of place, or space. The Gentiles occupy the place—in the people of God, in God’s sphere of attention, in the ongoing course of salvation history—that had been the exclusive preserve of the Jews. It is the removal of the great majority of the Jews that makes possible a place for the Gentiles. Paul Achtemeier describes the logic clearly in his comment on v. 11: “Israel’s stumbling was the occasion for redemption to be opened to gentiles. There is almost a spatial analogy here. Only if some Israelites have been cleared out will there be room for gentiles.”¹¹

But how accurate a description is this of the logic by which Paul links the failure of Israel and the riches of the Gentiles? The olive tree analogy—with its contrast between the natural branches removed from the tree and the wild branches grafted onto it—might seem to provide definite support for such a reading; it evidently has in Achtemeier’s case.¹² But there are weighty objections to be raised.

First, since apparently in the end there will be plenty of room not only for the “fullness of the Gentiles” but also for “all Israel” (vv. 25–26), it hardly seems necessary for some to be cleared out in order to make way for others; there is no shortage of space on God’s olive tree. This observation may seem

⁹ For general surveys, see Simon, *Verus Israel*; James Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue* (1936; repr. New York: Atheneum, 1985); Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide*, 117–82. See also Robert L. Wilken’s sensitive studies of individual figures; e.g., *John Chrysostom and the Jews* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1983).

¹⁰ L. Cerfaux, *The Christian in the Theology of St. Paul* (New York: Herder & Herder, 1967) 70 (emphasis added).

¹¹ Paul J. Achtemeier, *Romans* (Interpretation Commentary; Atlanta: John Knox, 1985) 180.

¹² *Ibid.*, 180, 183; see the statements about the apostles turning to the Gentiles.

pedantic; analogies can be pressed only so far. Nevertheless, it does draw attention to an aspect of Romans 9–11 that should act as a caution against any simple account of Paul's logic here — namely, his insistence, against the evidence of his senses and the flow of the argument from 9:1 to 11:10, on the ultimate salvation of "all Israel." To this we shall return below.

Second, Paul seems just as concerned to link the salvation of the Gentiles with the existence of the believing Jewish Christian remnant. Not only does the existence of the remnant bode well for Israel in the future (v. 16¹³), but it also is related positively to the blessings experienced by the Gentiles in the present. Paul's grammar in v. 17 may be rough,¹⁴ but the thought is clear: the Gentiles who have been grafted onto the olive tree have come to join the natural branches already there (ἐν αὐτοῖς), the latter sharing (συγκοινωνός) with the newcomers the goodness that was naturally theirs. It is unfortunate that the NRSV perpetuates the RSV's mistranslation of ἐν αὐτοῖς ("in their place"); the thrust of the verse is that Gentiles join the Jews who believe, not that they replace the Jews who do not. The idea appears in even stronger form in 15:27, where the Gentiles are said to be indebted (ὀφειλέται) to the Jewish Christians for the spiritual blessings the latter have shared (ἐκοινωνήσαν) with them.¹⁵ To this observation, we might also add 11:1, where Paul demonstrates the existence of a Jewish remnant by pointing to himself; that is, it is as a member of the remnant of Israel that he carries out his special ministry bringing the gospel to the Gentiles (cf. 1:5; 11:13). However the riches of the Gentiles are linked to the failure of the Jewish majority, they are linked just as tightly to the success of the believing remnant. Any satisfactory reconstruction of Paul's argument needs to account for both.

These observations, though compelling, are not decisive. What clinches

¹³ The most probable interpretation of ἀπαρχή and φύραμα is that they refer to the remnant and Israel respectively; for a defense of this reading, together with a discussion of the alternatives, see C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (2 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: Clark, 1975, 1979) 2. 564–65.

¹⁴ The nearest antecedent for αὐτοῖς is τῶν κλάδων; this gives rise to the displacement rendering ("in their place") of the RSV and NRSV. There is no justification, however, for such a reading. Not only would it require ἀντὶ in place of ἐν, but the prefix of συγκοινωνός makes it virtually certain that αὐτοῖς refers, albeit awkwardly, to the natural branches that remain. Scholarly opinion is virtually unanimous that a shift in antecedent is much more probable than the reading chosen by the RSV; see, e.g., Cranfield, *Romans* 2. 567; J. D. G. Dunn, *Romans* (2 vols.; Dallas: Word, 1988) 2. 661; E. Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980) 308. Somewhat surprisingly, given his sensitivity to the place of Israel in NT theology, Markus Barth accepts the translation "in their place," though he argues that the apparent "succession" theology of this statement is undercut in the rest of the passage; see *The People of God* (JSNTSup 5; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985) 42; so also A. Nygren, *Commentary on Romans* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1949) 399. For the (unlikely) opinion that "among them" refers to the branches lopped off, see W. D. Davies, "Paul and the Gentiles: A Suggestion Concerning Romans 11:13–24," in *Jewish and Pauline Studies* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) 155.

¹⁵ N. A. Dahl sees a conceptual link between the two passages; see Dahl, "The Future of Israel," in *Studies in Paul* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1977) 141.

the argument against a displacement reading of the passages in question, though, is that the one time such an interpretation of the Gentiles' status comes up for discussion, Paul rejects it emphatically. I refer to vv. 19–24. The displacement idea, placed in the mouth of Gentile Christians, appears in v. 19: "You will say, 'Branches were broken off so that I might be grafted in,'" the displacement logic coming to expression in the balanced contrast of the ἐκ- (ἐξεκλάσθησαν) and ἐν- (ἐγκεντρίσθω) prefixes, linked by ἵνα. Paul's reply gives the initial impression that he agrees with the proposition: καλῶς, "well" (v. 20). But as he continues, he makes clear that he does not accept any direct cause-and-effect displacement link at all. It is faith, or the lack of it, that determines one's place on the tree.¹⁶ Any smug Gentile assumption that they are in because the others are out is sharply condemned.

What then of καλῶς? Clearly it does not indicate wholehearted agreement; once again the RSV and NRSV rendering ("that is true") is unnecessarily anti-Judaic. Used as a reply, καλῶς can have a range of meanings, from full approval ("well said") through ironic concession to polite refusal ("no, thank you").¹⁷ Since Paul sees some connection between the "failure" of the Jews and the "riches" of the Gentiles, καλῶς should probably not be taken in the latter sense of refusal. T. W. Manson is probably closer to the truth when he says: "The adverb *kalōs* is probably ironical and should be translated 'Well, well!' rather than, 'That is true.'"¹⁸ In any case, while the ingrafted branches may have benefited somehow from the lack of faith of the others, it was not by the direct means of simple displacement.

Other attempts have been made, though, to account for the logic at work in Paul's linkage of Jewish stumbling and Gentile riches. To these we must now turn.

II. Other Readings

To this point, we have not inquired as to the precise nature of Israel's stumbling/defeat/rejection. The usual assumption — and certainly the assumption at work in displacement readings — is that Israel's failure consisted in its

¹⁶ To his credit, Chrysostom gives due weight to this point: "For even if these had fallen a thousand times, the Gentiles would not have been saved unless they had shown faith. As the Jews likewise would not have perished unless they had been unbelieving and disputatious" (*Homilies on Romans* 19 [on 11:12]).

¹⁷ See the entry for καλός in LSJ. An example of polite refusal appears in Aristophanes' play *Ranae* (line 888), where Euripides replies to the urging of Dionysus ("Now put on incense, you") in these words: "Excuse me, no (καλῶς); my vows are paid to other gods than these" (Loeb translation).

¹⁸ T. W. Manson, "Romans," in *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (ed. M. Black; London/New York: Nelson, 1962) 949. See also Leon Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988) 414.

rejection of the (post-Easter) gospel.¹⁹ The first two approaches to be considered here explain Paul's logic by defining the failure differently.

First, Karl Barth, followed with some qualification by Cranfield, has suggested that Israel's παράπτωμα was the crucifixion itself.²⁰ Cranfield finds justification for such a reading in the parallel statement in v. 15, where Israel's failure is said to have accomplished the reconciliation (καταλλαγή) of the world, since the only other occurrence of reconciliation language in Romans (5:10–11) is with reference to Christ's death. In such a reading, the logical link would be found in the universal saving significance of Christ's death: Israel stumbled, by "[delivering] up their rejected Messiah to the Gentiles for crucifixion,"²¹ but God used this to bring salvation to all.

This reading is intriguing, but in the end unconvincing. First, even if παράπτωμα were not a continuation of the footrace metaphor (9:30–33; 11:11),²² Israel's failure has clearly been defined in 10:5–24 in terms of a rejection of the gospel of Christ dead and risen. Further, in the passage as a whole, "stumbling" stands in contrast both with the action of the believing remnant (vv. 5–7)—where surely the point is not that these were not involved in Christ's crucifixion, but that they have believed his death to be salvific—and with the future "full inclusion" (v. 12; cf. vv. 25–26)—which will involve not an uncrucifying of Jesus, but (presumably²³) an acceptance of the crucified Messiah. The presence of καταλλαγή is not significant enough to outweigh these considerations.

A different understanding of Israel's "misstep" has been proposed by Lloyd Gaston.²⁴ His interpretation of the passages under discussion is part of a wider attempt to argue for a two-covenant understanding of Paul. For Gaston's Paul, Christ is not the Messiah of Israel, but God's means of extending righteousness to the Gentiles; the Torah remains God's intended means of righteousness for Jews. Christ and Torah serve then to define two separate communities of faith and righteousness—one of Gentiles, the other of Jews. Paul's letters are all addressed to Gentiles, dealing with Gentile Christian issues. His responses to Jewish opponents do not bear on Torah religion itself, but only address criticism of his Gentile mission. In Gaston's reading of Romans 11, the

¹⁹ See, e.g., J. Munck, *Christ and Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967) 120; Achtemeier, *Romans*, 180.

²⁰ K. Barth, *Church Dogmatics* II/2 (Edinburgh: Clark, 1957) 278–79; Cranfield, *Romans* 2. 556. Cranfield combines this reading with the more usual one.

²¹ Barth, *Church Dogmatics* II/2. 279.

²² So Cranfield, *Romans* 2. 555–56.

²³ See the next point.

²⁴ L. Gaston, "Israel's Misstep in the Eyes of Paul," in *Paul and the Torah* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987) 135–50. Gaston has been followed, not only on this particular point but also in the overall framework, by Philip A. Cunningham, *Jewish Apostle to the Gentiles* (Mystic, CT: Twenty-Third Publications, 1986); on Israel's failure, see p. 70. Gaston's position is also adopted by Gager, though with some modifications concerning Israel's stumbling and its consequences; see *Origins of Anti-Semitism*, esp. pp. 247–64.

remnant consists not of Jewish believers in Jesus but of those like Paul who have recognized the significance of Christ for the Gentiles and thus are engaging in a Gentile mission. The misstep of the rest is their refusal to recognize this and their resultant opposition to Paul's mission.

This is not the place to deal in any global way with Gaston's interpretative program. Although stimulating and replete with fresh insight, it has to rely too much on special pleading to make much headway against the stream both of Paul's rhetoric and of current scholarly opinion.²⁵ But even on the narrower point under discussion here, Gaston's identification runs into serious difficulties. For Paul, Israel's misstep somehow has made possible the riches of salvation coming to the Gentiles. But in what conceivable way could the misstep as Gaston perceives it—Israel's failure to recognize the significance of Christ for the Gentiles and the legitimacy of Paul's Gentile mission—be the thing that makes that mission (or at least its success) possible? If anything, it makes it more difficult (cf. 1 Thess 2:14–16). However much one might wish that Gaston were correct, the texts themselves indicate otherwise.

In the more usual interpretation of Israel's failure as its rejection (in large measure) of the gospel, a more common reading of the passage under discussion is to see it primarily as Paul's theological reflection on his own experience. As he writes—so this line of interpretation goes²⁶—he is aware that his own preaching among the Gentiles has met with much greater success than that of other apostles among the Jews. Indeed, if the witness of Acts is reliable, Paul himself turns to the Gentiles only after his preaching runs aground among the Jews (13:44–49; 18:5–8; 28:23–28). Believing that what has happened must be part of God's plan, and that God's plan must include the eventual salvation of Israel itself, he links together in a sequence the failure of the Jewish mission, the success of the mission to the Gentiles, and the eventual salvation of "all Israel" (perhaps as a reworking of traditional Gentile pilgrimage expectations²⁷). Since the sequence is divinely intended, Paul can assume that the stumbling of the Jews and the salvation of the Gentiles are causally linked, and so can write as he does in vv. 11–12 and 15.

In this approach, then, the nature of the causal link is not to be identified with precision. At most, Paul has in mind the fact that Jewish rejection

²⁵ See, e.g., the devastating critique by Räisänen in "Paul, God, and Israel," 189–91. A more sympathetic, though no less critical, assessment of Gaston can be found in E. Elizabeth Johnson, *The Function of Apocalyptic and Wisdom Traditions in Romans 9–11* (SBLDS 109; Atlanta: Scholars, 1989) 176–205.

²⁶ This approach is taken, with variations in detail, by many; e.g., F. Mussner, *Tractate on the Jews* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) 211; Achtemeier, *Romans*, 180; Barnabas Lindars, "The Old Testament and Universalism in Paul," *BJRL* 69 (1987) 513; Dahl, "Future of Israel," 150; C. H. Dodd, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1932) 176–77; Dunn, *Romans* 2. 667; John Ziesler, *Paul's Letter to the Romans* (London: SCM; Philadelphia: TPI, 1989) 273–74; Cranfield, *Romans* 2. 556; Nygren, *Romans*, 395; W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, *The Epistle to the Romans* (ICC; Edinburgh: Clark, 1902) 321.

²⁷ On this point, see below, pp. 91–92.

of the Gospel has forced the apostles to turn to the Gentiles and to expend more energy on the Gentile mission. But the logic is essentially circumstantial, a reflection on experience, a belief that what has happened must have been the result of divine purpose. In Dahl's words: "We should not overstress the correlation of cause and effect. We do not need to consider Jewish rejection of the gospel a necessary condition for its acceptance by the Gentiles. Paul interprets what actually happened."²⁸ One result of reading Romans 11 in this way is that, except for the small group of scholars who believe that Paul began his Gentile mission only after experiencing disappointment and rejection among the Jews,²⁹ the passage is not to be seen as shedding any light on Paul's real thinking about the foundations and urgent necessity of the Gentile mission. The argument is circumstantial, and the circumstances in question developed long after Paul had begun his work among the Gentiles.

I certainly believe that we must see the argument of Romans 11 as experience-driven. But before we can understand Paul's argument in light of his experience, we need to take into account one other aspect of his argumentation — the startling lack of logical consistency in Romans 9–11. This has been frequently noted of late³⁰ and will lead us into the final, and most penetrating, contemporary analysis of the logic at work in our passages.

²⁸ Dahl, "The Future of Israel," 150. Ben F. Meyer assesses Paul's statements in Acts in similar terms, differentiating between "a condition of possibility (that without which the world mission could not have taken place at all)" and "a condition of actuality (that without which it would not have taken place in the way it actually did)" (*The Early Christians: Their World Mission and Self-Discovery* [Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1986] 93–94). For a similar reluctance to press the causal connection or to see the rejection of Israel as essential, see the comments of Calvin and Luther in their commentaries on this passage.

²⁹ This view has been put forward again recently by Francis Watson; see *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles* (SNTSMS 56; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 28–38. For earlier presentations of the same position, see W. Wrede, *Paul* (London: Green, 1907) 10–11, 42–43; J. Klausner, *From Jesus to Paul* (New York: Macmillan, 1943) 331–46; M. S. Enslin, *Reapproaching Paul* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972) 63–80; E. P. Blair, "Paul's Call to the Gentile Mission," *BR* 10 (1965) 19–33.

Perhaps this is the place to mention the group of scholars who also are of the opinion that the temporary rejection of Israel was a foundational belief for Paul's Gentile mission but who also feel that this conception was there from the beginning, being contained in the Damascus revelation itself; see W. Grundmann, "Aus dem Volke Israel, Apostel der Völker," *NovT* 4 (1960) 290; Stendahl, *Paul among Jews and Gentiles*, 28–29; Seyoon Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982) 74–99. But to be meaningful, something perceived as a revelation needs to be incorporable into a larger framework of meaning. At the very least, this approach would have to demonstrate how the conception of the *failure* of the gospel within Israel could have made sense to one who had been driven to zealous persecution of the Jewish church because of its *success*. Simply to describe the contents of Romans 11 as Paul's special revelation so privileges his Damascus experience as to disconnect it from the rest of his convictions and thought.

³⁰ See esp. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, 192–98; and Räisänen, "Paul, God and Israel"; also Richardson, *Israel in the Apostolic Church*, 126–27; W. D. Davies, "Paul and the People of Israel," *NTS* 24 (1977–78) 33; Getty, "Paul and the Salvation of Israel," 462; Bruce W. Longenecker, "Different Answers to Different Issues: Israel, the Gentiles and Salvation History in Romans 9–11," *JSNT* 36 (1989) 95–123.

There is nothing unclear about the goal of the argument in chaps. 9–11: Paul wants to deny that the law-free mission to the Gentiles, and its relative success in comparison to the Jewish mission, represents the failure of God's covenantal promises to historic Israel. But the route he traces out to reach it is virtually unnavigable. We cannot here explore the argument in detail. For our purposes the place to begin is with the unanticipated shift that appears at 11:11. Perhaps the most economical way of describing it is to say that while in 9:1–11:10³¹ the thrust of the argument is that the present situation is in no way inconsistent with God's promises to Israel, the argument from 11:11 proceeds on the assumption that the present situation has to be overturned if God is to be proved faithful.

Up to 11:10 Paul has defined Israel solely in terms of the faithful remnant (9:6b–9; 11:1–10); defended God's elective freedom to choose the children of promise from the Gentiles as well as the Jews (9:10–29); and demonstrated the culpability of the remainder of Israel for rejecting the gospel (9:30–10:21). Paul seems clearly to be arguing that the *present* situation—a remnant of believing Jews, a growing body of faithful Gentiles, and a hardened majority of Abraham's natural offspring—in no way indicates that “the word of God” to Israel has “failed” (cf. 9:6).

But from 11:11 the argument proceeds on the assumption that only if Paul can establish the eventual salvation of “all Israel”—a category quite distinct from the present remnant—will he be able to affirm that “God has not rejected his people” (cf. 11:1). In the process, he executes bewildering shifts not only in his definition of “Israel” but also in the theological value of the remnant (from: true Israel / to: sanctifying core) and of the rest (not part of Israel / an essential part of Israel); in the nature of election (glory for the vessels of mercy and destruction for the vessels of wrath / all consigned to disobedience so that God can have mercy on all); and in the status of the Gentiles (equal with the Jews and part of God's covenant people / distinct from, and stimulating the salvation of, “all Israel”). And as the argument of chap. 11 unfolds, it makes several other dazzling leaps³²—including that of the argument of vv. 11–12 and 15. In its formal structure the argument in these verses corresponds to a *qal wahomer* argument, arguing from the lesser to the greater.³³ But in substance the argument moves instead from a negative cause (“defeat”) to its positive (“full inclusion”), which one would expect to lead more naturally to a similar inversion of the resultant effects.³⁴

³¹ This is not to overlook the logical tensions within this section; see Räisänen, “Paul, God and Israel,” 181–87.

³² Cf. Sanders's comment on Paul's “jealousy” argument: “Does he really think that jealousy will succeed where Peter failed?” (*Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, 198).

³³ Paul uses this type of argumentation, usually with *πόσω μάλλον*, elsewhere, e.g., Rom 5:9, 10; 11:24; 2 Cor 3:9, 11.

³⁴ See Dahl, “The Future of Israel,” 150–51.

Our main interest here has to do with Paul's argument for the inclusion of the "fullness of the Gentiles," not for the salvation of "all Israel." Nevertheless, the preceding discussion is valuable for the light it sheds on Paul's argumentation. Romans 11 is a parade example of what Pauline scholarship has increasingly come to recognize — the necessity of differentiating between argumentative logic, operative at the rhetorical surface of Paul's letters, and convictional logic, the deeper interplay of his fundamental convictions. At the surface level, Paul's letters represent various attempts through rhetorical device and theological argumentation to deal with practical problems that have emerged in his congregations. But underlying these contingent and conceptual levels in the text is a set of basic convictions (about Christ, Israel, the Torah, the Gentiles, etc.) that seldom emerge explicitly but nevertheless provide the tacit "semantic universe" in which the text in all its aspects has its being. This distinction between arguments and convictions has been developed in different ways in contemporary Pauline studies;³⁵ but to move our own study forward we will refer to the work of E. P. Sanders.

As is well known, Sanders proposes that to make sense of the argument of Romans we need to examine it with reference to a set of underlying convictions: (1) God has provided for the salvation of all in Christ; (2) this salvation is available to Gentiles and Jews alike on the same basis, namely, faith in Christ; (3) God has appointed Paul as apostle to the Gentiles.³⁶ But what gives rise to the discussion in chaps. 9–11 is that as the church's mission has developed, these Christian convictions have come into conflict with another conviction stemming from Paul's Jewish heritage — that God's elective calling of Israel is irrevocable (cf. Rom 11:28–29). The failure of the Jewish mission presents Paul with a "dilemma": "How could God have willed the election and ultimately the redemption of Israel *and* have appointed Jesus Christ, whom most Jews were rejecting, for the salvation of all without distinction?"³⁷ The anguished argument of chaps. 9–11 represents Paul's struggle to hold these convictions together in a situation where history was bringing them into open contradiction and conflict.

Sanders does not comment at any length on the verses under discussion here (vv. 11–12, 15). But an analysis of these verses from his perspective would not be too concerned to specify the logical grounds on which Paul could see positive results for the Gentiles stemming from the failure of Israel. Rather,

³⁵ See Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*; *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*; J. Christiaan Beker, *Paul the Apostle* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980); Daniel Patte, *Paul's Faith and the Power of the Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983); R. David Kaylor, *Paul's Covenant Community: Jew and Gentile in Romans* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1988); and the work of the SBL Pauline Theology Group, some of which has now appeared in vol. 1 of *Pauline Theology* (ed. Jouette Bassler; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991).

³⁶ Several such lists appear, with slight variations in detail; see *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* 441–42; *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, 5, 47.

³⁷ Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, 197.

it would take startling disjunctions in the argumentative logic—Why if the world is blessed through Israel's failure should it also be blessed through its success? (or vice versa)—as indicators of a more fundamental convictional logic at work beneath the argumentative surface of the text. The fact that Paul wants to link the Gentile mission in a causal sequence in which its success is both due to Israel's rejection and the ultimate trigger for Israel's acceptance, despite the logical difficulties in so doing, demonstrates the intensity with which he holds these apparently conflicting convictions. Seen from this perspective, then, scholarly investigation of these verses should be concerned not to ascertain any logical consistency but to use the cracks in the argument as windows into the underlying structure of Paul's convictional world.

Sanders's analysis is penetrating and certainly represents the way in which Pauline studies should go. But at the same time it needs to be asked whether he has given enough attention to the place of the *Gentiles* within the structure of Paul's convictions. As Sanders understands him, Paul believed both (1) that Christ had accomplished salvation, on equal terms, *for all* (Gentiles as well as Jews), and (2) that there was enduring validity to God's election of *Israel*. Such convictions are not necessarily incompatible;³⁸ nevertheless, if they were to be held with any degree of integrity, they required some correlation, at a basic level, of the relationship between the Gentiles (conviction 1) and Israel (conviction 2). It is difficult to imagine someone holding firmly to (2) and engaging in a mission to the Gentiles on the basis of (1), without having some conception of how the Gentile mission related to Israel.

In fairness, it needs to be recognized that Sanders does express an opinion as to this relationship as Paul perceived it, not—it is true—in the main body of his analysis, but in his appended discussion of "Paul and the Jewish People."³⁹ Here he argues that "Paul's entire work, both evangelizing and collecting money, had its setting in the expected pilgrimage of the Gentiles to Mount Zion in the last days."⁴⁰ Of course, for Paul to make use of this traditional framework,⁴¹ it had to be revised not only christologically but—as the failure of the Jewish mission became more and more apparent—temporally as well: "the eschatological scheme has been reversed; Israel will be saved not first, but as a result of the Gentile mission."⁴²

If this is how Paul conceived his mission, then the logic of Rom 11:11–12, 15 is doubly puzzling, for in addition to the logical problems discussed above,

³⁸ Second Temple Judaism knew of several "patterns of universalism," in which a place was made available for Gentiles without denying the essential framework of covenantal nomism; see, e.g., my paper "Proselytes or 'Righteous Gentiles'? The Status of Gentiles in Eschatological Pilgrimage Patterns of Thought," *JSP* 7 (1990) 3–27.

³⁹ In *Paul, the Law, the Jewish People*, 171–210.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 171.

⁴¹ For a discussion of this tradition, see my paper "Proselytes or 'Righteous Gentiles,'?" together with the literature cited therein.

⁴² Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, 195.

in the eschatological pilgrimage scenario the salvation of the Gentiles was predicated not on Israel's rejection and failure but on its restoration and glorification. Despite the widespread acceptance of this eschatological pilgrimage reading of Paul,⁴³ however, it is not firmly grounded. Paul never cites pilgrimage texts, despite plenty of opportunities and occasions where such biblical support would have been useful.⁴⁴ Further, this approach slides all too easily over the problems posed by the putative inversion of the order of salvation of Israel and the Gentiles. Such an inversion would represent not a simple modification in detail, but the abandonment of the foundation of the tradition itself. In the eschatological pilgrimage tradition, the salvation of the Gentiles follows the redemption of Israel as a matter not simply of sequence, but of *consequence*: it is *because* they see the redemption of Israel and the glorification of Zion that the Gentiles abandon their idols and turn to worship the God of Israel.⁴⁵ To invert the sequence deprives the hypothesis of most of its explanatory power. And finally, the Pauline data appealed to in support of the hypothesis—including the sequencing of salvation for Gentiles and Jews—can be explained just as easily on other grounds.⁴⁶

This is not the place to deal with the eschatological pilgrimage hypothesis in detail. But it does draw attention to an important aspect of Romans 11, one that can be pressed to shed light both on the logic at work in vv. 11–12 and 15, and on Paul's underlying convictions—namely, the *temporal* placement of the Gentile mission prior to the final salvation of Israel.

III. Delay, Not Displacement: A Temporal Reading

It is clear from Romans 11 that Paul conceives of the Gentile mission as occupying a well-defined period of time. Its termination point is clearly marked:

⁴³ See, e.g., Albert Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (1931; repr. New York: Seabury, 1968) 177–79, 182–87; Johannes Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind* (London: SCM, 1959) 275–78, 303; Peter Stuhlmacher, “Zur Interpretation von Römer 11:25–32,” in *Probleme biblischer Theologie* (ed. H. W. Wolff; Munich: Kaiser, 1971) 555–70; H. J. Schoeps, *Paul* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961) 219–30; F. Hahn, *Mission in the New Testament* (SBT 47; Naperville: Allenson, 1965) 108–9; R. B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1989) 71, 162; N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) 150–51. I once counted myself among this list; see my paper “The ‘Curse of the Law’ and the Inclusion of the Gentiles: Galatians 3:13–14,” *NTS* 32 (1986) 94–112. But I have since changed my mind, in favor of the position sketched out in the remainder of this paper.

⁴⁴ See W. Pannenberg, *Jesus—God and Man* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968) 71–72; cf. Lindars, “The Old Testament and Universalism in Paul.” Hays tries to establish the case on the frequency of Paul's use of Isaiah (*Echoes of Scripture*, 162). But this just makes his *avoidance* of pilgrimage passages all the more striking.

⁴⁵ See D. Zeller, *Juden und Heiden in der Mission des Paulus* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1976) 272–75; Kim, *Origin of Paul's Gospel*, 87–90.

⁴⁶ The collection project, for example, has just as many “this age” parallels in accounts of Gentiles worshiping in Jerusalem; see Scot McKnight, *A Light among the Gentiles* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) 15.

the parousia of Christ, the Deliverer,⁴⁷ and the salvation of "all Israel" (vv. 25–27). The hardening of part of Israel, which makes the Gentile mission possible, has a definite point of closure; it will last only "until" (ἄχρις οὗ) the fullness of the Gentiles has come in" (v. 25). The commencement of the period is not clearly indicated in chap. 11, but is identified elsewhere with the demonstration of God's righteousness, for Jew and Gentile alike, in Christ ("but now," Rom 3:21–26; cf. Gal 3:13–14, 22–29). This observation is not at all controversial, and indeed provides the starting point for the eschatological pilgrimage reading of Paul discussed above. But to draw out its implications, I want to draw attention to two assumptions implicit in Paul's statements about this period, the significance of which has not really been noted.

The first of these is that Paul apparently believes that the parousia will bring to an end the opportunity of salvation for the Gentiles. This may well be suggested by the use of τὸ πλήρωμα in v. 25: the salvation of Israel will take place⁴⁸ once the Gentile mission has been *completed*, brought to *fulfillment*. In any case, it comes to clear expression elsewhere: it is (only) those who are Christ's who will be raised at the parousia (1 Cor 15:23); the time for Gentiles to respond to Paul's message of reconciliation in Christ is *now* (ἰδοὺ νῦν; 2 Cor 6:2); those who are not in Christ are without hope at the parousia (1 Thess 4:13–17) and will find no escape from the sudden destruction that will come upon them (1 Thess 5:2–10).⁴⁹

The second observation to be made here is that Paul apparently believes that the reversal of Israel's present situation of stumbling/defeat/rejection, will precipitate the eschatological age itself. In v. 12 Paul leaves undefined (πόσω μᾶλλον) the blessings that will accompany Israel's πλήρωμα; in v. 15, however, the consequences are made explicit: Israel's acceptance (presumably of Christ,⁵⁰ spurred on by their "jealousy" of the Gentiles [v. 11]) will trigger the resurrection (ζωὴ ἐκ νεκρῶν⁵¹) and thus will coincide with the parousia itself.

While these observations have been made before, their consequences for

⁴⁷ For Christ as the deliverer, see Rom 7:24; 1 Thess 1:10; see also Dunn, *Romans* 2. 682; Cranfield, *Romans* 2. 578. Even Gaston is prepared to allow a reference to Christ's parousia here ("Israel's Misstep," 147–48), though "if Christ is meant, it is Christ in a different role" (p. 148).

⁴⁸ While the emphasis with καὶ οὕτως is on the manner rather than the timing of Israel's final salvation, the fact that it follows ἄχρις οὗ means that "some temporal weight cannot be excluded" from v. 26; so Dunn, *Romans* 2. 681.

⁴⁹ See also Rom 2:5–11; 1 Cor 1:18; 2 Cor 2:15–16; 1 Thess 1:10; 2 Thess 1:8–10. For a discussion of these texts, in conjunction with those suggestive of universal salvation, see M. Eugene Boring, "The Language of Universal Salvation in Paul," *JBL* 105 (1986) 269–92.

⁵⁰ With Gaston ("Israel's Misstep," 146) and J. A. Fitzmyer ("Romans," *JBC* 2. 323), I take ἡ ἀποβολὴ αὐτῶν and ἡ πρόσλημις [αὐτῶν] as subjective genitives. The action of rejection and acceptance is Israel's, not God's; God has hardened (v. 7) but not rejected (v. 1) "the rest." The point being made here, though, would not be affected if the genitives were objective. Against Gaston, I see Israel's final salvation in Romans 11 as christocentric; see n. 25 above.

⁵¹ Most modern commentators see this as a reference to the resurrection; e.g., Dunn, *Romans* 2. 658; Cranfield, *Romans* 2. 563; Davies, "Paul and the People of Israel," 16.

the issue under discussion have not really been explored. If Israel's acceptance of Christ will accompany—indeed, precipitate—the parousia, and if the parousia represents the termination of the Gentiles' opportunity for salvation, then Israel's immediate acceptance of the gospel would have meant the closing of the door to the Gentiles. To adapt Paul's language here, Israel's "success" would have meant the "impoverishment" of the Gentiles. Salvation would not have been nearer to Paul's Gentile readers than when they first believed (cf. 13:11); it would have passed them by entirely. It is only because Israel "stumbled"—a stumbling brought about by God's act of "hardening"—that the Gentiles had the opportunity of getting into the "race for righteousness" (cf. 9:30–32) at all.

My suggestion, then, is that the logic at work in Paul's statements here is not the spatial logic of displacement but the temporal logic of delay. Israel's failure to respond to the gospel makes possible the "riches for the Gentiles" by opening up not some space but some *time*.⁵² If Israel had responded to the gospel immediately, if God had not been prepared to harden all but the remnant, the Gentiles would have remained branches of the wild olive tree and vessels fitted for destruction. God has set aside some of the natural branches not to replace them with those drawn from the Gentiles but to provide an opportunity for the Gentiles to be grafted into the tree, so that they might share the goodness of the root with the natural branches—only some of them now, but all of them in the end.

In the course of his stimulating study of scriptural intertextuality in Paul, R. B. Hays has drawn attention to Paul's use of the phrase "God did not spare," with respect both to Christ (8:32) and to Israel (11:21). He suggests that the repetition is deliberate: "What Paul has done, in a word, is to interpret the fate of Israel christologically. . . . Israel undergoes rejection for the sake of the world, bearing suffering vicariously."⁵³ This statement is fully consistent with the position being argued here and provides an apt summary of the logic I suggest is at work in Paul's statements in Rom 11:11–12, 15.

IV. The Logic of Delay and Paul's Convictions

The discussion in the preceding section had as its aim simply the establishment of the logic at work in Paul's argument in Romans 11; it is not my intention to suggest that this argument necessarily predated Romans or that it provides in any detail the theological framework within which Paul embarked on the Gentile mission. At the same time, however, I believe that the argumentative logic as reconstructed here can be pressed to reveal something of Paul's underlying convictions. To this end and, simultaneously, to provide further

⁵² This idea has been noted occasionally but never pursued; see, e.g., Kim, *Origin of Paul's Gospel*, 96–97.

⁵³ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 61.

grounding for the position put forward in the preceding section, I want to draw attention to Jewish parallels to the two assumptions discussed above—namely, that Israel's "obedience" (cf. 11:30–32) to the righteousness of God will trigger the parousia; and that the Gentiles' opportunity for salvation will come to an end with the parousia.

The first of these parallels has been firmly established in a perceptive article by Dale C. Allison; it will be sufficient for our purposes simply to summarize his results.⁵⁴ Marshaling texts drawn from apocalyptic and rabbinic sources,⁵⁵ Allison demonstrates a widespread expectation in Second Temple Judaism that the arrival of the end "is contingent upon the repentance of Israel,"⁵⁶ that is, that Israel's sinfulness is that which is delaying the end, and that Israel's repentance is that which will usher in the promised day of the Lord. Except for the typical absence in Paul of the notion of repentance—its place being taken by such things as faith (vv. 20, 23) and obedience (vv. 30–32)—the pattern is the same: "the conversion of a hardhearted Israel will be the last act of salvation-history, the event that will usher in the end."⁵⁷

For the present argument, though, it is the second assumption that is of greater significance. The Judaism of Paul's day had developed a range of attitudes toward the Gentiles and their status with respect to God.⁵⁸ At one end, there existed tolerant and open strands of universalism, including the recognition of "righteous Gentiles" and the (probably closely associated⁵⁹) eschatological pilgrimage tradition. At the other extreme, there was the rigid and exclusive covenantal soteriology represented by *Jub.* 15:26, which assigns to perdition all but those who were circumcised on the eighth day. Lying somewhere in between was proselytism.

While there is widespread evidence of Judaism's willingness to accept as full members of the covenant people those Gentiles prepared to embrace the Torah,⁶⁰ there is much less explicit evidence for the conceptual framework within which proselytism was viewed. Probably there was a range of opinion almost as broad as that described in the preceding paragraph.⁶¹ But for my

⁵⁴ Dale C. Allison, "The Background of Romans 11:11–15 in Apocalyptic and Rabbinic Literature," *Studia Biblica et Theologica* 10 (1980) 229–34; for a later version of the paper, see "Romans 11:11–15: A Suggestion," *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 12 (1985) 23–30; see also Johnson, *Function of Apocalyptic Wisdom Traditions in Romans* 9–11, 125–26.

⁵⁵ *T. Dan* 6:4; *T. Sim.* 6:2–7; *T. Jud.* 23:5; *As. Mos.* 1:18; *2 Bar.* 78:6–7; *Apoc. Abr.* 23:5; *4 Ezra* 4:38–43; *b. Sanh.* 97b, 98a; *b. Šabb.* 118b; *Sipre* 41 (79b).

⁵⁶ Allison, "Background of Romans 11:11–15," 229.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 232.

⁵⁸ See discussions in McKnight, *A Light among the Gentiles*; Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Crossing the Boundary and Becoming a Jew," *HTR* 82 (1989) 13–33; E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. ed.; 3 vols.; Edinburgh: Clark, 1973–1987) 3. 150–76; and Alan F. Segal, *Paul the Convert* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1990) 79–114.

⁵⁹ There is no emphasis on full conversion to Judaism in the eschatological pilgrimage tradition; see my paper "Proselytes or 'Righteous Gentiles'?"

⁶⁰ See, e.g., Gager, *Origins of Anti-Semitism*, 55–66.

⁶¹ For the most part, the eschatological pilgrimage tradition tended to view these Gentiles

present purposes, I want to consider the more rigorous and exclusive end of the spectrum. It is clear, I think, that for one strand within Second Temple Judaism, the only hope Gentiles had of having a share in the Age to Come was through becoming a proselyte to Judaism in this age.

One line of evidence comes from documents which admittedly show little interest in encouraging proselytism but which nevertheless hold open the formal possibility of becoming a proselyte in the present, even if simply to justify the punishment of Gentiles in the future. In *2 Baruch*, for example, all Gentiles will face eternal punishment or destruction (30:4–5; 44:15; 51:6; 82:3–9), except for those who take upon themselves the yoke of the Law (41:1–6).⁶² Similarly in *4 Ezra*: it is because the nations chose not to keep the Law (7:37–38) that they will be tormented (7:72) and perish (8:56–58) in the final judgment. On that day those who “manifestly kept [God’s] commandments” will rejoice at the downfall of the idolaters, for, as the “Eternal, Mighty One” says: “I waited so that they might come to me, and they did not deign to” (*Apoc. Abr.* 31:1–8).

For pre-70 CE material, we can point to literature from Qumran, where a similar expectation is present. In the present period between the death of the Teacher of Righteousness and the arrival of the end, the community was prepared to receive “converts,” both from Israel (1QS 6:13–15) and, if נָר has its usual meaning, from among the Gentiles as well (CD 14:4–5). But when the end shall arrive, the door to converts will be closed:

And until the age is completed, according to the number of those years, all who enter after them shall do according to that interpretation of the Law in which the first were instructed. . . . But when the age is completed, according to the number of those years, there shall be no more joining the house of Judah. (CD 4:7–12)

The material discussed to this point is generally hostile toward Gentiles. In tannaitic literature, though, we find the combination of a similar eschatological *terminus ad quem* for proselytism together with a more receptive attitude toward proselytes this side of the eschaton. *T. Sanh.* 13.2 is often cited in connection with Jewish openness to “righteous Gentiles.” But while the more open views of R. Joshua eventually prevailed, his interlocutor R. Eliezer was not alone in his opinion that “none of the Gentiles has a portion in the world to come.” In a striking contrast to the eschatological pilgrimage expectation,

as Gentiles and not as proselytes (see my paper “Proselytes or ‘Righteous Gentiles?’”); nevertheless, several texts seem to expect these Gentiles to become Torah observers (*1 Enoch* 91:14; *T. Levi* 18:3, 9), thus representing a combination of proselytism and eschatological pilgrimage views. Similarly, while Izates’s advisor Ananias believed that, given the circumstances, the king could “worship God even without being circumcised” (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.2.4 §41), it is clear that he saw full proselytism as preferable.

⁶² *2 Bar.* 72:1–6 treats Gentiles more positively, granting them a place in the eschatological future. With R. H. Charles (“2 Baruch,” *APOT* 2. 474–76) and A. F. J. Klijn (“2 Baruch,” *OTP* 1. 617–18), however, I view the “Cloud and Waters Apocalypse” of chaps. 53–74 as an already existing unit incorporated into *2 Baruch*.

for example, an early tannaitic tradition declares that such twelfth-hour converts will be turned away: "In time to come, idol worshippers will come and offer themselves as proselytes. But will such be accepted? Has it not been taught that in the days of the Messiah proselytes will not be received?" (*Abod. Zar.* 3b).⁶³ Indeed, in a text dating from the same period,⁶⁴ it is anticipated that those who have become proselytes in this age will be used to justify the condemnation of those who spurned the opportunity to do likewise. Commenting on an eschatological pilgrimage text (*Zech* 2:11), no less, R. Hanina b. Papa declares:

This refers to the day when God will judge all the nations in the time to come. Then he will bring forward all the proselytes in this age and judge the nations in their presence and say to them, "Why have you left me to serve idols in which there is no reality?" The nations will reply, "Sovereign of the universe, had we come to thy door, thou wouldst not have received us." God will say to them, "Let the proselytes from you come and testify against you." At once will God bring forward all the proselytes who will judge the nations and say to them, "Why did you abandon God and serve idols that are unreal? Was not Jethro a priest of idols, and when he came to God's door, did not God receive him? And were we not idolaters, and when we came to God's door, did not God receive us?" At once all the wicked will be abashed at the answer of the proselytes. (*Pesiq. R.* 161a)

Within the limits of this paper it is not possible to discuss these lines of evidence at length. Admittedly, most of the texts cited are post-70 CE, and not all of them are positive toward proselytism. Nevertheless, some things can be said with certainty: (1) many within Judaism expected the exclusion and judgment of the Gentiles in the future; (2) most of Judaism was prepared to receive proselytes in the present; (3) these two opinions can be easily combined within the framework of covenantal nomism, as the tannaitic evidence demonstrates; (4) the likelihood of such a combination is in no way dependent on the events of 70 CE. There is every reason, then, to suppose that for one strand of Judaism, at least, the Gentiles' hope of salvation in the Age to Come depended on their becoming proselytes in the present.

If this is so, we have a clear parallel to the assumptions at work in Romans 11, and thus a framework for understanding the logic by which Paul connects the "stumbling of Israel" and the "riches of the Gentiles." Moreover, it was present in those more rigorous strands of Judaism out of which a self-proclaimed "zealot for the traditions of [his] fathers" (*Gal* 1:14) might be supposed to have come.⁶⁵

⁶³ Also *Yebam.* 24b. The tradition is associated with R. Jose, a second-generation Tanna.

⁶⁴ On the dating, see W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* (London: SPCK, 1948) 65.

⁶⁵ On Paul as a Shammaite, see K. Haacker, "Die Berufung des Verfolgers und die Rechtfertigung des Gottlosen," *TBei* 6 (1975) 1-19; idem, "War Paulus Hillelit?" in *Das Institutum Judaicum der Universität Tübingen* (1971-72) 106-20. See also my paper, "Zealot and Convert: The Origin of Paul's Christ-Torah Antithesis," *CBQ* 51 (1989) 655-82.

This leads to a final suggestion concerning the nature of Paul's convictions concerning the Gentiles and their salvation. While it has been argued that Paul conceives of his apostolic ministry within a framework derived from the eschatological pilgrimage tradition,⁶⁶ or from Jewish openness to "righteous Gentiles,"⁶⁷ I suggest that Jewish proselytism provides the more appropriate starting point. That is, while Paul's convictions on this point differ from the corresponding Jewish ones in *substance* (Christ having replaced Torah as the boundary marker of the community destined for salvation⁶⁸), they are congruent in *form*: God has chosen Israel to be a channel of salvation for all nations; Gentiles are to be welcomed into the community of salvation on equal terms with Jews. Several significant pieces of evidence could be enlisted in support: Paul's self-description as a "preacher of circumcision" (Gal 5:11), surely a reference to a pre-Damascus interest in making proselytes;⁶⁹ his emphasis on the equal status of Jew and Gentile (e.g., Rom 10:12), together with his equally firm insistence that Gentile Christians are part of Abraham's "seed" (Galatians 3; Romans 4), despite the exegetical difficulties which this entails for him;⁷⁰ the reflection in Rom 2:17–20 of synagogue apologetic vis-à-vis the Gentiles; and so on.

This suggestion cannot be developed any further here. Nevertheless, the convictions underlying the argument in Romans 11—glimpsed through the cracks in the logic, and evident in the assumptions required to make the logic work—point intriguingly in this direction.

⁶⁶ See above, pp. 91–92.

⁶⁷ E.g., Paula Fredriksen, *From Jesus to Christ* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1988) 166, 173–74.

⁶⁸ See my "Zealot and Convert."

⁶⁹ This reading of Gal 5:11 was first made by E. Barnikol (*Die Vorchristliche und frühchristliche Zeit des Paulus* [Kiel: Walter G. Muhlau, 1929] 18–24) and has since found a range of supporters, from R. Bultmann ("Paul," *Existence and Faith* [Cleveland/New York: Meridian Books, 1960] 113), to F. F. Bruce (*Commentary on Galatians* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982] 236), to Lloyd Gaston ("Paul and the Torah," in *Antisemitism and the Foundations of Christianity* [ed. Alan T. Davies; New York/Toronto: Paulist, 1979] 61–62).

⁷⁰ Gen 12:3, cited by Paul in Romans 4, could easily have provided scriptural grounds for an argument for the blessing of the Gentiles *as Gentiles*; but Paul wants to include these uncircumcised Gentiles as part of Abraham's seed, an argument that runs headlong into the circumcision definition of "seed" in Gen 17:9–14.

CRITICAL NOTES

A RIDDLE RESOLVED BY AN ENIGMA: HEBREW גלש AND UGARITIC GLT

Song of Songs 4:1 reads שערך כערר העוים שגלשו מהר גלער, “Your hair is like a flock of goats, which גלש from Mount Gilead.” This simile (found also in Cant 6:5, save that there the final phrase reads מן הגלער instead of מהר גלער) poses a two-pronged riddle for the interpreter: first, the meaning of the verb גלש, found only here in the Hebrew Bible; and, second, the point of the comparison—in just what manner is the beloved’s hair “like” a flock of goats?

A consideration of the ancient translators and interpreters reveals them to be as puzzled as we are. G reads ἀπεκαλυφθησαν (“reveal”) for גלש in 4:1, but ἀνεφανησαν (“light up, cause to appear”) in 6:5.¹ Codex Sinaiticus reads ἀνεβησαν (“go up”) in 6:5, an interpretation reflected also by the Syriac *slq* (“ascend”). The Vulgate, curiously, reverses these two approaches, reading *ascenderunt* for גלש in 4:1, and *apparuerunt* in 6:5. The rabbinic commentators are likewise divided. Rashi understands שגלשו to mean “which make bare” (שנקרחו), so that the goats are understood to be descending from Gilead’s slopes. Ibn Ezra, on the other hand, has a flock of goats “which look down” (שנשקפו) from Gilead, while the Rashban passively describes the flock as those “which are seen” (שנראו) on Mount Gilead.² In sum, the ancient versions and interpretations read גלש as referring somehow either to the flock seeing or being seen,³ or to its motion, up or down.⁴

¹ Though Symmachus, perhaps in the interests of consistency, has ἀνεφανησαν in both places.

² Cited by Christian Ginsburg, *The Song of Songs and Coheleth* (1857; repr. New York: Ktav, 1970) 154; see also Marvin Pope, *Song of Songs* (AB 7C; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977) 458.

³ Perhaps, as Benjamin Davidson proposed (*The Analytical Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon* [London: Bagster & Sons, 1848; repr. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970] 138) on the basis of שלג, “to be white(?)”

⁴ With reference perhaps to the Arabic *jalasa*, as early proposed by William Gesenius (*Hebrew-Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament*, trans. from Latin by Samuel Tregelles [London: Bagster & Sons, 1847; repr. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1980] 173); see also George Burrowes, *A Commentary on the Song of Solomon* (Philadelphia: Martien, 1853) 95; Franz Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes* (trans. M. G. Easton [Clark’s Foreign Theological Library 54; Edinburgh: Clark, 1877] 71); and BDB 167. Theophile Meek rendered the word “which trail down,” though he called this translation “purely an inference” (*IB* 5. 181). Gillis Gerleman understood גלש in terms of an alleged Egyptian parallel (*k’-r’-sw*) used in reference to the capering of young goats: hence “springen” (skip) (*Ruth—Das Hohenlied* [BKAT 18; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1965] 144). On this, see also the earlier proposal of Adolf Erman, “Hebräische GLŠ ‘springen,’” *OLZ* 28 [1925] 6).

Other possibilities are raised by the use of גלש in Late Hebrew texts: *Midr. Rabbah*, which refers here to the piling up of waters at Yam Sup, and *b. Pesah.* 37b, which uses גלש for the motion of bubbling, boiling water. Influenced by the association of גלש with the motion of water in Late Hebrew, some have translated accordingly: hence, Robert Gordis ("streaming down") and André Robert and R. Tournay ("ondulant").⁵

Since the discovery and publication of the texts from Ugarit, a likely cognate for גלש has appeared in the root *glt* (equivalent to גלש, given the consonantal shift *t* to *š* within Northwest Semitic). This root appears, thus far, in three Ugaritic texts. In *PRU* 5.1.5, the verb *glt* is found in a line apparently describing the motion of *thmt*, the watery abyss: *w tgl̄t thmt* (translated "et elle soulève l'ocean" ["and the ocean swells"] by the editors).⁶ *Glt* appears twice as a noun: *Ugaritica* 5 3.1.7, in a curious description of Ba'al enthroned (*rišh bglt̄ bšmm*: "his head with/in *glt̄* in the heavens"), and *CTA* 4.5.68–73, in a well-known portion of the Ba'al cycle:

wnap 'dn mtrh
B'al y'dn 'dn tkt bglt̄
wtn qlh b'rpt
šrh lars brqm
bt arzm ykllnh
hm bt lbnt y'msnh

Now, indeed, his rainy season⁷

Ba'al will appoint; the season of *tkt bglt̄*.

Now he will give his voice in the clouds;

He will loose lightnings upon the earth.

⁵ Robert Gordis, *The Song of Songs: A Study, Modern Translation, and Commentary* (Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America 20; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1954) 84; André Robert and R. Tournay, *Le Cantique des Cantiques: Traduction et Commentaire* (Paris: Gabalda, 1963) 159.

⁶ *PRU* 5: *Textes en Cunéiformes Alfabétiques des Archives Sud. Sud-ouest et du Petit Palais* (ed. C. Vroilleaud; Mission de Ras Shamra II; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1965) 4. Vroilleaud elsewhere suggested "la mer moutonne" ("the sea foams," cited in Robert and Tournay, *Cantique*, 440). At any rate, the connections between this context and the Late Hebrew usage of גלש are compelling.

⁷ F. M. Cross suggests interpreting 'dn here and in the following line as referring to "fertility and the giving of fertility," based on this use of Aramaic 'dn in the Tell Fekhariyeh inscription, lines 4–5: *m 'dn mt kln* (private communication). This phrase is translated by Stephen Kaufman as "he who makes all lands luxuriant" ("Reflections on the Assyrian-Aramaic Bilingual From Tell Fakhariyeh," *Maarav* 3/2 [1982] 169) and as "who enriches all lands" by A. R. Millard and P. Bordreuil ("A Statue from Syria with Assyrian and Aramaic Inscriptions," *BA* 45 [1982] 137). Millard and Bordreuil, indeed, suggest a possible parallel between this Aramaic term and the biblical Eden (p. 140). Based on this usage, Cross translates *CTA* 4.5.68–69 thus:

Now, behold, let Ba'al make fertile with his rains,

Let him make luxuriant with flowage and torrents.

This rendering, however, depends also on reading *trt* instead of *tkt* (see below). If *tkt* is indeed the reading, we do better to read 'dn as cognate to Aramaic *iddān*, Arabic *adān*, and Akkadian *adānu*, and translate as "time" or "season."

The house of cedar, he may build it;
Even the house of brick, he may raise it!⁸

The sense of the noun *glt* is less apparent than the sense of *glt* as a verb. Of the two noun references, however, CTA 4.5.69 from the Baʿl cycle is considerably less ambiguous than *Ugaritica* 5 3.1.7 concerning Baʿl enthroned, as one has the additional clues of the context (the building of a temple for Baʿl) and the juxtaposition of *glt* with *tkt*.

Joseph Aistleitner proposed that the Ugaritic *tkt* be seen as an adjective deriving from a hypothetical *wtk*, cognate to the Arabic *waṭuqa* ("become fixed, firm") and the Akkadian *ešēqu* ("to fasten onto").⁹ The Ugaritic *glt* he understood as a cognate of the Arabic *gallada* ("freeze") and the Syriac *aghīdā* ("frost, ice").¹⁰ Hence his translation "die Zeit des Erstarrens zu Eis" ("the time of the freezing of ice").¹¹ However, *ešēqu* does not have the meaning Aistleitner proposed, but should rather be translated as "to draw or incise."¹² Moreover, Aistleitner's translation of this phrase seems at odds with the context. Aṭirat is praising El for decreeing the building of Baʿl's temple, as now the weather god will not withhold his blessings. It is difficult to understand how the freeze, though certainly Baʿl's to command, would be seen as a blessing!

Textes Ougaritiques proposes that *tkt* should rather be read as *trt*, explained by the Arabic *tarra* ("to make water spout").¹³ The Ugaritic noun *glt* may then be read with natural reference to the sense of the verb, as having to do with water and the movement of water: hence, the translation "l'heure du jaillissement des flots" ("the time of gushing floods"). This rendering does seem to fit the context, especially given the thunderstorm imagery of the following lines and the general association of Baʿl with fertility. However, it requires one to read *tkt* as *trt*. Given the close similarity of the cuneiform signs *r* and *k*, this is of course possible. But the reading seems prompted as much by translation difficulties as by morphological concerns. When the context is properly understood, *tkt* yields a perfectly natural translation.

Tkt should be read as an ancient word of indeterminate origin meaning "ship"

■ Instead of "build" and "raise," H. L. Ginsberg reads "destroy" and "remove" (ANET [3d ed.] 133). The Ugaritic *yklnh* is from *kll* or *kly*, which, like the Hebrew כלה, means "finish, complete" in both the positive and the negative sense. Similarly, *y'mshh*, from *'ms* (compare Hebrew עמס), means literally "load up," for which both positive and negative readings are possible. Ginsberg saw this text as describing the destructive power of Baʿl's lightning. However, in the context, it is more likely to refer to the building of Baʿl's temple. Hence, the positive rendering is to be preferred.

⁹ Joseph Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963) 344.

¹⁰ Ibid., 207; see also G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Old Testament Studies 3; Edinburgh: Clark, 1956) 97; Ginsberg, ANET (3d ed.) 133; and Johannes de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʿlu* According to the Version of Ilmilku (AOAT 16; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1971) 149.

¹¹ Joseph Aistleitner, *Die mythologischen und kultischen Texte aus Ras Schamra* (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica 8; Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1959) 334.

¹² CAD E 331–32; AHW 249. Aistleitner may have intended *esēku* ("to assign"; CAD E 327–29; AHW 248) rather than *ešēqu*, but this does not much improve his case; the meaning is still not quite what he intended.

¹³ André Caquot, Maurice Szynger, and Andrée Herdner, *Textes Ougaritiques*, Vol. 1, *Mythes et Légendes: Introduction, Traduction, Commentaire* (Paris: Cerf, 1974) 207.

(note the Egyptian *tkti* and the Phoenician city of Shigata).¹⁴ The simplest translation for the phrase *'dn tkt bglt*, which places in juxtaposition a noun meaning "ship" and another noun apparently related to water and the motion of water, would then be something like "the season of the ship on the wave."¹⁵

As the weather god, Ba'l was responsible for the winds as well as the rains, sending each in its proper season.¹⁶ Hence, the temple of Ba'l brought blessing to sea merchant as well as farmer. The thirteen stone anchors left as votive offerings at Ba'l's temple in Ugarit confirm the connection between Ba'l and merchant fleets.¹⁷ Indeed, Ba'l's name could be used to curse shipping.¹⁸ Certainly, then, it ought not be surprising that one of the blessings brought by the Ba'l temple should be the time of the favorable trade winds: "the season of the ship on the wave." This reading for the enigmatic noun *glt* preserves continuity with the verbal form and yields an excellent sense for the Hebrew גֹּלֶשׁ as well.

Even commentators aware of the likely connections between גֹּלֶשׁ and *glt* nonetheless misunderstand the term to mean something like "stream" or "flow,"¹⁹ so that the point of the simile becomes the length of the beloved's hair, or perhaps its abundance. Yet others despair of the term גֹּלֶשׁ providing for us any insight into the point of the simile; they argue that, as in Palestine goats are black, the simile means that the beloved has black hair.²⁰ Note, however, that such a conclusion violates the

¹⁴ So Cyrus Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (AnOr 38; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965) 502; Manfred Dietrich and Oswald Loretz ("Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie I," *BO* 23 [1966] 129), E. Lipiński ("Epiphanie de Baal-Haddu RS 24.245," *UF* 3 [1971] 86), and de Moor (*Seasonal Pattern*, 148), who explains his curious translation ("the time of the *tkt*-ship with snow") as a reference to clouds sailing along like ships. See also *Textes Ougaritiques*, 207 note t.

¹⁵ Dietrich and Loretz ("Lexikographie I," 129) propose the translation "die Zeit für das Schiff auf den Wogen" ("the time of the ship on the waves"). The translation of Lipiński ("Epiphanie," 86), "l'heure où les bateaux seront dans la tempête" ("the time when the ships are caught in a storm") also recognizes the intelligibility of the text, though (like Aistleitner's reading) his translation seems unlikely in this positive context.

¹⁶ According to the fourth-century CE text *Epitome rei militaris*, by Vegetius, the sailing season in the Mediterranean was restricted to a four-month span, late May through mid-September (cited by Jack M. Sasson, *Jonah* [AB 24B; New York: Doubleday, 1990] 81–82).

¹⁷ Honor Frost, "The Stone-Anchors of Ugarit," in *Ugaritica* 6 (ed. Claude F. A. Schaeffer; Mission de Ras Shamra 17; Paris: Mission Archéologique de Ras Shamra, 1969) 235, 242. Note that four more anchors were incorporated into the actual structure of the temple, with one anchor serving as a cornerstone.

¹⁸ As a ritual curse from the treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal, king of Tyre (ca. 677) demonstrates: "May Baal-sameme, Baal-malage, and Baal-saphon raise an evil wind against your ships, to undo their moorings, tear out their mooring pole, may a strong wave sink them in the sea, a violent tide [. . .] against you" (*ANET* [3d ed.] 534, trans. Erica Reiner).

¹⁹ So Pope, *Song*, 459–60 (though Pope asserts "The nominal use of *glt* in Ugaritic contributes little or nothing to the clarification of the verb *glš*"), and perhaps Roland Murphy, *The Song of Songs* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990) 154–55. Tournay, who cites the Ugaritic evidence in his notes on Robert's commentary, understands the movement involved to be a rapid surging or boiling motion (*Cantique*, 440).

²⁰ So Ginsburg, *Song*, 154; Robert and Tournay, *Cantique*, 160; Gerleman, *Hohenlied*, 147 (who finds here the fanciful description of a hairstyle depicted on Egyptian busts); and G. Rinaldi, "gls," *Bibbia e Oriente* 128 (1981) 104. Othmar Keel argues that the simile describes not only the black color but also the wild, unbound tangle of the beloved's hair, given the semantic connections

logic of the comparison: the beloved's hair is not said to be "like a flock of goats," but rather "like a flock of goats which גלש from (Mount) Gilead." Assumedly, the *motion* of the flock is a vital part of the comparison. So, for instance, when in 4:2 (6:6) the beloved's teeth are compared to a flock of ewes, the remainder of the comparison makes the point clear: like a freshly washed, healthy flock, the beloved's teeth are gleaming white and fill her mouth, with no unsightly gaps. Certainly, one is justified in thinking that the meaning of גלש is important to the point of the comparison in 4:1 (6:5).

Yet how can the meaning of גלש be deduced from *glt* if (as has been here proposed) *glt* means "wave"? The setting of the Song is pastoral, not nautical! The answer lies in the motion of the animals. A densely packed herd, viewed from a distance, seems to move downhill with a rippling, wavelike motion, as the animals in the front move forward and others move up to take their place.²¹ The phenomenon is not unlike the "wave" sometimes passed around the stands in sports arenas. The point of the simile now becomes clear: the beloved's hair is wavy. As Egyptian reliefs and ostraca demonstrate, long, wavy hair was considered sensuous in the ancient world.²² Such a translation is therefore not only possible, but reasonable. The Hebrew text, then, should be translated, "Your hair is like a flock of goats, flowing in waves from (Mount) Gilead."

This clarification also works the other way around. When one asks what the motion of a flock of goats and the motion of the sea (where ships sail) have in common, only one answer is possible. The sea, after all, does not "flow" or "stream"; nor do herds of animals. Both move in waves. The context of Hebrew גלש, then, lends further credence to the interpretation here chosen for the Ugaritic *glt*.

What is more, the association of the Hebrew גלש with hair may shed light in turn on the apparently incomprehensible *rišh bgl̄t bšmm* (*Ugaritica* 5 3.1.7).²³ The Hebrew ראש ("head") can be used with the meaning "hair," an idiom also found in English ("redhead," "towhead"). Thus in Num 6:5, part of the nazirite vow is that חער לא יעבר על ראשו: "a razor shall not pass over his hair."²⁴ Similarly, Absalom was captured and

he observes for key terms in the verse ("goat," "hair," and, implicitly, "black") (*Deine Blicke sind Tauben* [SBS 114/115; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1984] 101–7). The simile thus evokes an atmosphere of unrestrained sexual passion.

²¹ Something similar was proposed by Robert (*Cantiques*, 159): "les bêtes sont couchées, de temp en temps, l'une ou l'autre se dresse, ce qui de loin donne l'impression d'un mouvement d'ondulation" ("the animals are lying down, but from time to time one or another stands up, so that one is given the impression of a wavelike motion"). This interpretation is all the more remarkable, since Robert, writing before the publication of the Ras Shamra texts, did not have access to the Ugaritic material. In his additions to Robert's commentary, Tournay does deal with some of the Ugaritic texts, but nonetheless misses this connection (see n. 19 above).

²² Collected in Keel, *Deine Blicke*, 182–83, figs. 112–114. These illustrations are all the more significant, given the often-observed connections between the Song and Egyptian love poetry (esp. Gerleman, *Hohenlied*, 52–72; see also Pope, *Song*, 72–74; and Murphy, *Song*, 42–48).

²³ The translators of *Ugaritica* 5 render this line "Sa tête est en mouvement dans les cie[ux]": His head is in motion (?) in the heavens. The proposal of L. R. Fisher and F. B. Knutson ("An Enthronement Ritual at Ugarit," *JNES* 28 [1969] 159), "His head is descending from the heave[ns]," is also unsatisfactory: *glt* is a noun in this context, not a verb. Better, though still strained, is Lipiński's proposal: "sa tête est dans la tempête, dans les cieux" ("his head is in the tempest, in the heavens"), taking *glt* to refer to the ocean storm ("Epiphany," 82).

²⁴ Though later in this same verse, the expression שער ראשו ("hair of his head") is used to avoid absurdity: one's *head* certainly cannot be said to grow long!

slain when his ראש became caught in the thick, tangled branches of a tree (2 Sam 18:9),²⁵ and Jezebel, hearing that Jehu was on his way to Jezreel (2 Kgs 9:30), painted her eyes וחיטב את ראשה — not “and adorned her head,” as the NRSV reads, but far more naturally, “dressed her hair” (JPSV). Given this interpretive possibility for the Ugaritic *riš*, *Ugaritica* 5 3.1.7 may be rendered “his hair in waves in the heavens.” We have, it is true, no iconographic evidence for the way Baʿl’s hair was imagined. In standard representations, Baʿl is at war: he stands frozen in the act of striking down his enemies, with his club held high and his helmet crown firmly in place. The poem in *Ugaritica* 5 3 catches the god in a more languid mood, enthroned on Saphon, enjoying the fruits of his victories. Fisher and Knutson have proposed parallels between this text and the poem in praise of the lover’s beauty in Cant 5:10–16.²⁶ Perhaps, then, we have in 3.1.7 a parallel to the luxuriant locks (קוצותיו תלתלים) of the lover in 5:11. The examples of Absalom and Samson in the Hebrew Bible demonstrate a connection between a full head of hair and masculine beauty and virility; perhaps Baʿl was so imagined from early on.

Viewed separately, the Hebrew גלש and the Ugaritic *glš* are riddles, their precise meaning indecipherable from context. When viewed together, however, each makes possible the interpretation of the other. A difficult simile in Hebrew love poetry is made intelligible, as is an incomprehensible word in several Ugaritic verses. Perhaps most interesting of all, however, further evidence is acquired for a little-explored aspect of Baʿl’s cult: his identification with the trade winds, and patronage of the merchant fleets. Like the very best riddles, the solution of this enigma leads the interpreter to still other puzzles, other questions.

²⁵ That the meaning here is “hair” and not simply “head” may be concluded for two reasons. First, it is difficult to envisage how, as he was riding hard to escape capture, Absalom’s *head* could have been caught in a tree without killing him. Second, the writer of this narrative has already prepared us for this bitter irony by being at pains to describe Absalom’s luxuriant mane (2 Sam 14:26). The traditional understanding of Absalom caught by his hair, trapped by his own vanity, is thus appropriate to the text, as the translators of the JPSV have recognized.

²⁶ Fisher and Knutson, “Enthronement,” 163; see also Pope, *Song*, 536. The parallel with Cant 4:1; 6:5 is cited by Fisher and Knutson (“Enthronement,” 159 n. 17), but not discussed. It is intriguing, however, that they render קוצותיו תלתלים in Cant 5:11 as “his locks are wavy” (“Enthronement,” 163).

Steven S. Tuell
Randolph-Macon College
Ashland, VA 23005

THE INVOCATION OF DECEASED ANCESTORS IN PSALM 49:12c

In a recent article in *JBL* Paul Raabe suggests that Ps 49:12c is deliberately ambiguous.¹ He proposes that the phrase קראו בשמותם עלי ארמות in Ps 49:12c deliberately evokes two common idioms: שם נקרא על, suggesting the notion of property ownership by the arrogant rich; and קרא בשם, “to invoke the name” (usually of Yahweh). Without disputing this particular claim, one may argue that the line involves, or at least evokes — in accordance with Raabe’s view of ambiguity in this line — an idiom for summoning deceased ancestors.

Psalm 49:12 belongs to a meditation on death and the ultimate reward of the righteous.² The psalm mentions various Israelite practices and beliefs about death: v. 10 alludes to the grave, and vv. 15 and 16 refer to Sheol.³ Death is personified as a shepherd in v. 15.⁴ The New Jewish Publication Society Version (henceforth NJPS) translates v. 20 as a reference to the ancestors: “yet he must join the company of the ancestors” (תבוא ערדור אבותיו).⁵ Verse 12 also reflects familiarity with burial practices and beliefs:⁶

קרבם בתימו לעולם
משכנתם לדר ודר
קראו בשמותם עלי ארמות

Many translations recognize the burial language in the first half of the verse. RSV and NRSV render:

Their graves are their homes for ever,
their dwelling places to all generations,
though they named their lands their own.

¹ P. Raabe, “Deliberate Ambiguity in the Psalter,” *JBL* 110 (1991) 213–27, esp. 221–22.

² A. Weiser, *The Psalms: A Commentary* (trans. H. Hartwell; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962) 384–91; M. J. Dahood, *Psalms I. 1–50* (AB 16; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965) 295–303; H. J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59: A Commentary* (trans. H. C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988) 478–85; L. G. Perdue, “The Riddles of Psalm 49,” *JBL* 93 (1974) 533–42; E. S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms: Part I with an Introduction to Cultic Poetry* (The Forms of the Old Testament Literature 14; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988) 202–7 (with further bibliography on pp. 206–7).

³ Dahood, *Psalms I*, 298, 300; N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament* (BibOr 21; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969) 69, 120–21. On Sheol, see Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions*, 21–23.

⁴ For discussion of this image, see Dahood, *Psalms I*, 300; Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions*, 120–21; K. Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (AOAT 219; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1986) 332.

⁵ So also the NRSV; cf. Dahood, *Psalms I*, 296.

⁶ For a comprehensive treatment of the literary and archaeological evidence, see E. M. Bloch-Smith, *Judahite Burial Practices and Beliefs about the Dead* (JSOTSup 123; Sheffield: JSOT, 1992). See also Bloch-Smith, “The Cult of the Dead in Judah: Interpreting the Material Remains,” *JBL* 111 (1992) 213–24.

NAB and NJPS render the first two lines of the verse in essentially the same manner. In Ps 49:12a, *קִרְבָּם בְּחַיְמוֹ לְעוֹלָם* represents a variation on the phrase *בֵּית עוֹלָם*, an expression referring to the grave in Qoh 12:5. P. Joüon noted this terminology also in Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions, especially in Palmyrene burial inscriptions.⁷ This list may be augmented by *byt 'lmn* in line 6 of Combination II of the Deir 'Allā inscriptions.⁸

Unlike Ps 49:12a–b, 49:12c has not been treated in a uniform manner. Raabe's identification of two idioms in the line follows the two major interpretations of the line. RSV and NAB take the line as an allusion to the practice of giving the family name to the inherited land. As Raabe notes, the idiom *קרא בשם* does not precisely refer to naming land. Rather, it is the idiom *קרא + object + בשם* which refers to the practice of naming land. Num 32:42 is the most proximate example. This verse relates how Nobah captured Kenath and renamed it after himself: *וַיִּקְרָא לָהּ נֹבַח בְּשֵׁמוֹ*. In this clause, the object is governed by the preposition *ל-* (for similar expressions for this practice, cf. *קרא + direct object + על שמו* in Deut 3:14; *קרא שם + noun* in Judg 18:29; cf. Hos 1:4). The prepositional usage in Num 32:42 differs further from *קרא בשם* in Ps 49:12c, where the object is governed by *בשם*. Other examples of *קרא בשם* for the naming of land (Num 32:41; cf. 1 Chr 6:50) show further syntactical differences from *קרא בשם + noun/suffix* as found in Ps 49:12c.

NJPS renders Ps 49:12c in a different manner:

Their grave is their eternal home,
the dwelling-place for all generations
of those once famous on earth.

The word *שם* may refer to fame. Ruth 4:11 uses *שם* in the sense of reputation or fame with the verb *קרא*, but the syntax is, nonetheless, notably different. In Ruth 4:11, the object is governed by *קרא שם ב-* and not by *קרא בשם* as in Ps 49:12c.

The commonly attested usage of the idiom *קרא בשם + object* is a cultic one, and this view comports with the context of v. 12c.⁹ Gen 4:26; Exod 33:19; 2 Kgs 5:11; Ps 80:19; Isa 41:26 and 65:1; Jer 10:25; Joel 3:5; Zeph 3:9; and Zech 13:9 refer to invocation or religious acknowledgment of Yahweh. Gen 12:8; 26:25; Exod 34:5; 1 Kgs 18:24; Ps 116:4, 13, 17; and Isa 12:4 use *קרא בשם + object* in explicitly cultic settings. In 1 Kgs 18:24 and 26, this expression describes a cultic invocation directed to Baal. Invocation of deities is not the only use of this idiom. In some cases, Yahweh “calls by name” particular persons (Exod 31:2; 35:30), the heavenly host (Isa 40:26), or Israel (Isa 43:1; 45:4).¹⁰

Apart from Ps 49:12c, the idiom *קרא בשם* may not refer primarily to the naming of land or personal fame, as suggested in some of the translations. Rather in

⁷ P. Joüon, “Glanses palmyréniennes,” *Syria* 19 (1938) 99–103; Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions*, 78; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 333. For further discussion of the Palmyrene evidence, see M. P. O'Connor, “The Grammar of Finding Your Way in Palmyrene Aramaic and the Problem of Diction in Ancient West Semitic Inscriptions,” in *Fucus: A Semitic/Afrasian gathering in remembrance of Albert Ehrman* (ed. Y. L. Arbeitman; Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 58; Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1988) 353–69.

⁸ See J. Hackett, *The Balaam Text from Deir 'Allā* (HSM 31; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980) 59.

⁹ For discussions of this phrase, see Kraus, *Psalms* 1–59, 483.

¹⁰ See C. Cohen, “The Idiom *קרא בשם* in Second Isaiah,” *JANESCU* 1/1 (1968) 32–34. It may be noted that the idioms in Isa 43:1 and 45:4 perhaps represent a thematic reversal of the cultic usage (cf. Isa 65:1).

accordance with its more commonly attested usage, it is cultic in character. Given the language for graves in v. 12a, קרא + בשם in v. 12c evokes the practice of summoning the dead. Recent treatments of the Israelite ancestral cult have recognized comparable expressions for invoking deceased ancestors. KTU 1.161 uses *qr* to summon the royal ancestors.¹¹ Akkadian *šuma zakāru* is a standard phrase for invocation of the dead (cf. הַזְכִּיר שְׁמִי in 2 Sam 18:18; *yzkr šm* in KAI 214:16, 21).¹² Ps 16:3–4 uses קרא for invoking the name of the deceased, called קְרוֹשִׁים, “holy ones.” According to M. H. Pope, Ps 16:3–4 affirms faith in Yahweh and denies allegiance to either Baal or the “holy ones,” that is, deceased ancestors.¹³

I said, “O Yahweh, you are my Lord, my God!
Not ‘Aliy, <nor> all the saints in the ground,
The heroes in whom all delight.
Multiplying their idols, there they throng,
I will not pour out their blood libations,
Nor lift their names (וְכָל-אֲשָׁא אֶת-שְׁמוֹתָם) on my lips.

Like Ps 16:4, Ps 49:12c refers to the practice of invoking names of deceased ancestors.

In sum, although קִרְאוּ בְשֵׁמוֹתָם in Ps 49:12c has not been understood as a cultic expression for invoking the deceased, the evidence points to two reasons for seeing this connotation. First, this expression appears as a cultic term for religious invocation or acknowledgment. Second, the psalm is replete with language and imagery pertaining to the dead; this includes the idiomatic language for graves in v. 12a. The rich maintain the ancestral cult first with their burials, their “eternal homes” (Ps 49:12a–b). The rich wrongly comfort themselves by indulging in the custom of summoning their deceased ancestors (Ps 49:12c).¹⁴

¹¹ See Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 189–93; T. J. Lewis, *The Cults of the Dead in Ancient Israel and Ugarit* (HSM 39; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) 7–13. KTU = M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, eds., *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit einschliesslich der keilalphabetischen Texte ausserhalb Ugarits 1: Transkription* (AOAT 24; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1976).

¹² For Akkadian *šuma zakāru*, see CAD E:400; Z:18; Lewis, *Cults*, 118–20. For further discussion, see M. S. Smith, *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1990) 130, 140 nn. 19–20.

¹³ M. H. Pope in A. Cooper, “Divine Names and Epithets in the Ugaritic Texts,” in *Ras Shamra Parallels: The Texts from Ugarit and the Hebrew Bible. Vol. III* (ed. S. Rummel; AnOr 51; Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1981) 457; see also Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 249, 334–38; Lewis, *Cults*, 166.

¹⁴ After the completion of this study, the treatment of Ps 49:12c in a recent work of A. Malamat came to my attention (Malamat, *Mari and the Early Israelite Experience* [The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1984; Oxford: Oxford University, 1989] 105–6). Malamat also relates Ps 49:12 to customs pertaining to invocation of the dead. His translation, however, is awkward in construing v. 12b with v. 12c: “the dwelling place for all generations of those to be summoned by their names on earth.” Besides creating a very long poetic line by linking v. 12b and v. 12c, the syntax appears unlikely. Although קִרְאוּ is pointed as an active verb, Malamat renders it in the passive voice without comment.

Mark S. Smith
Yale University
New Haven, CT 06520

REGARDING THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE *TEMPLE SCROLL* AND THE BOOK OF *JUBILEES*

In the middle of a section of biblical laws concerning the procedure of purification and before moving to the next law of appointing judges, the author of the *Temple Scroll* uses the phrase *אשר אני מניד לכה בהר הזה*, "which I tell you on this mountain" (51:6–7).¹ This phrase does not appear in the Bible, and the word *מניד* ("[I] tell") does not appear in the Pentateuch.²

There is no doubt that this phrase belongs to the complex of signs that the author of the *Temple Scroll* uses in order to introduce his composition as God's instruction to Moses.³ While inserting that phrase the author was influenced by biblical texts like Exod 25:40; 26:30; 27:8; 34:27. From the fact that the author uses the form *בהר הזה* ("on this mountain") one must conclude that the text had already mentioned the holy mountain beforehand. On that mountain the law as well as the Stone Tablets had been given. Such a description is not in existence in the present text of the *Temple Scroll*, but it is clear that the author refers to a text that included such a description of God calling Moses to come up to Mount Sinai in order to write the Law and the Stone Tablets according to his dictation. Although the beginning of the *Temple Scroll* is now missing, this inference can be drawn from the contents of col. 2 and the above-mentioned text of 51:6–7.⁴

Recently J. VanderKam and J. T. Milik have published some texts of the book of *Jubilees* from Qumran Cave 4, which contain parts of the prologue and the first two chapters of the book.⁵ Although these parts of the book of *Jubilees* are already known from the Ethiopic version and from other versions, the newly published texts are very important because they are in Hebrew and are early when compared with other sources of the book.

In col. 1 lines 12–13 there appears the phrase *שים לבך לכל הדבר אשר אני מניד לך* ("Pay attention to all the words which I tell you [on this mountain]"). This is almost identical to the form of 11QT^a 51:6–7, except for *אני*. As for the

¹ Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983) 2. 225–27.

² There is a typographical error in J. C. VanderKam and J. T. Milik, "The First Jubilees Manuscript from Qumran Cave 4," *JBL* 110 (1991) 250, in which Deut 32:46 has been copied with *מניד* ("tell") instead of *מעיד* ("testify").

³ Yadin, *Temple Scroll* 1. 71–73; G. Brin, "The Bible as Reflected in the Temple Scroll," *Shnaton* 4 (1980) 210–12, 223–24; idem, "Concerning Some of the Uses of the Bible in the Temple Scroll," *RevQ* 12 (1985–87) 527–28.

⁴ Brin, "The Bible as Reflected in the Temple Scroll," 191; Ben Zion Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1983) 8; J. Maier, *The Temple Scroll* (JSOTSup 34; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985) 120.

⁵ VanderKam and Milik, "The First Jubilees Manuscript," 243–70.

phrase **בְּהַר הַזֶּה** ("on this mountain") the completion in line 13 is certain according to the Ethiopic version, and especially because of line 6 in that fragment, which reads: **עַלֵּה אֵלַי הַהָרִי** as well as line 4 **אֵלֶּה הָרִי** and other phrases mentioning the holy mountain.

It is obvious that the phrase **אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מְגִיד לְךָ בְּהַר הַזֶּה** and the invitation to Moses to come up the mountain connect the *Temple Scroll* and the book of *Jubilees*.⁶ One can see that such components are typical of the writings in the last centuries BCE, and I can conclude from 4 Ezra 14:23–50, which uses similar phrases referring to Ezra, that it was used also in the first century CE.

⁶ Regarding other connections between these compositions, see Wacholder, *Dawn*; J. C. VanderKam, "The Temple Scroll and the Book of Jubilees," in *Temple Scroll Studies* (JSPSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989) 210–36.

Gershon Brin
Tel Aviv University
Tel Aviv 69978
Israel

UTNAPISHTIM IN THE BOOK OF GIANTS?

One relatively unexplored motif that can be observed in certain strands of early Jewish interpretation of the figure of Noah as "Flood-hero" revolves around the question of his true lineage and identity. Is Noah of pure human stock, the legitimate seed of Lamech, or is he in actuality one of the infamous גיבורים, that bastard race of "Giants" engendered through the miscegenation of the fallen Watchers and mortal women that created havoc on earth from the era of Yared until the onset of the Deluge? While the Hebrew Bible is silent regarding the possible hybrid pedigree of Noah, it is clear from several extrabiblical sources that there existed a tradition which alleged that the Flood-hero was a "Giant."

The initial published columns of the so-called *Genesis Apocryphon* (= 1QapGen) will serve to introduce this motif.¹ Therein we are immediately confronted with the suspicion of Lamech that his newborn son Noah is not in fact legitimately his child but was the product instead of an illicit liaison between Batenosh, his wife, and one of the angelic Watchers:

Then I considered whether the pregnancy was due to the Watchers and Holy Ones . . . and I grew perturbed about this child. Then I, Lamech, became afraid and went to Batenosh, [my wife . . . saying,] Everything will you truthfully tell me . . . you will tell me without lies . . . you will speak truthfully to me and not with lies. . . . (1QapGen 2:1-7)

Batenosh assures Lamech that the child is indeed his own:

I swear to you by the Great Holy One, by the Ruler of Hea[ven] that this seed is yours, that this pregnancy is from you, that from you is the planting of [this] fruit . . . [and that it is] not from any alien, or from any of the Watchers, or from any heavenly being . . . I tell you this truthfully. (1QapGen 2:14-18)

However, Lamech remains unconvinced of the verity of Batenosh's disclaimers until he has the opportunity to consult his grandfather Enoch "to learn from him the truth of the whole matter" (1QapGen 2:22). The proceedings of this consultation, conducted via the agency of Lamech's father Methuselah, apparently occupied the subsequent three columns of the scroll, and results in Enoch's explicit declaration that Noah's parentage is "[not from] heavenly [beings], but rather from Lamech [your son]" (1QapGen 5:4).

But why does Lamech suspect his wife of adulterous behavior? Is it simply a circumstantial suspicion based on the almost universal licentiousness that characterizes the final generations of the antediluvian era? (see *b. Sanh.* 108a). Another parallel text, *1 Enoch* 106-7, suggests rather that it is the *appearance* and/or *behavior* of the infant Noah that distinguishes him from contemporaneous mortals. Herein we read:

And after (some) days my son Methuselah took for his son Lamech a wife, and she became pregnant by him and bore a son. And his body was white

¹ I translate from the textual edition provided by J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I: A Commentary* (2d rev. ed.; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1971).

like snow and red like the flower of a rose, and the hair of his head (was) white like wool . . . and his eyes (were) beautiful; and when he opened his eyes, he made the whole house bright like the sun so that the whole house was exceptionally bright. And when he was taken from the hand of the midwife, he opened his mouth and spoke to the Lord of Righteousness. And his father Lamech was afraid of him and fled and went to his father Methuselah. And he said to him: "I have begotten a strange son; he is not like a man, but is like the children of the angels of heaven, of a different type, and not like us. And his eyes (are) like the rays of the sun, and his face glorious. And it seems to me that he is not sprung from me, but from the angels. . . . And now, my father, I am entreating you and petitioning you to go to our father Enoch, and learn from him the truth, for his dwelling is with the angels. (1 *Enoch* 106:1-7; see also vv. 10-12)²

The reply of Enoch echoes that found in 1QapGen:

And now make known to your son Lamech that the one who has been born is truly his son. And call his name Noah. . . . And now, my son, go, make known to your son Lamech that this child who has been born is truly his son, and (this) is no lie. (1 *Enoch* 106:18; 107:2)³

Thus it is the manifestation of some markedly supernatural features that creates doubt in the mind of Lamech regarding the parentage of his son. Despite these unsettling phenomena, Lamech is set at ease by the emphatic pronouncement of Enoch that the infant is undoubtedly legitimate. The supernatural attributes, rather than indicating divinity, actually designate the child as a chosen agent of God.⁴

Yet something remains askew in the scenario just sketched. Why were the supernatural signs not immediately recognized as evident indications of God's favor?⁵ Why

² Translation is that of M. A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1978) 2. 244-45. Note that 1Q19 frag. 3, and perhaps frags. 13-14, provides a Hebrew parallel text to portions of the Enoch passage. See *Qumran Cave I* (ed. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik; DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955) 85.

³ Knibb, *Ethiopic Book*, 247, 249.

⁴ One need only cite the manner in which Jewish tradition embellishes the birth of the divinely chosen agent par excellence—Moses. See *b. Sotā* 12a: משה נחמלא , "and the Sages say that when Moses was born, light filled the entire house"; also cited by Rashi to *Exod* 2:2 and *Exod. Rab.* 1:24. The sages base this opinion on a *gezerah shawah* linking *Exod* 2:2 and *Gen* 1:4. Like Noah, Moses was also endowed with the gift of speech at birth: ובו ביום שנולדתי מצאתי פתחון פה והלכתי כרגלי דברתי עם אבי ואמי , "and on the day that I [Moses] was born, I manifested the gift of speech, and walked about on my own two feet, conversing with my father and my mother" (*Deut. Rab.* 11 end).

While on the subject of the peculiar appearance displayed by the infant Noah, it is exceedingly interesting to note that there is a persistent tradition that Noah was one of those favored individuals who were born in a circumcised state. See *'Abot Rab. Nat.* A chap. 2 (Schechter 6b); *Tanḥuma*, *Noah* §5; *Tanḥuma Buber*, *Noah* §6. In light of *Jub.* 15:27, which holds that the angels were created in a circumcised state, one cannot blame Lamech for suspecting the possible angelic parentage of his "son," had Noah displayed this physical sign at birth. Unfortunately, 1QapGen lacks the reasons why Lamech suspects adultery, and 1 *Enoch* 106-7 does not mention circumcision.

⁵ One reason for hesitation has been masterfully explored by A. Caquot in "Les enfants aux cheveux blancs: Réflexions sur un motif," in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1974), 161-72, esp. 168-71. According to Caquot,

are we taken through the narrative detour that produces a refutation of the ascription of a “Giant” status to Noah? Were there traditions extant that alleged that the Flood-hero was actually a “Giant”?

Consider some passages from a third text emanating from the same textual milieu responsible for the production of 1QapGen and *1 Enoch*—the so-called Pseudo-Eupolemus:

Eupolemus in his work *On the Jews* says that the Assyrian city of Babylon was first founded by those who were rescued from the Flood. They were giants (and) built the recorded Tower. When it collapsed due to the action of God, the giants dispersed over the whole earth.⁶

In some anonymous writings we discover that Abraham traced his lineage to the giants. When these (giants) were living in Babylonia, they were slain by God on account of their impiety. One of them, Belos, escaped death (and) settled in Babylon, and after building a tower lived in it. It was called Belos after its builder Belos.⁷

In these admittedly problematic fragments occurs the tradition that both 1QapGen and *1 Enoch* 106–7 are at pains to refute: the notion that the biblical Flood-hero was in fact a “Giant.”⁸ While most of the “Giants” perished in the Deluge on account of

the attributes displayed by the infant Noah “sont un signe équivoque”; that is to say, the signs could be interpreted in either a favorable or an unfavorable sense. For example, the antediluvian Giants also possessed the gift of speech at birth: רכי לוי אומר היו מולדין בניהם והיו פרים ורבים כמין שרץ גדול ששה בכל לידה באותה שעה היו עומדין על רגליהם ומדברים כלשון הקדש ומקדין לפניהם כצאן, “R. Levi said: They [the Watchers] engendered their offspring, and they multiplied like some kind of giant reptile—six (being born) at every birth. Immediately upon birth they would stand up upon their feet and speak Hebrew and cavort before them [their parents] like lambs” (*Pirqe R. El.* 22). Text cited from the edition of M. Higger, *Horeb* 9 (1946) 147 lines 4–6. For an unfavorable significance to a “luminous birth,” note *Vita Adae et Evae* 21.3: “And she [Eve] bore a son, and he was lustrous [Latin *lucidus*]. And at once the infant rose, ran, and brought in his hands a reed and gave it to his mother. And his name was called Cain.” Translation is that of M. D. Johnson, “Life of Adam and Eve,” in *OTP* 2. 264.

⁶ Apud Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9.17.2–3: Εὐπόλεμος δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰουδαίων τῆς Ἀσσυρίας φησὶ πόλιν Βαβυλῶνα πρῶτον μὲν κτισθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν διασωθέντων ἐκ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ· εἶναι δὲ αὐτοὺς γίγαντας οἰκοδομεῖν δὲ τὸν ἱστορούμενον πύργον. πεσόντος δὲ τούτου ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνεργείας τοὺς γίγαντας διασπαρῆναι καθ’ ὅλην τὴν γῆν. Text cited from *Eusebius Werke Achter Band: Die Praeparatio Evangelica. Erster Teil: Einleitung, Die Bücher I bis X* (ed. K. Mras; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1954) 502–3.

⁷ Apud Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9.18.2: ἐν δὲ ἀδεσπότοις εὗρομεν τὸν Ἀβραάμ ἀναφέροντα εἰς τοὺς γίγαντας, τούτους δὲ οἰκοῦντας ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀναιρεθῆναι, ὧν ἓνα Βῆλὸν ἐκφεύγοντα τὸν θάνατον ἐν Βαβυλῶνι κατοικῆσαι πύργον τε κατασκευάσαντα ἐν αὐτῷ διαιτᾶσθαι, ὃν δὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος Βήλου Βῆλὸν ὀνομασθῆναι. Text cited from Mras, 504–5.

⁸ The inclusion of references to the tower and Abraham render it certain that the Flood-survivor(s) discussed by Pseudo-Eupolemus is(are) the biblical one(s). As B. Z. Wacholder perceptively observed: “The version of the flood and the tower, however, is scriptural, except that Noah and his descendants, perhaps including Abraham, are considered giants” (“Pseudo-Eupolemus’ Two Greek Fragments on Abraham,” *HUCA* 34 [1963] 89). Here one might conveniently note that according to Epiphanius, *Panarion* 39.3.2, the Gnostic sect of Sethians maintained that Ham b. Noah was actually one of the bastard offspring of the Watchers; that is to say, a Giant.

their wickedness, Noah (= Belos) and his seed were delivered from death. So little in question is Noah's "Giant" pedigree that Abraham, the biological progenitor of the Jews themselves, can trace his lineage back (via Shem b. Noah) to these same "Giants."

Why is there such interest here in the fortunes of the "Giants"? Current scholarship would attribute their presence in the fragments of Pseudo-Eupolemus to that writer's unabashed syncretistic agenda. Most commentators, to a greater or lesser extent, hold that Pseudo-Eupolemus is driven by a desire to amalgamate and coordinate the mythological traditions of the ancient Near East, Palestine, and Greece.⁹ His inclusion of "Giants" material reflects his idiosyncratic combination of the Jewish traditions undergirding Genesis 5–11 with the Greek gigantomachy traditions. This prevailing interpretation garners some support from another portion of fragment 1, wherein identifications are offered by Pseudo-Eupolemus between prominent ancient Near Eastern and Greek culture heroes (e.g., Enoch = Atlas).

Despite the *prima facie* plausibility of this understanding of Pseudo-Eupolemus, recent textual discoveries suggest that there may be another explanation for that writer's form of the "Giants" tradition. In 1971, J. T. Milik astounded the scholarly community when he reported the discovery of what he termed "un Livre des Géants" among the Aramaic fragments of *1 Enoch* that had been recovered from the caves at Qumran.¹⁰ What was astonishing about this discovery was Milik's subsequent demonstration that this Qumran Book of Giants was the textual *Vorlage* for one of the standard canonical texts of Manichaeism—Mani's Book of Giants.¹¹ Milik's recovery of the Qumran Book of Giants confirmed the earlier suspicions of W. B. Henning that Mani had employed an Aramaic source for the composition of his own narrative.¹²

When one examines the extant published fragments of the Qumran and Manichaean recensions of the Book of Giants, an interesting feature can be observed. The Book of Giants—like Pseudo-Eupolemus—includes "pagan" characters among its *dramatis personae*. The surviving snippets of Pseudo-Eupolemus feature Greek, Hebrew,

⁹ A representative group would include Wacholder, "Two Greek Fragments," 83–113; idem, *Eupolemus: A Study of Judaeo-Greek Literature* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1974) 287–93; M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974) 1. 88–92; J. J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (New York: Crossroad, 1983) 39; P. W. van der Horst, "The Interpretation of the Bible by the Minor Hellenistic Jewish Authors," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. M. J. Mulder; CRINT II/1; Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) 540–42.

¹⁰ J. T. Milik, "Problèmes de la littérature hénochique à la lumière des fragments araméennes de Qumrân," *HTR* 64 (1971) 366–72; idem, "Turfan et Qumran: Livre des Géants juif et manichéen," in *Tradition und Glaube: Das frihe Christentum in seiner Umwelt* (ed. G. Jeremias et al.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971) 117–27; idem, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976) 298–339.

¹¹ For Milik's demonstrations, see the works cited in the preceding note. A thorough examination of the ancient testimonies regarding a "Book of Giants" authored and/or used by Mani and his followers can be found in the first chapter of my *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992).

¹² W. B. Henning, "Ein manichäisches Henochbuch," *SPAW* (1934) 27–35, esp. 29–30; idem, "Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus," *ZDMG* 90 (1936) 2–4; idem, "The Book of the Giants," *BSOAS* 11 (1943) 52–74.

and Babylonian actors among the cast of "Giants."¹³ Similarly, the Book of Giants, so tantalizingly fragmentary, also preserves the names of "pagan" characters — most remarkably, some of the major characters featured in the Mesopotamian *Epic of Gilgamesh*, also apparently numbering them among the roster of the doomed Giants.¹⁴ Milik convincingly demonstrated that the חוככש of the Qumran fragments and the Hōbābīš of the Manichaean version refer in fact to Huwawa/Humbaba, the fearsome monster fought by Gilgamesh and Enkidu, whose name appears on tablets 2–5 of the standard Babylonian version of the epic.¹⁵ Significantly, Milik also called attention to the double occurrence of the name "Gilgamesh" in the Aramaic fragments.¹⁶

Since Milik's groundbreaking work, further fragments of the Manichaean Book of Giants have been identified and published by W. Sundermann.¹⁷ In these fragments, a new character appears on the narrative scene: a Giant named Atambīsh. Here are the relevant citations:

Sām, one of the Giants (superscription). Then Sām said to the Giants: Come here that we might eat and be happy! On account of sorrow no bread was consumed. They slept. Māhawai went to Atambīsh (and) related everything. Again Māhawai came. Sām saw a dream. He came up to heaven. Upon earth fever broke out. All of the water was consumed. From the water wrath went out. (The tutelary spirits?) were invisible. He (Sām) beheld before him the rulers of heaven. . . .¹⁸

(recto) Then Atambīsh two hundred . . . he seized . . . he cut off (?) before (?) . . . he smashed and he tossed [to] the four end[s] of the ea[rth]. And he (?) . . . he took. And those three Giants who were with Atambīsh were slain. And he came (?) before those Wa[tch]ers and Giants who were with him. And when tho[se . . . Atambīsh. . . .]¹⁹

¹³ See the full texts of the two fragments attributed to Pseudo-Eupolemus: fragment 1 apud Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* 9.17.2–9 (Mras, 502–4); fragment 2 apud Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* 9.18.2 (Mras, 504–5).

¹⁴ For the published fragments of the Qumran Book of Giants, see Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 300–317; and compare K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984) 258–68. The Manichaean fragments of the Book of Giants are provided by Henning, "Giants," 56–73. For more recent identifications and publications of portions of the Manichaean Book of Giants, see below.

¹⁵ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 29, 311–13. The name of Humbaba also survives in the form "Hummāma," the Manichaean Spirit of Darkness discussed by some Muslim philosophers and heresiologists. See G. Monnot, *Penseurs musulmans et religions iraniennes: 'Abd al-Jabbār et ses devanciers* (Paris: Vrin; Le Caire-Beyrouth: Institut dominicain d'études orientales, 1974) 123–25.

¹⁶ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 313.

¹⁷ W. Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer* (Berliner Turfantexte 4; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973) 76–78; idem, "Ein weiteres Fragment aus Manis Gigantenbuch," in *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata* (Leiden: Brill, 1984) 491–505. In addition to these pieces and to the additional texts adduced therein, Professor Sundermann has informed me that yet another fragment from the Book of Giants (M 7800) will soon be published in a forthcoming volume of the periodic *Irano-Judaica* symposia held in Jerusalem.

¹⁸ Leningrad I verso. See Sundermann, "Ein weiteres Fragment," 497–98.

¹⁹ M 5900 [recto?], whose superscription has been restored by Sundermann as "The discourse about the *Māzendarān*"; that is, the Giants. For the text cited, see his *Mittelpersische Texte*, 78.

The personage designated "Atambīsh" would appear to play an important role in the narrative movement of the Book of Giants at these points, and it is frustrating that so little narrative context is available for pinpointing it. Sundermann initially thought that Atambīsh was one of the fallen Watchers, and he suggested an identification with Tamiel, the fifth Watcher mentioned in the list of rogue angels presented in *1 Enoch* 6:7.²⁰ In a subsequent article Sundermann opined that Atambīsh was in fact a Giant, but put forward no explanation for his peculiar name.²¹

However, given the occurrence of the names of Gilgamesh and Hūmbaba in the Qumran Book of Giants, and the name of Hūmbaba in the surviving fragments of the Manichaean Book of Giants, an interesting correlation suggests itself. It seems plausible to postulate that "Atambīsh" represents a later reflex of the name "Utnapishtim," the Mesopotamian Flood-hero from tablet 11 of the *Gilgamesh Epic*.²²

If this identification is correct, several significant conclusions seem warranted. First, the presence of several literary characters from Mesopotamian epic traditions within a Jewish composition of the Second Temple era attests the wide dispersal of these (and other) motifs among literate circles of the ancient Near East, probably in Aramaic versions.²³ Second, the presence of Atambīsh = Utnapishtim in the Manichaean recension of the Book of Giants is almost certainly dependent on the incidence of the name "Utnapishtim" within the Qumran version of the Book of Giants, presumably now lost or resident within the still unpublished portions of that work. Third, and most significant for our present purposes, the Jewish author(s) of the Book of Giants identified Utnapishtim, the Babylonian Noah, as one of the bastard Giants engendered by the fallen Watchers with mortal women. It is clear from the published fragments of the Book of Giants that a story (*the story?*) of the Deluge once figured in the narrative, but the name of Noah has yet to be identified (or even reconstructed) in this material.

It seems possible that Pseudo-Eupolemus derived his peculiar conceptions about antediluvian history—and, most important, his identification of the Flood-hero as a Giant—from the Book of Giants or an earlier version thereof. The authors of 1QapGen and *1 Enoch* 106–7, cognizant of these traditions which hold that the Flood-hero is of suspect parentage, polemicize against this "pagan" motif.

²⁰ Sundermann, *Mittelpersische Texte*, 78.

²¹ Sundermann, "Ein weiteres Fragment," 495 n. 19.

²² Compare especially the transcription of the name 'tnbyš with *Utnapištim*.

²³ One need only cite the international popularity of the Ahiqar romance, assuredly of Mesopotamian origin. The *Prayer of Nabonidus* probably emanates from such a setting. Note also the recent publication by R. C. Steiner and C. F. Nims of an Aramaic version (transcribed in demotic!) of a story about the Assyrian monarch Ashurbanipal and his brother Shamash-shum-ukin ("Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin: A Tale of Two Brothers from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script," *RB* 92 [1985] 60–81). Pseudo-Eupolemus was presumably a member of such a learned scribal circle. For stimulating examinations of this intellectual milieu, see Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 4–58; and especially Wacholder, "The Ancient Judaeo-Aramaic Literature: A Classification of Pre-Qumranic Texts," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. H. Schiffman; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990) 257–81.

John C. Reeves
Winthrop College
Rock Hill, SC 29733

APOLLO, GRECO-ROMAN PROPHECY, AND THE RIDER ON THE WHITE HORSE IN REV 6:2

Four factors in the description of the first seal's horse and rider in Rev 6:2 require explanation if a convincing interpretation is to be given to its symbolism. These are (1) the color of the horse, in this case white; (2) the bow that the rider holds; (3) the crown (στέφανος); and (4) the emphasis on the rider's activity of conquering using the verb νικάω. The thesis of this paper is that these four factors are best explained if the first seal is interpreted as a symbol combining the complementary elements of false messiahs and false prophecy.

Emphasis on the white color of the horse has led some to interpret the first seal as a symbol of the triumphant progress of the gospel or as a portrayal of Christ himself.¹ The major weakness of any attempt to see positive significance in the first seal is that the similarities of form in each of the first four seals imply that the seals must be viewed as a unity made up of parallel members. The fact that Death and Hades, who appear in the fourth seal (6:7-8), are manifestly entities that are antithetical to God in 20:14 weakens any case that can be made for viewing the four seals as symbolic of the Divine Warrior or his angelic emissaries.² André Feuillet resolves this difficulty by arguing that the first seal alludes to the Divine Warrior in order to convey the message that the seals represent evil powers in the service of God, but he destroys the parallelism of members and the unity of the group by attributing to the first seal the distinction of encompassing the following three seals.³ Although M. Bachmann recently has demonstrated the presence of differences between the form of the presentation of the first seal and the forms of next three, it is questionable whether the distinctions he cites are of such a nature as to destroy the basic unity of the group as a whole.⁴ All

¹ See the discussion and literature cited in Louis Arthur Vos, *The Synoptic Traditions in the Apocalypse* (Kampen: Kok, 1965) 181-92; and esp. Michael Bachmann, "Der erste apokalyptische Reiter und die Anlage des letzten Buches der Bibel," *Bib* 67 (1986) 240-75.

² Contra J. Massyngberde Ford, *Revelation: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (AB 38; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965) 97-103.

³ André Feuillet, "Le Premier Cavalier de l'Apocalypse," *ZNW* 57 (1966) 229-59.

⁴ E.g., as Bachmann argues, the use of ἄλλος in 6:4 could signify a break between the first seal and the next three seals, which could then be viewed as a group distinct from the first seal. The view that seals 2-4 form a group distinct from the first seal would seem to be further emphasized by the possible reiteration of the content of seals 2-4 in 6:8 (Bachmann, "Der erste apokalyptische Reiter," 247-48, 259-61). However, 6:8 does not correspond directly to the preceding seals (e.g., μάχαιρα is used in 6:3, while ῥομφαία is used in 6:8; there is also no mention of the beasts of the earth in the earlier seals). There are also distinctions that set each of the four seals apart from the other three (e.g., only in the fourth seal are there two figures associated with the horse; ἐδόθη is not used with regard to the third rider). If the first seal is still viewed as a general negative power but is distinguished from the next three seals by the fact that it does not involve physical danger, the need to recognize the distinctions pointed out by Bachmann is satisfied. Probably the grouping of the last three seals is simply due to the influence of the prophetic triad of "sword, famine, and plague" (e.g., Jer 14:12; 21:7, 9; 24:10; 27:13; 29:17-18; 32:24, 36; 34:17; 38:2; 42:17, 22; Ezek 5:12; 6:11-12; 7:15; 12:16) which sometimes includes wild beasts as in Ezek 5:17; 14:21, just as it does in Rev 6:8; cf. Feuillet, "Premier Cavalier," 235.

four seals portray forces of evil to whom authority has been given (see ἐδόθη in 6:2, 4, 8) to unleash their woes upon the earth.⁵

Interpretations of the first seal as a negative entity include the view that it is a symbol of military conquest, especially one involving a Parthian invasion.⁶ The major problem with this view is that it creates a redundancy between the first and the second seal (Rev 6:3–4), which is exemplified when R. H. Charles describes the first seal as “war” and the second as “international strife.”⁷ Another interpretation of the first seal as a negative force has been proposed by M. Rissi, who believes that the characteristics of the first seal depict the Antichrist as a counterfeit of the descending Christ in Rev 19:11–16.⁸ Although recognizable personal figures are presented in the fourth seal (Death, Hades), these figures hold a symbolic significance similar to the second and third seals in that they have the nature of threats that are both temporally and spatially universal. But Rissi’s interpretation makes the rider on the white horse unique among the four horsemen in being a major personal player in Revelation. This failure to treat the four seals as a unified group made up of parallel members is one of the major weaknesses in Rissi’s interpretation.

A promising direction has been taken by Louis Vos, who has argued that the first seal refers to false messiahs.⁹ His thesis is that because seals 2–6 follow the order of the Synoptic eschatological discourse (Matthew 24, Mark 13, Luke 21), it is probable that the first seal is based on an element of tradition that is located in the discourse prior to the mention of wars, which contributed to the formulation of the second seal.¹⁰ The sequence of the Synoptic eschatological discourse would therefore suggest that the first seal refers to the false messiahs described in Matt 24:4–5 and parallels. In this view the white horse in 6:2 would represent a counterfeit of the white horse of 19:11. Because rulers are often depicted as victorious conquerors wearing wreathed crowns (στεφάνοι) and because στέφανος is multivalent,¹¹ the distinction between the wreathed crown (στέφανος) in 6:2 and royal crowns (διαδήματα) in 19:12 cannot be pressed to exclude a loose allusion in the first seal to the crown of the rider in 19:11–16. Furthermore, Christ is described as wearing a στέφανος under the guise of the one like a Son of Humanity in 14:14.¹² Therefore, the crown in 6:2, like the white horse, can be explained as a feature emphasizing the counterfeit nature of the false messiahs.

⁵ Bachmann correctly points out that in Revelation ἐδόθη simply signifies divine agency without regard to the positive or negative value of what is given or to whom it is given (“Der erste apokalyptische Reiter,” 245). But its use in the first, second, and fourth seal implies that the first seal must be viewed as part of the same group as the second and fourth seals.

⁶ E.g., recently M. Eugene Boring, *Revelation* (Interpretation; Louisville: John Knox, 1989) 122.

⁷ R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (ICC; Edinburgh: Clark, 1920) 1. 158.

⁸ Mathias Rissi, “The Rider on the White Horse,” *Int* 18 (1964) 407–18.

⁹ Vos, *Synoptic Traditions*, 181–92.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 186–92.

¹¹ See Walter Grundmann, “στέφανος, στεφανώω,” *TDNT* 7. 615–24.

¹² No early Christian familiar with the Synoptic traditions could have failed to identify the figure in 14:14 with the one in 1:13, who is clearly Christ; contra J. Coppens, “La mention d’un Fils d’homme angélique en Ap 14,14,” in *L’Apocalypse johannique et l’Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament* (ed. J. Lambrecht; BETL 53; Paris/Gembloux: Duculot; Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1980) 229; A. P. van Schaik, “Ἄλλος ἄγγελος in Apk 14,” in *L’Apocalypse johannique*, 222–25.

The “conquering” would refer to the triumphant progress of the deception of the false messiahs.

Based on texts such as Pss 11:2; 78:57; Jer 9:8; Hos 7:16; and Eph 6:16, Vos has sought to explain the bow as a weapon of the ungodly for destruction and deceit, though he admits that the bow is “a very difficult element in the vision.”¹³ The bow poses special difficulties for the view that the rider is Christ, since the sword is so consistently associated with him elsewhere in Revelation (1:16; 2:12, 16; 19:15, 21), but this divergence from the imagery of Christ also requires a fuller explanation in order to qualify or supplement Vos’s thesis that false messiahs are symbolized in the first seal.¹⁴ Pressing the motif of counterfeit among the false messiahs, however, suggests an explanation for the contrast between the bow and the sword. The fact that the sword symbolizes the word of God might imply that the bow refers to some type of caricature of the word of God. The contention of this article is that this is indeed the case. The bow signifies the self-affirming false prophecy proclaimed by the false messiahs in Matt 24:4–5//Mark 13:5–6 or the more generalized false prophecy referred to in Luke 21:8 (ὁ καιρὸς ἤγγικεν). This interpretation of the bow respects Vos’s demand that the sequence of the Synoptic eschatological discourse be followed in the interpretation of the first seal while lending more significance, credibility, and specificity to his tentative suggestion that deception is somehow signified by the bow. But why was a bow chosen to fill out the symbolism of false prophecy?

The answer to this question recalls the work of Gunkel, who argued that the first seal depicted a sun deity, although he posited the unlikely identification of the rider on the white horse as Mithras.¹⁵ In Greco-Roman antiquity, the bow would have served as a fairly transparent symbol of Apollo, the god who was believed to inspire prophecy. The compatibility of the bow with a symbolic allusion to Apollo would have especially resulted from the pervasive influence of the works of Homer, which was especially strong in Smyrna.¹⁶ The Homeric tradition used numerous epithets of Apollo based on Apollo’s activity as an archer, such as κλυτότοξος (“famous for the bow”; e.g., *Iliad* 4.101; 15.55; *Od.* 17.494; 21.267), ἀργυρότοξος (“with silver bow”; e.g., *Iliad* 1.37; 2.766;

¹³ Vos, *Synoptic Traditions*, 190.

¹⁴ In arguing that the first seal refers to Christ, Bachmann sees a connection between Apollo and Mithras in the use of the bow as “ein Majestätssymbol” for Christ (“Der erste apokalyptische Reiter,” 252, 263–64). The “majesty” to which he refers may be an attribute held in common by Apollo, Mithras, and Christ, but there is nothing in the references he cites to suggest that the bow itself has this significance distinct from the deities. As will be discussed below, I would prefer to see in the bow a symbol for Apollo himself, only in this way are his attributes implied.

¹⁵ Hermann Gunkel, *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments* (FRLANT 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903) 53–54 n. 6. It is not even clear that in western Asia Minor in the first century Mithras was a sun deity in the strict sense of being identified with the sun; see Ilya Gershevitch, “Die Sonne das Beste,” in *Mithraic Studies: Proceedings of the First International Congress of Mithraic Studies* (ed. John R. Hinnells; Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975) 1. 68–89. There is very little, if anything, in Revelation that can be distinctively associated with the mythology and iconography of Mithras; in contrast, there appear to be clear allusions to Apollo.

¹⁶ On the influence of Homer in Greco-Roman education and culture, see H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1956) 162–64, 224, 262. Smyrna claimed to be the birthplace of Homer, had a shrine devoted to him, and issued a bronze coin named after him; see Strabo, *Geo.* 14.1.37 (C646).

24.758; *Od.* 7.64; 15.410; 17.251), ἐκατηβόλος (“shooting a hundred arrows” or “far-shooting”; e.g., *Iliad* 15.231; 16.711; *Od.* 20.278), ἐκηβόλος (“attaining his aim”; e.g., *Iliad* 1.14, 21), and possibly ἐκάεργος (“working from afar”; e.g., *Iliad* 1.474, 479; 15.253).¹⁷ In later classical texts, Apollo’s arrows continued to deal out death and vengeance (e.g., Aeschylus, *Agamem.* 509–13; Sophocles, *Oed. Rex* 204–6). Apollo was also identified with the sun (e.g., Ovid, *Metamor.* 2.1–400). His activity as the god who inspired prophecy is ubiquitous (e.g., the prophet Cassandra in Aeschylus, *Agamem.* 1072–1326; the prophet Teiresias in Sophocles, *Oed. Rex* 408–10; and the famous Delphic oracle in Strabo, *Geo.* 9.3.2–12 [C417–423]).

Many Jews in the Greco-Roman world were well acquainted with the imagery and motifs associated with Apollo. Philo describes how the emperor Gaius imitated Apollo by donning crowns (στεφάνοι) adorned with the sun’s rays while carrying a bow and arrows (*Legat.* 95–96). Philo then contrasts the character of Gaius with the qualities of Apollo as radiant sun and source of healing and prophecy (*Legat.* 103–10). The composers of the Jewish *Sibylline Oracles* intentionally utilized a prophetic genre traditionally ascribed to a prophet inspired by Apollo (e.g., Ovid, *Metamor.* 14.101–54) while at the same time setting their work over against that of the pagan spokespersons of Apollo (e.g., *Sib. Or.* 4.1–23).¹⁸ Josephus catalogues a brief list of the characteristics of numerous Greco-Roman deities, including those noted for being “archers,” i.e., Apollo and Artemis (*Ap.* 2.33–34 §239–49).

Jews and Christians living in western Asia Minor in the late first century would have been familiar with the presence of the oracle of Apollo at Didyma, which was not far from Ephesus (Strabo, *Geo.* 14.1.5 [C634]). Also near Ephesus was Ortygia, the site of the birthplace of Artemis, whose birth was closely associated in mythology with the birth of her brother Apollo on the island of Delos (Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* 1–18; Strabo, *Geo.* 14.1.20 [C639–40]). The tensions in the church of Thyatira addressed in Rev 2:18–29 appear to have resulted from conflict and compromise with the local trade guilds, which were devoted to the local patron deity, Helios Pythius Tyrinnaeus Apollo.¹⁹ The factors that would have contributed to the use of imagery associated with Apollo in the book of Revelation therefore included general familiarity with the mythology of Apollo, regional and local devotion to Apollo, internal issues among the churches to which the book was written, and the very fact that the author functioned as a Jewish-Christian prophet in the same environment as pagan prophets claiming inspiration from Apollo.

The author of Revelation utilized the imagery of Apollo in a polemic against the message of false prophets and the values of pagan society. The polemic usage of the imagery of Apollo is most pointed in the probable double entendre of Apollo’s name in 9:11, where he or his namesake is the leader in a plague of demonic locusts.²⁰ Polemics

¹⁷ See LSJ.

¹⁸ See John J. Collins, “Sibylline Oracles,” *OTP* 1. 318–20 and notes on pp. 372, 400, 442.

¹⁹ Colin J. Hemer, *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia in their Local Setting* (JSNTSup 11; Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1986) 106–28.

²⁰ Although the spelling of the name in Rev 9:11 brings it closer to the root of ἀπόλλυμι, a similar play on ἀπόλλυμι and the name Apollo can be found in an epigram of Ammianus (*Anthologia Graeca* 11. 188), which engages in paronomasia based on Apollo’s skills as singer and healer and the translation of his name as “destroyer”: “When Niketas sings he is Apollo of the songs, and when he acts as a physician, [he is Apollo] of his patients.”

with respect to Apollo probably contributed to the use of imagery in some of the references to Helios, the sun, although in some cases the associations with Apollo have been combined with traditional motifs, such as the affects of God's judgments on the heavenly bodies.²¹ Allusions to Apollo as Helios may include comparisons between Christ and Helios, the hostile references to the tormenting activity of Helios, and the fact that God's judgment strikes Helios, which is ultimately absent from the new creation (1:16; 6:12; 7:16; 8:12; 16:8; 21:23; 22:5). The imagery of Helios, the sun, and Selene, the moon, in 12:1 draws on the compatibility of the symbolism of Joseph's dream in Gen 37:9–10 with the mythology of Apollo and Artemis. The combat myth of chap. 12 shows a thorough familiarity with the mythical tradition of the birth of Apollo and his slaying of the Pythian dragon at Delphi (e.g., Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*). By fusion of Greco-Roman and other mythical traditions in this chapter with imagery drawn from Jewish and Christian traditions, activities and images associated with Apollo are transferred to Christ while significant distinctions between them are retained.²² A similar counterpoint between Apollo as the reputed inspiration behind pagan prophecy and Christ as the divine author of Christian prophecy seems to be implied in the contrast between the bow in the hand of the rider in the first seal and the sword in the mouth of Christ in Revelation. The dreaded nature of Apollo's death-dealing skills as an archer merges with the traditional motif of infliction of eschatological plagues (e.g., *m. Sotā* 9:15) such as those in 6:8 and lends a sense of ominous danger to the deception of false prophecy.

The choice of the more general στέφανος in 6:2 to serve as a counterfeit of the στέφανος in 14:14 and the διαδήματα in 19:12 can therefore be given a fuller explanation than previously. The στέφανος could be worn both by royalty and by prophets and those who had been given a prophetic oracle.²³ It thus served as an appropriate element in completing imagery that was intended to symbolize both false claimants to messianic kingship and the deceptive prophetic oracles by which they would gain a following. The wearing of the στέφανος by Apollo as conqueror of the Pythian dragon and by shamans invoking his magical and oracular powers made the term even more appropriate.²⁴

The use of the verb νικάω can also be explained more fully by reference to pagan prophecy. Although the verb is found in a number of contexts in Revelation, the most consistent use of the word is in the promises to "the one who conquers" in the seven oracles in chaps. 2–3.²⁵ Its use in these chapters may be intended as a polemic contrast to the false prophecy of the Nicolaitans (2:6, 15), whose name bears a relation to "conquering" in virtue of its use of the νικ- root. Because the Nicolaitans advocated compromise with the values and ideas of the Greco-Roman environment (2:14–15), the author of Revelation may have classified them with pagan prophets who claimed

²¹ A similar fusion of the imagery of Apollo and traditional biblical imagery of the sun in early Judaism appears in the mosaic of the chariot of the sun in the Beth Alpha synagogue (see Eleazar L. Sukenik, *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha* [London: Oxford University Press, 1932] 35–36, frontispiece and plate X).

²² For a full discussion, see Adela Yarbro Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation* (HDR 9; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976) esp. 57–85.

²³ Grundmann, "στέφανος," *TDNT* 7. 616–20.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 617, 619.

²⁵ The verb appears in Rev 2:7, 11, 17, 26; 3:5, 12, 21; 5:5; 6:2; 11:7; 12:11; 13:7; 15:2; 17:14; 21:7.

inspiration from Apollo. The author's view that false prophecy was an entirely foreign element rather than simply a corruption of what he understood as truth is further implied in the designations he gives to his other opponents and their teaching (the non-Israelite queen "Jezebel," 2:20; the foreign "teaching of Balaam," 2:14). This suggests that in at least some early Christian circles "false prophecy" within the Christian community did not form a category entirely distinct from pagan prophecy outside the community (cf. 1 John 2:18-19).

A concluding tentative suggestion is that the failure of modern interpreters to see the nature of counterfeit in the rider of the white horse displays the success the author's literary device. That is, the ambiguity in the correct interpretation of the first seal is intentional. This ambiguity is only completely resolved when the reader reaches the last of the first four seals and realizes that, because seals 2-4 depict negative forces, the first seal must also have a negative significance. Because mythological figures appear in the fourth seal (personified Death and Hades), the reader is given a clue that the first seal may also refer to a mythological figure, who in this case would be recognizable as Apollo because of the bow. Therefore, in the ideal reading of the text by a person immersed in the mythology of first-century Asia Minor, a reanalysis of the description of the first seal would have shown how the reader was temporarily deceived by the potential similarities of the figure in the first seal and the figure of Christ.²⁶ If modern readers of Revelation have not realized that they have been "caught" in the deception of the false messiahs and false prophets depicted in the first seal, it is only because they have not given careful consideration to the bow, which serves as one of the signal distinctions marking off the victorious progress of Christ and the gospel from the victorious progress of false messiahs and false prophecy.

²⁶ A similar device is used by Paul in 2 Thess 2:8-9, where the use of *παρουσία* in a conventionalized technical sense referring to the eschatological coming of Christ is followed immediately by an ambiguous use of the word in a nontechnical sense for the appearance of the man of lawlessness. The deception of the man of lawlessness in his *παρουσία* is emphasized by the fact that the reader is temporarily deceived into applying his *παρουσία* in v. 9 to Christ, whose *παρουσία* has just been mentioned in v. 8. Only upon reading to the end of v. 9 does it become clear that the reader has been "caught": the second use of *παρουσία* cannot refer to the *παρουσία* of Christ.

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BOOK REVIEWS

A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew. Vol. 1. Part One: Orthography and Phonetics; Part Two: Morphology. Vol. 2. Part Three: Syntax, by Paul Joüon. Trans. and rev. by T. Muraoka. Subsidia Biblica 14/1–2. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1991. Pp. xxxv + 779. L 53,000.

Joüon's *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique* [*Ghb*] was first published in 1923. In spite of its many fine qualities—clear organization, lucid exposition, rich examples—there was apparently no demand for an English version. GKC had been used as the standard reference since early in the century, and *Ghb* covered similar ground. The morphology, especially of the noun, had made a considerable advance on GKC, thanks partly to Bauer and Leander's splendid work. Part III, the syntax, was in every way superior to GKC. Only with the publication of B. K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* [IBHS] (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989), was the need of English readers for an up-to-date systematic syntax of biblical Hebrew met. Inevitably this new translation of Joüon's grammar [GBH] will be compared to IBHS.

To review GBH could involve three different tasks: to review the original work (*Ghb*); to see how well it has been translated; to evaluate the alterations made by Muraoka [M.] as reviser. For the first two of these tasks I read the original and the translation in tandem. M. has displayed an uncanny command of both languages; his English everywhere reflects the admirable lucidity of the French original. In only a few places does he miss the meaning. For example, in §13*b* GBH renders "Les deux particules **אִם** dont l'une est la préposition «avec» et l'autre l'exposant de l'accusatif se trouve souvent avec maqqef **אִם־** et souvent sans maqqef **אִם**" as "The two particles spelled both **אִם**, one of which is a preposition meaning 'with' and the other the accusative marker, occur as often with a *maqqef* (**אִם־**) as without one (**אִם**)." The facts invalidate the translation; there are about seven times as many of the former as of the latter.

Most of *Ghb* is reproduced exactly. The revisions are of three kinds: first, minor alterations of the text; secondly, extensive addition of footnotes, mainly to supply references to discussions of various points of Hebrew grammar since 1923 (for example, there are nine new footnotes to §153, reporting recent research into the Hebrew clause). Thirdly, at a few places Joüon's doctrine has been abandoned, most conspicuously his treatment of vowel length. This was called for. Joüon went too far in asserting that there were four vowel lengths with exact ratios. Muraoka has gone to the other extreme, denying the phonemic value of vowel length, in fact making no significant distinctions in vowel length at all. Assuredly the Tiberian system embodies recognition of seven vowel qualities (mouth positions); but the almost exclusive use of vowel letters for vowels which historical considerations show to have been long and the provision of special symbols for three (if not four) very short vowels shows that the scribes were aware of and recorded differences in length as such. Most drastically M. maintains that the

shewas all represented “zero vowel” (p. 50), a contradiction in terms: if it is a vowel, it is a sound; if “zero,” presumably silent. M. follows the contemporary Israeli practice and does not show *shewa* in transliteration. Yet on p. 51 (n. 4) M. calls *shewa* “zero vowel phoneme” with composite *shewas* as “allophones.” And on p. 54 he describes the *hatefs* as “extremely short vowels,” omitting, however, Joüon’s words “comme le *shewa* prononcé.”

This treatment of *shewa* creates problems at two points. First, if all *shewas* were silent, then the two pronunciations of *begadkepat* consonants are not phonologically conditioned and must be recognized as pairs of phonemes. If *shewa* is a zero vowel, then the occurrence of a stop after a vowel and of a spirant after a consonant (as in *watdabber* [M.’s transcription]) means that no pattern of complementary distribution of stop/spirant can be found; so, strictly speaking, this opposition would be phonemic. That inference has not been drawn. Secondly, the minimal difference between such pairs as *’ōnī* and *’ānī*, admitted on p. 37 (note 1) — and there are others — can be valid only if the *hatefs* are sounded; they are phonemic. In stating the rules for spirantization of *begadkepat* (p. 84), *shewa* is recognized as a vowel, or at least like indubitable vowels in evoking spirantization in a following *begadkepat*.

One of the most valuable features of Joüon’s work was the detailed and lucid treatment of the forms of nouns (§§86–101). Apart from a long addition to the beginning of §88C, Joüon’s work is reproduced with only minor revisions and supply of recent bibliography.

Revisions, largely in the form of augmentation supplied mainly in the notes include remarks about Philippi’s law and data from the *Secunda* (drawn from Brønno, but not Jansses). Improvements are more conspicuous and most welcome in Part 3: Syntax, especially in chapter 7 (“Clauses”). Here there is extensive documentation to work done since 1923, and Muraoka’s own vast and disciplined learning is evident all along the way. Throughout pride of place is rightly given to Muraoka’s own outstanding *Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew*, and Lambert’s *Traité* is frequently mentioned. It would have been even better if M. had brought in more material from *Emphatic* rather than simply referring to it. While some of this new material is listed in the Abbreviations (pp. xxxvii–xxxiv [sic]), the provision of an index of authors would have made it more accessible. Illustrations are also brought from recently discovered inscriptions. It would have been helpful if these examples had been included in the Index of Passages (not all the references to Arad, Moabite, etc., have been included in the Subject Index).

As a result of Muraoka’s respect for Joüon’s original work and his modesty in bringing in more of his own, one has the uncomfortable feeling that the results are an uneasy mix of the old-fashioned and the up-to-date. And in some places the two points of view are in contradiction. M.’s revisions and additions are not all marked as such. Unless one reads the original, one would not realize that in §155k Muraoka completely reverses Joüon’s statement about word order. Or that in §160e *Sujet* has been replaced by “Pred.”

Throughout the entire treatment there is uncertainty as to what should drive the organization of the material. There is competition between morphology (words classified by form), lexicon (words classified by meaning) and syntactic structure (word sequences). This is every grammarian’s problem, of course. Having treated the meanings and functions of the different kinds of verbs, classified as to stem-forms (*binyānīm*) or tense-aspect, under “form,” questions of transitivity, mood, and temporal reference are taken

up once more in Part Three, chapter 1 and again in the discussion of clauses (chapter 7). As a result of this arrangement, there is no comprehensive, systematic discussion of the vital questions of tense and aspect. (The index gives only one reference to "aspect," four to "tense.")

The traditional use of the terms "active" (versus "stative"), "active" (versus "passive"), and "transitive" (versus "intransitive") is retained (§111h); but it is not clear whether these categories are derived from morphological, lexical, or syntactic considerations. In statements such as "an active verb may be intransitive" and "a stative verb may be transitive" (§111b) the criteria seem to have moved from morphology (stative verbs have distinctive vocalization) to syntax (a transitive verb has an object). The statement that "some verbs have both an active *meaning* and a stative *meaning*" [italics mine] has moved into lexicology.

Much difficulty arises as a result of presenting the grammar as the syntax of the various parts of speech. These are not defined in terms of Hebrew. Rather, as also with such concepts as "case," "tense," "mood," and the inventory of clause types in chapter 7, categories are supplied by the grammar of translations into modern European languages, mostly French. In §112 it is shown that *qatal* matches a whole range of English (originally French) tenses and aspects—imperfect (present of perfect), recent past, remote past, pluperfect, performative (present, assumed past), (epistolatory) present, incipient future, threatening/promissory future, prophetic future, future perfect, as well as surprised question and optative. It is hard to grasp what is meant by the opening remark that "[t]he *qatal* of action verbs is mainly used for the past" (p. 360), unless this is meant to be a statistical report as in McFall's tables (based on RSV equivalents!). This could be a legitimate exercise in comparative/contrastive linguistics; but the result could be quite different if the target language was not a European one. One could argue equally that Hebrew verbs have subjunctive and other modalities, because moods must be chosen when translating into languages that make obligatory provision for them.

Parts of speech are listed (p. 111) as "the pronoun (with the definite article included), the verb, the noun (substantive and adjective), and the particles (adverb, preposition, conjunction, and interjection)." Properly used, the term "adverb" should refer to items that go with verbs; it should be defined by syntactic function. The miscellaneous list in §102 includes various items with diverse syntactic functions, not always exercised in relation to a verb—interrogative, negative, etc.—as well as other parts of speech (adjectives, substantives, infinitive absolute, numerals) when used adverbally. This is confusing. It produces complications when it comes to clause syntax, such as the classification of all clauses containing the negative "adverb" as "negative clauses," even when the negative is a phrase-level modifier of an item, such as a noun, in the clause, not of the verb or the clause as a whole (p. 603).

Organizing a Hebrew grammar by using categories and distinctions gathered from other languages results in the separation of phenomena which would be kept together if Hebrew were described on its own terms; for instance, if one looked at all the things that a noun without a preposition can do in a clause, this would avoid calling some nouns "adverbs" (§102d) while classifying others as various kinds of "indirect accusative" (§126). The diagnostics for such distinctions are not formalized. For example, a noun referring to a substance used in making something which is referred to by the object is variously classified as "a second object" (§125u—there is no entry for "object" in the Subject Index) or as "attributive accusative" (§127c). There are intimations that

J. was intuitively using diagnostic criteria which would, in our time, be formalized in the taxonomic strategies of transformational grammar, and at one point (§131a) M. adds a remark which makes this methodology explicit.

Pronoun object suffixes are discussed under morphology (§61), with passing recognition of the availability of an alternate "analytical construction" using **אם**. The morphology of the latter is discussed under "prepositions" (§103k), its syntax under "accusative" (§125e) and "apposition" (§132g); but the sequence preferences of such objects in whole clause structures are never discussed. In passing we remark that the whole approach to clause-level syntax driven by the concept of "case" is surely obsolete. J. might have been the first Hebraist to make use of the insights of de Saussure, but this made no real difference to his methodology, which remained in the mainstream of nineteenth-century philology with its use of premade categories, often of an abstract or psychological character, and a comparativistic-historical interest that sought explanations in other Semitic languages, notably Arabic, as in the doctrine of the *piel* as intensive (queried on p. 124; omitted in §52) or the notion of the nominal sentence.

M. retains J.'s opening statement that biblical Hebrew "presents an astonishing degree of uniformity" (§3a). Yet new material based on recent research has tracked down more and more of the peculiarities of late biblical Hebrew, contradicting J.'s statement that "[t]he variations in syntax are in general the least significant" (§3a). It is doubtful that J.'s *Ghb* could be revised so as to do justice to diachronic investigation of Hebrew as now required. Certainly M. adds remarks about differences between early and late, but only in passing, and not systematically.

In §58 Muraoka retains Joüon's strong belief in the passive Qal; but at other points he is very cautious about recognizing other features of Hebrew not considered by earlier grammarians but suggested by recent studies, particularly of Northwest Semitic epigraphs. His caution is doubtless valid in the case of alleged *yqtl* as a distinct tense. But the possibilities of infixed *-t-* (the case of **ינתור** in the Tell Fekherye bilingual could have been mentioned), f. pl. in *-ā* (p. 133), enclitic *mem* (p. 343), duals (pp. 272, 551), and "broken" construct chains (pp. 465, 470), could have been left open, as with the question of broken plurals (new material on p. 294), or the survival of the archaic plural case ending *-ū* (p. 285).

Notwithstanding these observations, Joüon's *Ghb* remains the best overall general reference grammar for biblical Hebrew, and Muraoka has placed all students of Hebrew who read English but not French in his debt for what must have been an onerous task superbly achieved.

Francis I. Andersen

New College for Advanced Christian Studies, Berkeley, CA 94704

The Song of the Sea: Ex. 15:1–21, by Martin L. Brenner. BZAW 195. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1991. Pp. viii + 193. DM 88.

This dissertation from the Angelicum in Rome suggests how fragile are our scholarly assumptions and agreements, and how much our conclusions are required by our assumptions. Brenner's thesis is that the Song of the Sea (Exod 15:1–18) is a postexilic document, reflecting the work and interests of the Levitical singers during the reconstruction of Nehemiah.

The argument of the thesis proceeds by taking up in turn three sections of the poem, the "Formulaic Enclosure" (vv. 1b-3, 18, 21b), and then vv. 4-12, vv. 13-17. In a rather unexceptional introduction, Brenner establishes the text, offers a translation, and concludes that the poem is a unity, a victory song of cultic origin.

The detailed argument of the book is to note textual parallels in other texts which are taken, usually following the scholarly consensus, to be postexilic. On the basis of such parallels, it is then regularly asserted that because "text A" is postexilic, Exod 15 which parallels it is likewise to be so dated. Among such parallels are the following:

Exod 15:1a, 19-21c	Deut 31:16-22, 28-30; 32:44
v. 20	1 Chr 25:1-3; 2 Chr 35:15; Isa 12:1-6; 25:1, 9; 26:1f.; Ps 118; 24:7-10
Exod 15:4-12	Isa 24:7; Ps 78:53; 106:11
Exod 15:13-17	Jer 31:23; 33:11; Ps 77:14-15; 74:12-17; 78

In these several texts (and many others), parallels in theme, motif, and wording are cited.

I do not think this sort of argument is compelling. On the one hand, it is not always clear (as with Psalm 78) that the parallel text is late. On the other hand and more importantly, it does not follow that because a text is parallel, it shares the date of the other text. Thus the conclusion is based on what I think is a series of non sequiturs. In the end, the conclusion rests not on a sustained argument, but on the oft repeated assertion of the Levitical-Nehemiah date. In support of the connection, Brenner takes the "place" in Exod 15:17 to be restored Jerusalem. (The focus on the time of Nehemiah calls to mind Julian Morgenstern's preoccupation with post-exilic events).

It will be clear that this thesis opposes the consensus opinion of Cross and Freedman that, based on stylistic and orthographic parallels to Ugaritic texts, the poem is early, well before any of the prose sources of the Pentateuch. Brenner of course knows of this argument and opposes it, though he does not acknowledge that it is a consensus opinion that carries great scholarly weight. Brenner readily concedes the presence of archaic language and style in Exod 15 that Cross and Freedman have identified, but argues that their presence in the poem is a late utilization, and no evidence for an early date. The argument-by-parallelism made in this book is rather mechanical, however, and does not take into account the larger dramatic unity and intentionality of the text. Apparently this writer is unaware of the important analyses of Patrick D. Miller and Thomas W. Mann on the mythic coherence of the text in a larger ritual pattern.

Thus I do not believe that the thesis is persuasive, nor will it attract allegiance in the face of the dominant consensus. The thesis, however, does serve us in another useful way, though one that Brenner may not greatly value. It reminds us that the very same data (in this case archaic style and language) is capable of very different readings. No doubt the Cross-Freedman proposal will continue to prevail in the near future. The work of Brenner does remind us, however, that another reading of the data is possible, and that the Baltimore-Harvard dating is part of a larger hypothesis that is not required by the material, but is an imaginative construct of Israel's past, made possible in part by data and scholarly expertise, in part by political persuasion and forceful imagination. While Brenner's argument is not enough to disrupt the status quo of scholarly opinion, it quietly reminds us concerning the accepted hypothesis of Richard Rorty's dictum: "The application of such honorifics as 'objective' and 'cognitive' is never anything more than an expression of the presence of, or the hope for, agreement among

enquirers" (Richard Rorty, *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979] 335).

There is now a concerted effort against the dominant reconstruction of Israel's faith and history by the Baltimore-Harvard school. This effort seeks to date everything as late as possible, taking the exile as the matrix of generative literature rather than the Mosaic period. Brenner seems unaware of this general propensity and makes no reference to it. This argument, unrelated to that larger inclination, is rather mechanical, artificial, and contextless. In the end, I have wondered whether the dating of the poem matters in any case, if it turns out that dating serves not so much understanding but is a function of competing hegemonic constructions. That is, dating is not the grounding for a reconstructive hypothesis, but in fact is generated by, and in order to serve the larger hypothesis. Brenner's position in the end may be worth consideration, but a more sustained and knowing argument will be required in order to challenge the Cross-Freedman proposal.

Walter Brueggemann

Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, GA 30031

Die Väter Israels im Deuteronomium: mit einer Stellungnahme von Thomas Römer, by Norbert Lohfink. OBO 111. Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991. Pp. x + 133. DM 38.

This unusual volume is a lengthy critique of Thomas Römer's published dissertation, *Israels Väter* (OBO 99), with a response by Römer himself. Römer's primary thesis is that the names of the "Patriarchs," Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were added to Deuteronomy by the redactor of the Pentateuch and that the "fathers" of Israel in Deuteronomy referred originally to unspecified ancestors connected with Egypt and the Exodus generation. Lohfink's stated objective is not to develop a counterthesis to Römer's but to analyze his arguments in order to determine whether Römer has proven his case.

Lohfink begins in 2 Kings 22–23 where the full title "King Josiah" is found only at the beginning and end (22:3; 23:29) of the "Macrotext." Lohfink sees this not as an indication of literary levels but as an authorial technique. The author assumes knowledge on the part of readers and thus uses shorter designations ("Josiah" or "the king") in the body of the account. After a review of Römer's thesis and a criticism of his work for being too broad ("boundless": *Uferlosig*) in his chapter two, Lohfink launches into the heart of his critique in the third and fourth chapters. He contends that since Deut 1:8 explicitly identifies the first occurrence of 'ābôt in Deuteronomy as "Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," it defines the term for the entire book as meaning the three "Patriarchs." Lohfink says that for Römer to prove his position, he must demonstrate for each of these passages both that the names of the "Patriarchs" have been secondarily added and that this was done by the Pentateuchal redactor. Lohfink then discusses the seven passages, arguing that Römer has failed in each case to prove one or both of these matters. Lohfink argues that it is still possible to read each passage as Deuteronomistic and as an original reference to the three "Patriarchs."

In a fifth chapter Lohfink explores five groups of texts in Deuteronomy that have linguistic affinities with 1:8. Again, on the basis of the principle put forth in chapter

one, he holds that the "fathers" in these texts must refer to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Lohfink does not deny that some of the texts are as late as the redaction of the Pentateuch, but he holds that some, like 1:8, belong to DtrG and reflect a knowledge of a pre-Priestly version of the Pentateuch.

Lohfink's chapter 6 treats the lack of reference to the "fathers," Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the book of Joshua. The names do occur in Joshua 24 (vv. 3-4), although not with the plural "fathers." Lohfink disagrees with Römer's late date for the chapter and places it before the redaction of the Pentateuch, perhaps even in DtrG. He concludes that since Joshua is set in a later period than Deuteronomy the writer uses 'ābôt to refer both to the "Patriarchs" and to the Exodus generation and therefore avoids the proper names which would limit the term.

After arguing that Römer has not disproven the work of Skweres on the literary technique of cross-referencing as it relates to Yahweh's oaths regarding the gift of the land, Lohfink concludes by outlining his view on the Pentateuchal problem. He believes that the Josianic Deuteronomy (chaps. 1-3; 5; 9-10; 31; 34) has many literary references to an earlier form of the Tetracheuch. He sees Deuteronomy as a synthesis of two versions of early Israel: the Exodus-Israel, as in books such as Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and the Abraham-Israel of the Tetracheuch.

In the *Nachwort*, Römer rejects Lohfink's comparison of 2 Kings 22-23 with Deuteronomy, because the latter is so much longer. The meaning of 'ābôt in its first occurrence is unimportant for its later occurrences, he asserts, since each must be interpreted in its own context. Römer reviews his position for each of the seven passages with the "Patriarchal" names being secondary. Dtr may have known "Patriarchal" traditions, but in oral form, not in that of a (hypothetical) pre-Priestly Tetracheuch. Since the "Patriarchs" play no role in the Deuteronomistic History, it is surprising to find their names in Deuteronomy. The "fathers" in Deuteronomy are an anonymous entity whose vagueness contrasts with the detailed treatment of the Exodus, Horeb, and wilderness traditions in the book. Deuteronomy's view of Israel is an Exodus-Israel, like Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The synthesis between this and the Abraham-Israel came first in the Pentateuch.

This volume is essential for anyone who uses Römer's earlier volume or deals in any way with Deuteronomy or the composition of the Pentateuch. One must applaud the effort at open scholarly dialogue and debate. Prof. Lohfink, especially, is to be commended for inviting Dr. Römer to have the last word, and in my judgment Römer has the better word. He is right to reject Lohfink's main methodological point that 1:8 essentially establishes the meaning for every occurrence of "fathers" in the extensive book of Deuteronomy. Even if that were true in the present form of the book, it is not clear how this precludes the possibility that editorial reworking has occurred. Lohfink's analyses of individual texts are often insightful, and his reservations must be taken quite seriously. However, he has failed to contend with the real force of Römer's argument. As both Römer and he recognize, these matters are not subject to "proof" in a scientific sense; each hypothesis has to be evaluated according to how well it explains all available "evidence" and solves problems that exist. Römer's simple observation that the "Patriarchal" names in Deuteronomy are secondary is compelling because it explains so many aspects of both the Pentateuch and the Deuteronomistic History. Lohfink claims that Römer's view is too simple, and further research may prove him right. At any rate, Römer's final observation that the debate has not ended is certainly correct,

and one can only echo his sentiment that it continue openly. This book sets a good example for its continuation.

Steven L. McKenzie
Rhodes College, Memphis, TN 38112

The Trouble with Kings: The Composition of the Book of Kings in the Deuteronomistic History, by Steven L. McKenzie. VTSup 42. Leiden: Brill, 1991. Pp. xii + 186. Hfl 98 (\$50).

However much contemporary commentators are indebted to Martin Noth's arguments for a unified Deuteronomistic History, few adhere to his original hypothesis. In fact, one can distinguish at least four major trends in the study of this extensive history, which deviate from Noth's theory of one exilic author/editor. Hoffmann, Long, and Polzin emphasize that the Deuteronomist is an author and not an editor. Cross, Friedman, and Nelson posit a series of two deuteronomistic editions dating to the time of Josiah and the exile; while Smend, Dietrich, Veijola, Spieckermann, and Camp posit a series of three exilic deuteronomistic editions. Weippert, Campbell, Lemaire, and O'Brien argue for both a series of pre-deuteronomistic levels and a series of deuteronomistic redactions dating to the preexilic and exilic periods. A few scholars (e.g., Cortese, Mayes) have attempted to mediate the aforementioned positions. McKenzie's lucid and compelling study marks a return to the compositional model advocated by Noth. Yet, like Cross, McKenzie dates this national history to the time of Josiah.

Beginning with a judicious assessment of various redactional theories of the Deuteronomistic History, McKenzie addresses six specific issues in the composition of Kings. There are three major questions unifying these well-organized and clearly argued studies. First, is there a running prophetic history, as Campbell, McCarter, and O'Brien have argued, underlying the deuteronomistic redaction of Kings? Second, how many systematic deuteronomistic redactions does the text of Kings evince? Third, is the Deuteronomist an author or an editor? In each chapter McKenzie's approach is not merely traditio-historical and literary-critical, but also text-critical. This integrated approach is particularly welcome, in my view, because in dealing with the substantial textual variants to Kings, text criticism, tradition criticism, and literary criticism are intimately related. McKenzie repeatedly demonstrates the methodological flaws in arguing for a series of layers in the MT without attending first to text criticism.

In chap. 1, McKenzie examines whether, as Trebolle has recently argued, the supplement of 3 Reigns 12:24a-z comprises an earlier form of the Jeroboam cycle than the MT of 1 Kings 11-14. If so, is the supplement evidence for a prophetic history? In my judgment, McKenzie's treatment of the latter question is more successful than the former. First, in spite of McKenzie's arguments to the contrary, it is unclear whether the major sections of the supplement (3 Reigns 12:24a,b-f,g-na, nb-u, x-z) comprise a coherent narrative. In my judgment, they could just as well be a miscellany of discrete pericopes (cf. 3 Reigns 2:35a-o; 2:46a-1). Second, McKenzie's claim that the supplement is dependent upon the MT, because the supplement appears abstruse or illogical, needs more extensive justification. Other explanations are possible, and, in any case, McKenzie's line of argumentation is not always applied consistently. When, for instance, the supplement exhibits a regular and more coherent sequence than the MT (e.g.,

Rehoboam's regnal formulae in 3 Reigns 12:24a; cf. 1 Kgs 11:43; 14:21–24), McKenzie labels the supplement a correction of the MT. Third, if the supplement is a "Readers' Digest" condensation of a pre-rabbinic version of the MT, an attempt to "improve" the MT, why would the author of this work remove almost all of the theological justification in the MT, including deuteronomistic editing, thus rendering the supplement incoherent and abstruse?

Although I do not believe that McKenzie's condensation argument is convincing, it is nevertheless much more careful and nuanced than previous attempts to prove the priority of the proto-rabbinic rescension. Moreover, given the undoubtedly complex history of the traditions comprising the supplement, McKenzie's other argument in this chapter, that the supplement cannot be used as evidence for a pre-deuteronomistic prophetic history, seems basically sound.

Having discussed the supplement, McKenzie in chap. 2 engages arguments for multiple redactions, whether prophetic or deuteronomistic, within 1 Kings 11–14. Most of the tensions which other scholars see as evidence for a series of redactions McKenzie persuasively explains text-critically or by recourse to complex thematic development. Others he attributes to post-deuteronomistic additions (e.g., 1 Kings 13). McKenzie concludes that 1 Kings 11–12, 14 was an originally unified narrative composed by one Deuteronomist.

In his third chapter, McKenzie assesses whether the series of oracles condemning the northern dynasties (1 Kgs 14:7–16; 16:1–4; 21:21–24; 2 Kgs 9:6–10) constitute evidence for either a prophetic redaction of Kings or a running prophetic narrative underlying it. On the basis of style, theme, and vocabulary, McKenzie documents deuteronomistic involvement in every aspect of the development of these texts. He therefore shows that both the prophecies and their corresponding fulfillment notices provide only meagre evidence for a prophetic document or redaction. Although he does not deny that the Deuteronomist may have had access to sources, McKenzie concludes that both the oracles and their fulfillment notices stem from one Deuteronomist.

Chapters 4 and 5 address the origin and sheer volume of prophetic stories and their relationship to deuteronomistic editing and themes. Whereas most of the prophetic stories in Kings deal with prophetic-royal conflict in the northern kingdom (e.g., the Elijah and Elisha cycles), no such prophetic stories appear in Judah's history until the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah. McKenzie finds this disparity in coverage suspicious. Deeming previous arguments for deuteronomistic editing of the northern tales inadequate, McKenzie ascribes most of these stories (1 Kings 17–19; 20; 22:1–38; 2 Kgs 1:2–17aa; 2; 3:4–27; 4–7; 8:1–5; 13:14–21 [+ 22–25]) to post-deuteronomistic insertions. McKenzie's reconstruction is certainly attractive, because it accounts for the differences between deuteronomistic concerns and the concerns of these tales. This suggestive proposal also merits, however, further development. If the northern prophetic legends stem from the North, but were only inserted into Kings at a post-deuteronomistic stage, who preserved them through the centuries, who finally edited them, and why?

Whereas he regards the northern prophetic stories as "prophets come lately," McKenzie sees the inclusion of a number of southern prophetic stories (excepting 2 Kgs 19:21–31; 20:12–19, and the present form of 2 Kgs 23:16–20) as original to the deuteronomistic depiction of Hezekiah and Josiah. But, as McKenzie points out, the presence of these tales indicates no more than one level of edition. That is, one does

not have to accept the existence of a running prophetic narrative to explain the heterogeneity within these chapters. Rather, the inclusion of sources and juxtaposition of pericopes are characteristic of paratactic compositional technique. Like Noth, Van Seters, and Long, McKenzie stresses that the Deuteronomist employs similar compositional techniques and strategies to those of classical Greek historians. What others see as two opposing views of the Deuteronomist—author or editor—McKenzie therefore reveals as complementary aspects of the Deuteronomist's craft.

As the title of chap. 5, "Trust and Obey," suggests, McKenzie also does not see any inherent conflict between the deuteronomistic portraits of Hezekiah and Josiah. He stresses that the same Deuteronomist lauds Hezekiah for his unparalleled trust and Josiah for his unparalleled reforms. The original deuteronomistic version of Kings was therefore a much briefer and more sharply defined narrative than the present text. McKenzie establishes that this original history of the divided monarchy focused on two themes: the succession of evil dynasties in the North and the continuity of the Davidids in the South.

The picture of the Deuteronomist which emerges from McKenzie's study is similar to that of Noth, Van Seters, and Long: a writer who culled, edited, and supplemented his nation's traditions, transforming them into an extensive and coherent history. Over against those scholars who would label this an exilic history, McKenzie points out that some of the recent reasons for attributing this work to an exilic milieu, for instance, parataxis, could be equally true for a preexilic work. Instead of using compositional technique as a secure guide to dating, McKenzie uses the Davidic promises. The Deuteronomist's emphasis on YHWH's everlasting commitment to David led McKenzie to date the history, albeit tentatively, to the time of Josiah. Hence, McKenzie's view of the purpose of Kings—a Josianic reform program—is akin to that of Cross. Given his synthesis of positions (Noth and Cross), I would also like to see McKenzie devote more attention to what I understand is his synthesis of purpose: history and propaganda. In the ancient Near East history and propaganda are not mutually exclusive categories. Yet, if much of the material in Joshua, Judges, and Samuel is composed for historical reasons and much of the material in Kings is composed as Josianic propaganda, what precisely is the upshot of the whole work?

In his final chapter McKenzie debates whether the scattered additions to the book of Kings, including 2 Kgs 23:26–25:30, are the work of one exilic editor. Carefully documenting the great diversity of perspectives within these passages, McKenzie demonstrates that they stem from a succession of different hands. The Deuteronomistic History is therefore the work of one primary author and many later helping hands. McKenzie's overall reconstruction of the Deuteronomistic History strikes me as compelling. It incorporates and revives Noth's brilliant insights about the composition of this work; yet, it modifies Noth's views on its date and purpose in the light of recent scholarship. For those who prefer to see the composition of the Deuteronomistic History as a tidy, brief, and basically simple process this model may seem complex, but I believe it best fits the evidence.

Gary N. Knoppers
 Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA 16803

Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah, by J. J. M. Roberts. Old Testament Library. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991. Pp. 223. \$19.95.

Professor Roberts's assignment to treat the three minor prophets according to their order in the standard canons helpfully fills a gap in this longstanding American commentary series. It is especially meaningful to treat these three prophets together since all were active during the troubled years toward the end of Judah's kingdom. Judah, in the years following the ascent of Josiah as king, was caught up in the rapidly changing political climate of the ancient Near East. Those changing times have an obvious bearing on the first two prophets while Zephaniah appears more concerned with internal affairs, being "far more rooted in Judah's earlier prophetic tradition than in a close observation of external political developments" (p. 164).

Roberts follows basically the format found in other commentaries of this series, offering selected bibliographies for each prophetic work as well as for the three collectively. His list is more extensive than those of other OTL commentaries of comparable size and subject matter.

Roberts's treatment of each prophet begins with a brief introduction which describes the literary character of the document and the book's main themes. This opening comment is followed by a detailed outline, a discussion of the work's date, and a section on the message of the respective prophet in his life setting. The author's translation, textual-grammatical notes, and commentary proper round out the treatment of each pericope.

It is within the commentary section that Roberts demonstrates his commitment to the typical post-World War II continental style of form-critical exegesis on the classical prophets. (He defends this model vigorously in the book's "General Introduction," pp. 9–11). Thus, for Roberts the most accurate method of reading any biblical prophet is by first isolating as accurately as possible the separate speeches or oracles of the prophetic writer along with the editorial comments which are also usually to be found. Each such segment is analyzed according to philology, syntax, text, and tradition history. Thus, modern scholars who delight in discerning a completed book's overall purpose and message—or in some kind of reader-oriented criticism—will probably be dissatisfied with Roberts's basic approach.

Though the detailed outlines for each book are helpful for capturing the book's message at a glance, these are also occasionally a source of confusion to the reader. This is because Roberts also provides a brief title for each translated segment. Sometimes these separate titles are in close accord with the book's full outline, but often (at times due to space limitations?) they do not correspond in verse selection or in content. For instance, "God's answer unsatisfactory" (p. 82 outline for Habakkuk) may be said to be introduced at 1:11. However, the prophet's actual "second lament" proper really begins with v. 12, as the commentary's translation acknowledges (p. 100). Likewise the outline positions the prophet's wait "for a new answer" (2:1) with part one ("The problem of Divine Justice," p. 82), but this verse is more logically treated in the commentary proper with its correctly accompanying verses (2:1–4) on p. 105 ("Yahweh's Second Response"). Yet another example of this problem is observed when Roberts translates and discusses Zeph 3:1–13 as a single unit ("Judgment and Purification," pp. 204–5); whereas the book's outline (p. 163) led the reader to believe these verses might be treated in two parts (3:1–8 and 3:9–13). It would have been equally possible to read v. 8 with 9–13 since *lākēn* appears to introduce a separate causal clause followed by the standard phrase

ně'um-YHWH). In other words, Roberts, with a bit more care, could have brought his outlines into a more precise conformity with his sectional discussions. This is just the kind of technique which would have assisted less specialized readers in their grasp of an entire prophetic book.

It will come as no surprise to those who have read the author's prior works that he typically opts for a conservative position on the date of all three prophetic books. Thus, Nahum is to be dated at around 640–630 BCE, Habakkuk, some years after 597, and Zephaniah in the pre-reform period of Josiah's kingship. Moreover, the prophets themselves should be considered as important and active religious figures in Judah's late history quite near the periods during which each respective prophetic work was written.

Based on a sampling of passages the reviewer observes that Roberts usually opts for a literal, but readable translation. He sacrifices clarity for ambiguity when the Hebrew demands it, but usually supports his conclusions well in the "Textual Notes" sections. For instance, he translates the active participle *šōrēah* as simply "cry out" (Zeph 1:14; pp. 181–82 n. 1), though the commentary makes clear that this outcry of the warrior is probably not due to his "killing rage," as might be the case in other contexts, but to his dread of foreseeable defeat. Likewise, for Zeph 1:9, *bêt 'ădônêhem* is rendered "house of their lord" (p. 179), which leaves it uncertain whether "their lord" refers to the human king or to the deity and whether "house" refers to the royal palace. Roberts helpfully mentions both options and weighs them, allowing the reader to arrive at a proper conclusion.

Roberts excels in his discussion of textual problems — and there are many for the three books. Predictably, he usually sides with the consonantal text of the MT, but is able to justify this upon comparison with the most important versions. He is candid when he arrives at an "impossibly corrupt" passage and offers a cautious but reasonable a translation based on context (e.g., Hab 3:14; cf. NRSV, REB, JPS). These sections may prove the most valuable and enduring contribution in the entire volume.

The author's analysis of a typical crux passage is insightful. He translates Hab 2:4 as, "now the fainthearted, his soul will not walk in it, but the righteous person will live by its faithfulness." This verse is treated with no fewer than four textual notes (nos. 7–10, pp. 106–7), three of which address the serious difficulties of 2:4a. After a brief discussion of the versions' attempts to read this line (especially the nearly impossible *'uppēlā*), Roberts surveys modern scholarly suggestions for reconstructing and translating it. He then offers his own: "a negative term that suggested the failure to wait" (pp. 106–7). This he does on the basis of a supposed original root *'lp*, *y'p*, or *'yp*, "all of which imply exhaustion, weariness," or the like. One might prefer a reconstruction which took into account the clear contrast which 2:4b appears to invite (as the Vulgate supposes). Yet, in general, Roberts's suggestion accommodates the versional difficulties, the larger context, and demonstrates his own solid grasp of Semitic lexicography.

One has an opportunity to observe Roberts's treatment of a major OT theme in his discussion of the Zephaniah passages which speak of the "Day of Yahweh." Though there is no excursus here (or anywhere else in the commentary, as might be deserved for such a topic), Roberts is clearly aware both of past scholarship on this subject and the motif's place in the history of tradition for Judah and the northern kingdom (dealt with especially on p. 177). Zephaniah follows Amos's ironic use of this phrase (5:17–20),

addressing it to a people who possessed a hopeful anticipation of this day. Roberts carefully avoids the assumption that the "Day of Yahweh" itself was any kind of regular cultic moment (in agreement with von Rad and others) but allows that the oracle itself may have been delivered at some already existing festival. There, like Amos before him, the prophet sought to overturn the worshipers' hopeful expectations (p. 184).

If a future edition is produced the author will want to correct his comments on Zeph 1:10 concerning the districts of old Jerusalem: there is no mention in Neh 3:16 of "fish merchants from the coast (who) set up a fish market" at the fish gate in Jerusalem (p. 180).

In general Professor Roberts has written a spare, conservative, well-defended, and accurate commentary on three prophets serving at a crucial time in Judean history. Those who have benefited from the best research efforts in the OTL series will find that this work belongs alongside them.

Paul D. Duerksen

Eastern New Mexico University, Portales, NM 88130

Seeing and Hearing God with the Psalms: The Prophetic Liturgy of the Second Temple in Jerusalem, by Jacques Raymond Tournay. JSOTSup 118. Trans. J. Edward Crowley. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991. Pp. 311. £30/\$50 (£22.50/\$37.50 subscriber).

Tournay, longtime professor and former director at l'École Biblique, Jerusalem, and editor of *RB*, draws upon his immense learning in ancient Near Eastern languages and poetry, especially Northwest Semitic, and in the literature of the Second Temple period that extends across manuscript evidence from the Hebrew and ancient versions, rabbinical writings, and Qumran. He writes with the rich repertoire of l'École Biblique's library at his fingertips; the bibliography extends for 41 pages, with 56 entries of his own. Almost every statement in the book is supported by multiple authors—yet the text reads clearly.

Tournay does for Psalms what John Barton (*Oracles of God* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1986]) did for prophecy: the composition of the literature is placed in the Second Temple period. Only Tournay stresses that much of the *original* composition comes from this time and is strongly influenced by the liturgical setting. Tournay describes his approach: "The texts will be read here as they were read in the Persian and Hellenistic periods by the Jews and in particular by the Levitical singers who had the duty of actualizing the message of the ancient Scriptures to make clear the lessons of the past" (p. 71). He draws heavily upon 1–2 Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, and the superscriptions of the various psalms. In fact Tournay's attention to the superscriptions provides some of his most probing insights. The introduction lays out clearly Tournay's method, particularly in exploring the chronology of the composition of the Psalms. He writes convincingly of the archaizing efforts of ancient Near Eastern peoples during the time of Israel's exile. The lapse in temple worship and the simultaneous collapse of the monarchy and prophecy led Levitical singers (signified in the English translation by a capital "L") to fill the void with songs of theophany (seeing God in liturgy and song) and of oracular pronouncement (hearing God within the inspired challenges of the updated Torah)—hence the title of the book. Levitical singers of the Second Temple alone deserve the name of cultic prophets, not the preexilic prophets.

In Part One, Tournay studies theophanies and considers the Levitical singers to be the heirs of the prophets (1 Chronicles 15, 25; 2 Chronicles 20). Among these singers we number the authors of Isaiah 33, Joel, Zechariah 9–14, and Jonah (the last inclusion may raise some eyebrows!). Tournay studies ancient theophanic narratives in Genesis 12–50 and theophanic poems in Judges 5, Deuteronomy 33, Exodus 15, and Habakkuk 3. Here we find an excellent discussion of seeing the face of God and the poetic language of storms. Tournay infers that only in the Second Temple period is “mountain of God” (actually Mount Zion) applied to Sinai in the exodus traditions. Tournay then divides his investigation into theophanies of the divine name—more transcendent (Deuteronomy 32; Psalms 8 & 89; Isa 63:7–64:11) and theophanies of divine glory—more immanent (Psalms 11, 16–17, 18, 24, 27, 29, 50, 63, et al.). These texts are all postexilic. Tournay generally discusses his topic by translating and exegeting individual biblical passages, poems, or psalms.

Part Two probes the other side of preexilic prophecy continued by the Levitical singers: the oracles that enabled Israel to hear God. T. alerts us to the inspired dialogue of singer and God and then examines such passages as Pss 12:6; 32:8–9; 50; 81; 90:1–8; and 95. We are presented with a fine study of the superscriptions in T.’s discussion of the way Psalm 108 combines parts of Psalms 57 and 60.

The final chapter focuses upon the messianic psalms. Tournay argues that it is only in Chronicles that the covenant of YHWH with David is linked to the Abrahamic covenant (1 Chr 16:16; 29:18; 2 Chr 20:7; Neh 9:7–8). Psalm 89 was composed between 587 and 520 BCE at Bethel where people gathered around Gedaliah. The anointed one in this Psalm is the imprisoned Jehoiachin. Psalm 110 depends heavily upon Genesis 14, “a midrashic account with archaic features, but originating in the postexilic period” (p. 211). The psalm itself was composed in the fourth or third century BCE. “Melchizedek [is] an ideal ancestor of the Levitical priests” (p. 212). Because Psalm 110 uses *matṭēh* and not *šēbet* for scepter, the reference designates the staff of Aaron (cf. Num 17:18, 25). Psalm 2 ranks among the “forerunners of apocalyptic texts.” Tournay admits to the “very elaborate messianic theology” of Psalm 110, something that becomes more evident, or perhaps more baffling, as he traces relationships with the oracles of Balaam and other premonarchic passages.

This book not only elicits great admiration for such a synthetic and comprehensive study of Second Temple Levitical singers, but also raises important questions that Tournay should address, if the volume enters into a second edition. First, Tournay leaves the impression that there is a fairly homogeneous spirituality in the Second Temple period. How would he respond to Paul D. Hanson’s strong polarization between a more hierocratic, priestly approach and a less centralized, more popular way of the prophets (*The People Called* [San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987]), or to Dieter Baltzer’s position about major differences between Ezekiel and Isaiah 40–55 and their influences upon postexilic Judaism (*Ezechiel und Deuterocesaja* [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971])?

Second, there is the problem of the organization of Psalms into five books, with the royal Davidic psalms scattered everywhere. In addition, the superscriptions reduce David to a human being who has problems and weaknesses common to mere mortals. Third, what would Tournay do with the witness to the existence of cultic prophets in 1 Samuel 9–10? Fourth, what would Tournay say about the lack of any notable attention to the role of the Davidic descendants in such books as Joel, Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah, and 1–2 Maccabees?

The translator deserves high commendation for updating the bibliography, adding subtitles within each chapter, using inclusive language throughout, even in the many biblical translations, and giving examples at times of alliteration in English. One misses a topical index to help locate such entries as dreams, incubation, angels, chaos, Korah, and Asaph. Many would appreciate summaries of T.'s research at the end of each chapter and major section. Instead, T. leads us at these points into the NT rereading of the Psalms.

Carroll Stuhlmueller

Catholic Theological Union, Chicago, IL 60615

The Book of Job as Skeptical Literature, by Katharine J. Dell. BZAW 197. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1991. Pp. x + 259. N.P.

In an Oxford dissertation directed by John Barton, Katharine Dell has written a first-rate study of the book of Job, one that is sophisticated and significant enough that it will command major attention in future Job studies. Her thesis is preoccupied with issues of form and genre, but she sees quite clearly that these critical issues are intimately linked to hermeneutical and interpretive perceptions which govern the ways in which form and genre are pursued and defined.

The thesis begins, predictably enough, with a review of interpretive history, largely derivative from L. L. Besserman. Dell makes clear that the "patient Job" of faith has largely dominated traditional interpretation, both Jewish and Christian (even in the LXX). Only with the rise of critical study did interpretation begin to take seriously the negative side of Job. Only belatedly, as in the work of Crenshaw, Davidson, and Blank, has the full face of Joban protest been acknowledged and taken as decisive for the intent of the whole. Thus the usual "history of the question" element of the dissertation is put to especially good use by Dell, to show that the shift from "patience" to "protest" has been a long time coming in interpretation.

Dell's next step, having arrived at a recognition of skepticism or protest as the dominant tone of the book, is to ask not about the "unifying message" but about an "overall classification on a literary level" (p. 55). That is, Dell wants to determine if there is an overall genre that corresponds to the overall content of protest. It is this shrewd posing of the question in her second chapter that is the matrix for her discerning and daring thesis. In this chapter Dell is able to identify three negative problems pertaining to the question of genre. First, it is exceedingly difficult to demonstrate that Job is in fact wisdom literature. (The category is of course notoriously elusive.) "On a narrow definition Job fails as a 'wisdom' text" (p. 87). Second, for that reason there is a temptation to look outside wisdom in order to identify an explanatory genre. Among these, the most noteworthy are the lament form (Westermann) or the judicial process (Richter). But such efforts are not able to take the whole of the corpus into account. Third, there is a temptation to name a large, comprehensive genre, even if it has no close rootage in the details of the text. The most prominent candidates for this approach have been comedy or tragedy, but they are in the end imposed and unhelpful. Dell's argument in this second chapter is in my judgment completely convincing, and represents an enormous gain for us. In a deft and succinct way, she closes

off a number of "dead ends" for further research and prepares us for her own suggestive proposal.

In a rather brief third chapter, Dell comes to her thesis proper. It is that the book of Job deliberately, intentionally, and programmatically misuses literary forms, thus decentering or undermining the claim made in the forms themselves. This characteristic "misuse" she terms "parody," that is the playful distortion or ironic exposé of a serious claim made through a genre. This deliberate misuse is so formidable for the poem of Job that parody itself becomes the dominant "form" of the book of Job. That is, Dell identifies specific misuses of identifiable forms, and then generalizes to assert that this parodic misuse is definitional for the whole. In a way that I find fully satisfying, Dell thus proposes a "form" which matches the substance of protest and skepticism.

Three observations are in order about this proposal. First, it may indeed be asked if parody as such is itself a form, rather than a strategy. That is a second-level question and does not detract seriously from the argument. Moreover, I suppose that in its very character, parody is always derivative from and dependent upon the form it mocks or distorts. One can never start with parody, but must begin with that which is parodied. But then, as the book of Job does that with form, it also does with substance. It begins with the very faith-claims it intends to "misuse," and places them in the mouths of the friends.

Second, on pp. 125–36, the heart of the thesis, Dell offers a series of texts that illustrate her main point. Thus, for example, 7:7–8, a traditional wish for healing becomes a wish for death. In 9:5–10, a doxology which characteristically leads to wonder and praise is turned to become an assault against God. In 12:13–15, a doxological statement on God's wisdom and power shows God's power to be destructive. In all, Dell offers fourteen such examples (see the list on p. 214). One may ask if there is enough material here finally to establish the more general thesis.

Third, along with these examples, comment is also offered on parody in Ecclesiastes and Jonah. While these latter are supportive and suggestive, they do not in fact contribute to the argument concerning Job. It would have been more to the point, and more useful for establishing the thesis, to have been offered more examples from the corpus of Job itself.

Dell asserts that these misuses are employed with intentionality and with great discipline. They do not occur at random, nor uniformly throughout the book, but characteristically in the speeches of Job dealing with general claims about God and the world. The misuses are a way of overcoming the gross general claims of the friends, and thus constitute a strategy precisely congruent with the voice of protest. The parodies, moreover, are not used to make the personal case of Job, but only as responses to generalized teaching.

In the fourth and final chapter, the author generalizes and consolidates from the foregoing argument. Happily the author expends little energy on historical-critical location of the document, and the energy so expended leads to conclusions no more convincing than countless other efforts. Dell's argument is much more poignant as she stays inside the text itself and pays attention to the interrelatedness of the parts of the whole. In this last section, somewhat diffusely, the study takes up in turn each of the major parts of the book, including the three cycles of dialogues, and finds that "with the epilogue, the irony reaches its peak" (p. 208).

This last section is not as compelling as it might have been for two reasons. On

the one hand, Dell ceases to be text specific for the most part (always a mistake), and relies upon generalization. Second, unlike chapter 3, in this chapter Dell returns to a more conventional form of dissertation, seeking to comment on the work of a number of other scholars, including Hoffman, Williams, Robertson, and Habel. (It is especially odd that Janzen is nowhere mentioned in the book, apparently not known, as he might have helped the most.) While these other scholarly contributions are important, I wish she had not worked so hard on these connections. She has enough to go on from her own exquisite chapter 3, and might have done much better simply to follow her own research, proceeding with text specifics to the larger unfolding of the book.

To be sure, there are a lot of places where one might question particular points in this dissertation. The main point, however, is so compelling and strong, that it would be mean-spirited to dwell on such points. I wish rather to congratulate the author on a splendid achievement. This is one of those rare dissertations that seriously advances our common work. The advances are (a) to find a linkage between the *subject of protest* (protest is better than "skepticism") and the *forms of parody*, and (b) to relate the parts with their many individual forms to the whole, which in its totality is a mocking dismissal of a faith no longer found credible.

The conclusion of parody as a form is particularly telling, for as genre it occupies something of a middle ground. On the one hand, it is not by itself an originary form but is inevitably "parasitic." On the other hand, it is not a systemic whole, but consists rather on many little elements which add up to a massive subversion. I would have wished for many more examples, for the number offered is not a lot on which to go. I have no doubt, however, that now that Dell has showed us where to look and how to look, other examples will be forthcoming. A book which shows us how to look and where to look can be richly generative for future work. I anticipate that this book will be exactly such a generative force.

Walter Brueggemann
Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, GA 30030

The Redaction of the Books of Esther: On Reading Composite Texts, by Michael V. Fox. SBLMS 40. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991. Pp. x + 195. \$29.95/18.95 (18.95/12.95 member).

Michael Fox's excellent monograph is an exemplary redaction critical study of several witnesses to the book of Esther. The goal of the study, according to the author, is "to advance our understanding of the redactional process in general by studying the development of two particular representatives of the Esther tradition, the AT (Alpha text) and the MT" (p. 6). Both of these texts, Fox argues, are redactions of previous works: the AT is a redaction of the proto-AT, while the MT is a redaction of proto-Esther. Redaction is defined by Fox, as "The reworking of what an author wrote" (p. 1).

Fox discusses his method in his introduction, outlining the structure of the book and the purpose of each chapter. The book is divided into five chapters, of which chapters 1 and 2 contain the bulk of Fox's research. Chapter 1 "examines the redaction that produced the present form of the AT, seeking to determine its scope, attitudes, and purposes" (p. 6). Chapter 2 investigates the redaction of MT Esther. The results of the studies in chapters 1 and 2 are stated in chapter 3, while chapters 4 and 5 contain more general comments on redaction criticism, including an attempt to provide

a model for future redactional studies. Fox ends the introduction with a helpful diagram of his reconstruction of the history of the Esther texts (p. 9).

Chapter 1, "The Alpha Text and its Redaction," occupies the major part of the book. In it, Fox minutely examines the relationship between the AT and the LXX. He concludes that the present AT is the result of the activity of a redactor (R-AT), who supplemented his receptor text (the proto-AT) from a donor text (the LXX). R-AT also introduced changes (pluses and minuses) into both the proto-AT and the material he extracted from the LXX. R-AT thereby produced a new text, the AT, which was meant to be separate from and different than the LXX.

In chapter 2, "The Massoretic Text of Esther and its Redaction," Fox uses the proto-AT as an aid in recovering the source material that the redactor of the MT used. This is more precarious ground than was covered in chapter 1; Fox admits to "more conjecture and less precision than was attainable in the study of the AT redaction" (p. 96). Therefore, his conclusions are more cautious, but he finds that the redactor of the MT had an Esther text ("proto-Esther") closely resembling the proto-AT. In the MT, chapters 1-7 represent a "close reworking" of proto-Esther, while chapters 8-10 are a "more free composition" that exposes the intention of the redactor, to connect the Esther story with the festival of Purim.

The last three chapters are much briefer. Chapter 3 compares the ideologies of the final forms of the redacted texts and their forerunners: the proto-AT, the AT, and the MT, essentially summarizing the findings of the preceding chapters. Chapter 4, "Models for Redaction Criticism," discusses the application of the results of redaction criticism to the question of "the validity and practicality of literary-historical criticism" (p. 134). Finally, chapter 5 concludes the book with a plea for exegetes and theologians to take seriously the results of redaction criticism, not simply dismissing the various forms of the text uncovered as "not the canonical form." After all, the process of canon is, in some ways, an accident of literary history. As Fox concludes, "the canonical form is not the only one *we* have. We have recovered other forms; now we must learn to read them" (p. 154).

This book is a very well done, clear presentation of the information and conclusions Fox sets out to convey. The first two chapters, which contain a great deal of technical information (supplemented by several helpful appendices, including the Greek text of the AT), will be of particular interest to Esther specialists (Fox's discussion proceeds in dialogue with the work of D.J.A. Clines, *The Esther Scroll* (JSOTSup 30; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984). In particular, Fox does an excellent job of laying out the evidence for his conclusions about the relationship of the proto-AT, the AT, and the LXX. Although it seems to me that the dialogue about the relation of these texts to each other and to the MT will continue, Fox has moved that dialogue much farther along. In addition, the book as a whole provides an excellent model for any who are interested in redaction criticism of the Hebrew Bible in general.

Sidnie Ann White
Albright College, Reading PA 19612-5234

Character and Ideology in the Book of Esther, by Michael V. Fox. Studies on Personalities of the Old Testament. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1991. Pp. xv + 317. \$32.95.

With characteristic understatement, Michael Fox begins his book: "The characters of the book of Esther, including its heroes, have not always fared well at the hands

of their commentators" (p. 1). Coming at the end of a century that saw the extermination of six million Jews in the heart of Christendom, one clearly recognizes that the significance of such readings transcends the scholarly interpretation of a "strange" book within the Hebrew Bible. Fox successfully offers an alternative reading, a reading shaped by one who has existentially experienced the truth of the book of Esther in his community's celebration of the festival of Purim (pp. 11–12).

Despite the title and the book's presence in the University of South Carolina's series "Studies on Personalities of the Old Testament," Fox has actually produced a commentary on the MT of the book of Esther rather than a monograph focused solely on an analysis of character and ideology. Indeed, Fox rarely addresses Esther's ideology. The book possesses a brief methodological introduction (pp. 1–12) and a more extensive, critical and literary "introduction" (pp. 131–287) which follows a translation and commentary on the text, a commentary that concentrates on character analysis and development. The book ends with philological notes, bibliography, and a series of helpful indices (pp. 274–317).

The strengths of Fox's scholarship are readily apparent throughout this work. Fox's engagement with the text and the history of scholarship prevents the work from becoming "popular" in a banal sense. The translation of Esther is superb, combining Hebrew philological expertise with English literary sensitivity. Balanced insight fills the pages. Characters unfold as real people within the narrative world of Esther. The character summaries succinctly and accurately describe the results of the reading given earlier. Most significant, however, are the final two summaries of character analysis, the chapters on "The Jews" (pp. 212–34) and "God" (pp. 235–47). Here Fox provides a close reading of the biblical text that avoids the ideologically laden caricatures and theological censorship that have often plagued the modern interpretation of Esther. Fox argues convincingly that the Jews in Esther are *not* narrowly exclusivistic or nationalistic. Instead, the book envisions "the Jewish people living and functioning as one *ethnos* among many, seeing to its internal governance and preserving its own culture" (p. 232).

Likewise, in his chapter on "God," Fox surmounts the theological discomfiture that has commonly arisen by God's explicit absence from the story. Rather than force God into a text where the divine is not explicitly present, Fox leaves the matter open: "In all this, God is not spoken of or heard from. Is he absent or present? The matter cannot be decided" (p. 246). Yet Fox explores sympathetically—and even profoundly—the implications of this theological indeterminacy. According to Fox, the book of Esther teaches "a theology of possibility. The willingness to face history with an openness to the possibility of providence—even when history seems to weigh against its likelihood, as it did in the dark days after the issuance of Haman's decree—this is a stance of profound faith" (p. 247).

It is interesting to note that at this point Fox carefully distinguishes his concept of an epistemological indeterminacy from an ontological or poststructuralist notion. Indeed, this concern to distance his work from poststructuralist theories runs as a subtext throughout the book. Drawing upon the literary theory of Baruch Hoffman, Fox pursues his literary analysis within a classical or modernist literary paradigm in reaction to recent narratological and poststructuralist approaches. Philosophical and political issues aside, this commitment leads to a certain intuitive, psychologizing reading of characterization in Esther. Concern to decipher interior motivation for literary characters and the author's intentionality predominate despite the text's silence on such matters. More importantly, the analysis of character proceeds independently from the analysis of plot. Important issues, such as the precise relationship between Mordecai, Esther,

and the deliverance of the Jews, remain at best opaque. Narratological method could helpfully supplement Fox's reading. Such an approach could help analyze character development more rigorously within the structures of the narrative itself and help respond to larger questions concerning the book, such as the images of women, especially Esther (see pp. 205–11).

In the end, however, one emerges from reading Fox's commentary with a new awareness of the literary artistry and "theological" importance of the Book of Esther within our post-Holocaust world. As the Jewish philosopher-theologian Emil Fackenheim has recently written (*The Jewish Bible After the Holocaust* [Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990] 62): "After what has happened between 1926 and now . . . Esther is strange no more." Fackenheim then proceeds to ask: "What if this once-strange book in the Jewish Bible had to be moved from the periphery to the centre, so as to provide the new principle uniting the whole?" Fox enables us to see the truth in Fackenheim's observation and points us in the right direction to respond to Fackenheim's query with greater depth and insight.

John W. Wright
University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN 46556

Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1–36, 72–108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran, by Maxwell J. Davidson. JSPSup 11. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992. Pp. 386. \$70 (\$52.50 for subscribers).

This 1988 University of Queensland dissertation, directed by F. I. Andersen, is a comprehensive study of angels in *1 Enoch* (apart from the Similitudes) and the specifically sectarian literature from Qumran. The term "angels" is taken to mean spiritual beings created by God, including Watchers, holy ones, etc. There are helpful charts of the relevant terms at the end of the book. Davidson is not concerned to distinguish different orders of angels or explain the range of terminology. Rather he focuses on the function of the beings in question in their various literary contexts.

Davidson begins with a general discussion of *1 Enoch*, defending the continued use of the Greek and Ethiopic versions and excluding the Book of Giants from consideration. Chapters are then devoted to *1 Enoch* 1–15, *1 Enoch* 17–36, the Astronomical Book, the Book of Dreams and the Epistle of Enoch. Turning to the Dead Sea Scrolls, he distinguishes between the literature of the sect and other writings found in the caves. Chapters are devoted to the *Rule of the Community*, the *Damascus Covenant*, the *Hodayot*, the *War Scroll*, and the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. A number of smaller documents (11QMelchizedek, 4QAmram, 1QSa, 1QSB etc.) are grouped together in another chapter. Davidson insists that each document be considered in itself, but also that it is possible to think of the sectarian literature as a whole, since "the similarities prove to be impressive and testify to a general cohesion of thought within the community" (p. 141). Indeed Davidson's project of comparing the angelology of the *Enoch* literature with that of Qumran presupposes the coherence of the Qumran corpus.

In his final chapter, Davidson summarizes his comparison under nine headings: the nature of angels; responsibility for sin; God's judgment on angels; obedient angels and judgment; the superiority of God in relation to angels; angels as mediators; further cosmic functions; angels and the throne of God; the association of the righteous and

angels. He makes several interesting observations. In contrast to the Enoch literature, there is hardly any communication between angels and humans in the Scrolls. Only in the *Testament of Amram*, probably an early sectarian work, does a human being converse with an angel. Only in the New Jerusalem text is there a possible case of an angelic mediator. The two corpora of literature have very different notions of revelation. The Enoch books lack the focus on the law of Moses which is characteristic of the Scrolls, and there is probably some correlation between this fact and the use of mediating angels. The Scrolls make little use of the myth of the fallen angels as an explanation of the origin of sin. Much of the Qumran literature is concerned to emphasize the importance of the covenant, while the discourse on the Two Spirits locates the origin of evil in creation itself. Davidson contends that the Scrolls anticipate no final judgment "but rather the military defeat of the angels whom God has created evil in the first place" (p. 300). While the distinction between judgment and military defeat is questionable, it is clear that the function of angels in the sectarian Scrolls differs significantly from what we find in the Enoch corpus. These observations should give pause to those who would posit simple continuity between the early apocalypses and the community of the Scrolls.

Davidson's book is competently written. He has done a thorough study of the various occurrences of angelic figures, and his discussion is fully informed by recent scholarship. Yet one has the sense that he has assembled the data for a study rather than tackled the issues. He himself acknowledges the disadvantages of his narrow focus. It is impossible to understand the relationships between the Enoch books and the Scrolls without taking other related literature into account, especially the book of *Jubilees*, which arguably occupies a mediating position between them. The book is also short on explanation. Davidson has observed some interesting differences between Enoch and Qumran, but has not explained their significance. Nonetheless, the collection of data is useful, and may serve as a promising first step toward a more penetrating analysis of the variations within Jewish apocalypticism in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

John J. Collins

The Divinity School, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL 60637

The Damascus Document Reconsidered, ed. by Magen Broshi. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992. Pp. 83. N.P.

This slim volume contains four items: an introduction by the editor, a new edition of the Geniza text by Elisha Qimron, an essay on current research on the Laws of CD by Joseph Baumgarten, and a bibliography covering 1970–89 by F. García Martínez.

Qimron's new transcription, accompanied by facing photographs, is the heart of the volume. Schechter's page numbers are retained, but the sequence is that proposed by Milik: 1–8, 19–20 (MS B), 15, 16, 9–14. The notes to the transcription take account not only of emendations that have been proposed, but also of the variants in the Qumran fragments. Baumgarten, who is now entrusted with the publication of the Cave 4 fragments, provides a description of the eight manuscripts which Milik had identified. These comprise a total of 689 lines, of which over half are new. Baumgarten notes instances where parts of the same pericope survive in two or more manuscripts.

Variations are minor, and do not appear to reflect redactional differences. He also notes some interesting laws. A person could be expelled for having intercourse with his wife contrary to the law. Expulsion was also the penalty for showing contempt for the "Fathers" of the community, while a similar offense against the "Mothers" is punished by only temporary suspension. He does not, however, undertake an analysis of the Laws here.

The new edition of the Geniza document is certainly welcome, and the noting of Qumran variants is helpful as far as it goes. Nevertheless, this is a volume that was overtaken by events. Now that photographs of the unpublished scrolls are widely available, the mere noting of variants seems unduly niggardly. It would have been so much better to have a preliminary transcription of the fragments themselves. The work needed for such an edition would seem to be presupposed by the information given in this volume. Baumgarten has already published some fragments in *JJS* 41 (1990) 153-65. Let us hope that the publication of the remainder will not be long delayed.

John J. Collins

The Divinity School, The University of Chicago, Chicago, IL 60637

The Past of Jesus in the Gospels, by Eugene E. Lemcio. SNTSMS 68. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991. Pp. xiv + 190. \$34.50.

Just when we thought we had arrived at something like a consensus that newer literary methods of NT study should be used to supplement, not supplant, older ones, along comes a book that finds narrative criticism (as the author practices it) a direct challenge in both method and results to such common practices as form- and redaction-criticism.

Lemcio's thesis is fairly straightforward: Form- and especially redaction-criticism insist that the evangelists' own situation and that of their churches have dramatically affected the way the story of Jesus' life is told and so tend to minimize or even obliterate the distinction between the time of Jesus and the time after. The author argues, however, that read as *narrative* the gospels reflect authors who knew the difference between the pre- and post-resurrection periods and carefully preserved it. Where the terminology and concepts of the two eras seem to overlap, careful reading will show that the nuances differ. In other words, what Greco-Roman writers (not modern ones!) required by way of verisimilitude, the four evangelists have more than adequately provided.

Chapter 1, "Faith, Kerygma, and Gospels," sets forth the thesis and the method to be employed in establishing it. Here Lemcio attempts to show, as good redaction- or composition-criticism did, that the finished Gospels reflect the authors' intentions and plans. Unlike most redaction-critics, however, he finds that the evangelists, as narrators, do not allow their stories to be influenced in any significant way by the theology of their own communities a generation or two after the life of Jesus. Since he recognizes that mainstream scholarship works on quite different premises, Lemcio in this first chapter also sets forth many of the basic assumptions of redaction-criticism and provides a rejoinder particularly to three notions: (1) that the gospels are kerygma, not biography (Bornkamm); (2) that "the Proclaimer became the Proclaimed" (Bultmann); and (3) that various surviving early documents reflect the (whole of the) theologies

of independent and often competing communities (*inter alios*, Koester and Robinson). These, obviously, are major, not peripheral, issues.

Chapters 2–5 test the author's thesis on the linguistic and conceptual data in the four canonical Gospels: Mark, Matthew, Luke, John, where he finds it confirmed.

The final chapter summarizes the study and adds an appendix on the "kerygmatic core" of the NT, which is about the (1) God who (2) sent (gospels) or raised (3) Jesus. (4) A response (receiving, repentance, faith) (5) towards God (6) brings benefits (variously described) (p. 118). Statements like these in some form can be found in practically all the books of the NT, Lemcio argues, so this was apparently something like the common center of early Christian preaching. Since, however, this summary can be found in documents which *as narrative* carefully delineate the lifetime of Jesus from the time that followed, it is but a short step to showing that Jesus' own ministry and teaching best explain its emergence. That this latter step is not explicitly taken by Lemcio hardly negates his repeatedly expressed suggestion (hope?) that it might be.

What shall we say of these things? Clearly, many of his points are well-taken. Form-criticism often is excessively bold in drawing conclusions about transmitting communities from individual elements of texts. Redaction-criticism has been practiced in such a way that our surviving texts were atomized instead of being read as whole texts. There is also very much to be said for a hermeneutic that starts with a text rather than from the historical situation which presumably produced it. And, of course, individual texts hardly ever represent the whole of an author's thought or that of his/her community. Readers will easily recognize not only the scholars at whom such criticisms are directed but also the element of justice in them.

Nonetheless, the study meets with substantial difficulties. Even when one recognizes that classical redaction-criticism differs only in degree (it does not deny everything that Lemcio affirms, or vice versa), the specifics seem to be fairly consistently overstated.

Here examples from Matthew (any Gospel would serve) may illustrate the problem. For one thing, though Lemcio often admits the possibility that the views he is opposing might be at least partially true, time after time his response is that such hard cases are "rare exceptions." Is it unfair to insist that these "rare exceptions" illustrate precisely the point the redaction-critic is trying to make?

Consider, e.g., the Matthean usage of *kyrios*. Most Matthean scholars accept Bornkamm's point that Matthew so modifies his sources that this word becomes the only appropriate confession for disciples (real or potential) and is never used by others. But Lemcio demurs, arguing that (1) Judas was a disciple, but he does not use the term [of course — in the Matthean *post-resurrection* community he is known as a traitor], (2) false disciples call Jesus "Lord" in 7:21–23 and 25:44 [but the *narrative* requires the confessional sense here], and (3) in general the word means more than "Master" but less than "Lord" in any confessional sense — which merely leaves the reader wondering why Matthew did what Bornkamm (and Lemcio) say that he did.

The obvious support for this now-standard interpretation of *kyrios* is the use of *proskyne*. Most interpreters hold that this broad term is used throughout the gospel in a confessional sense. But here too Lemcio demurs, holding that only the post-resurrection usage at 28:17 requires this meaning; other passages imply only varying kinds of respect. How does he know this? In fairness, it should be pointed out that Lemcio is suitably hesitant: "The *proskynein* of Jesus may be something more than reverence/cbeisance but less than worship *per se*. However, if Matthew's Christian

convictions do show through here, they are exceptional . . ." (p. 68). But this "exceptional" usage is precisely what redaction-criticism is concerned with.

Another crucial aspect of the author's thesis has to do with the portrait of the disciples in Matthew. They seem to many of us to serve, in Frankemölle's fine phrase, as "paradigmatische, typenhafte Transparenz-Figuren." If this is true, Lemcio's case is critically weakened, since Matthew's understanding of discipleship toward the end of the first century is now read back into the lifetime of Jesus' followers during his earthly ministry. So he will have none of it (p. 73, also p. 71 n. 46). Yet the both/and portrait of the disciples, especially Peter, as both faithful and wavering—sometimes better than the portrait in Mark and occasionally worse, as Lemcio himself shows—makes perfect sense as a commentary on the nature of discipleship but remains completely unexplained in the discussion on pp. 69–71. These exceptions, in the words of the proverb, seem to put the rule to the test.

Nevertheless, I would not wish to end on a negative note. This study has sent me back to re-work many important texts. I have no doubt others will have the same experience.

Charles E. Carlston

Andover Newton Theological School, Newton Centre, MA 02159

Die letzten Tage Jesu: Markus und Johannes, ihre Traditionen und die historische Frage, Band 1, by Matti Myllykoski. Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia Toimituksia Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Sarja-ser. B, nide-tom 256. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1991. Pp. 250. N.P. (paper).

Despite its title, this work is essentially a study of the Markan Passion; John's version is used comparatively, in order to identify the *Passionsvorlage* common to the second and fourth Gospels (pp. 7, 35–36). But Myllykoski's perspective is sharply and self-consciously distinguished from form-critical and redaction-critical approaches, both of which he finds suppositious (pp. 16–17). Still, he supposes that the Markan community was already acquainted with a traditional story of the Passion, and that the literary tensions and contradictions within the document invite a reconstruction of Mark's sources (pp. 28–29). That is the most interesting and productive aspect of the book: Myllykoski reads Mark as a literary, theological, and historical unity, but in order to identify its strata (pp. 35–36). Disruptions of the narrative thread, together with comparison with John and inferences regarding historical plausibility, constitute the criteria of analysis. The present volume treats of the Passion until Jesus' condemnation; the "trial" before Pilate and stories of entombment are to be treated in a second, more synthetic volume (cf. p. 7).

Myllykoski identifies definite strata within the Passion, although they only come into focus as the work progresses. The earliest stratum is styled "die alte Passionsbericht," a laconic report of Jesus' "symbolic cursing of the Temple" (p. 49, a phrase which is not adequately explained, cf. pp. 121, 191), leading to his arrest and a hearing before the high priest and abuse from the high priest's subordinates (cf. pp. 59, 62, 63, 78). Around a kernel of the *Passionsbericht* (Mark 14:53a, 61b*, 62a, 65ca*), the "trial" involving the "Sanhedrin" was composed (vv. 55, 56*, 60a, 61b, 62a, 63–64), and the final redactor underscored the alleged injustice of the proceeding and heightened its

eschatological character (vv. 56*, 57–59, 60b–61a, 62b, 65b; see pp. 63, 66, 78 for all citations). The focus of the *Passionsbericht* upon the exchange between Jesus and the high priest concerning Jesus' messiahship is held by Myllykoski to be presupposed by John and deliberately obscured by the general question concerning Jesus' disciples and teaching (pp. 70–71). Nonetheless, John is held to share with Mark the fuller development around the kernel which Myllykoski will call "die erweiterte Passionsgeschichte" (cf. pp. 78, 99, 101), including the (fictional, cf. p. 111) denial of Jesus by Peter (pp. 99f., cf. p. 129; Mark 14:54, 66–68a, 70b–71, 72a) which also manifests redactional elements (cf. p. 105; vv. 54*, 68b–70a, b*, 72a*, b). Throughout, the Marcan redactor is held to have emphasized the eschatological significance of the conflict between Jesus and the authorities in Jerusalem, above all the "scribes" (pp. 129, 130).

The *Gethsemaneperikope* strikes Myllykoski as both literarily secondary and historically unbelievable (p. 144). Mark 14:43, on the other hand, is attributed directly to the *Passionsbericht*: after all, it "ist lebendig beschrieben und macht einen ursprünglichen Eindruck" (p. 145) and is the kernel presupposed by vv. 1, 2, 10, 11 (p. 147). The tradition of the "last supper" also strikes him as an originally independent unit (p. 147). Both the *Abendmahlstradition* and the *Gethsemaneperikope* appear to Myllykoski to have been inserted into the *Passionsgeschichte* by the Evangelist (cf. pp. 148, 173f.), although the latter previously circulated "locker im Rahmen der erweiterten PG" (p. 157), in line with the "ursprüngliche Mahlzusammenhang" (p. 148) to which it is connected. Even the *Gethsemaneperikope*, however, is held to have been spun from Mark 14:35b/John 12:27b, on the basis of the liturgical practice of early Christians (p. 152). A distinction is to be made between the original pericope (vv. 32a, 33b, 34*, 35b–36*, 37, 41*, 42) and its redactional elements (vv. 32b, 33a, 34–36*, 38, 39–41a, 41c; pp. 155, 157, 158).

Similar considerations lead to the parcelling of the scene of Jesus' arrest between the *Passionsbericht* (vv. 43*, 45, 46, 47*, 50) and the expansions of the Evangelist (vv. 43*, 44, 45*, 47*, 48–49, 51–52) on the basis of the enlarged *Passionsgeschichte* (p. 172). The book closes with a specification of the contents of the *Passionsgeschichte* (Mark 11:8–10*, 11:11*, 15*, [11:28*] 14:58*, 14:1–2*, 3–9*, 10–11*, 17–21*, 27–31*, 33–35*, 41–42*, 43–53*, 54*, 60–62, 65*, 66–72*, 15:1*; pp. 191–92: the Johannine analogs are also cited). It should be stressed that the argument does not unfold schematically, as the present précis might suggest; rather, exegetical factors are weighed passage by passage, in what amounts to an analysis of the texts which is both sensitive and sustained.

Myllykoski programmatically—and in some ways successfully—moves away from a mechanical understanding of literary criticism and toward an analysis of meaning. But the sensitivity to meaning which is the strength of the book also betrays its greatest weakness, because the author does not systematically pose the question: whose meaning is sought? Who "reported" the *Passionsbericht* to whom and for what reasons? What was the setting of the more dramatic *Passionsgeschichte*? How were such traditions transmitted to Mark? Why was the Gospel itself written? If one wishes to postulate exegetical strata, and yet avoid a mechanistic view of text, one must speak of the purposes of the transmissions which finally crystallized in the sense of documentary recensions. Rather than address the nexus of largely catechetical processes which produced the meanings of Jesus for the Gospels, Myllykoski contents himself with vague statements about oral traditions (cf. p. 168), trenchant assertions of the literary substance of his hypothetical strata (cf. p. 157) and old fashioned complaints about

the "presuppositions" of form criticism (cf. pp. 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 31, 35). Attention to recent work from North America might have fostered a less dated set of assumptions.

As Myllykoski explains in his preface (p. 7), his work began as a theological investigation of the "trial" and other christologically redolent pericopae and wound up as a literary analysis of the Passion. The book faithfully reflects its own pre-history and—in the way that dissertations should—the considerations which brought the author to his conclusions, as well as a defense of the argument itself. The result is a certain unevenness in structure: the Passion is not unpacked in sequence, and conclusions are frequently stated, slightly revised, and restated. Although the structural weakness of the work is not fatal to its argument, it did distract the present reader from the strength of the work. For despite its suppositious, uneven character, the analysis is lucid and not intrinsically implausible. Indeed, the second volume might be expected to engage the issues of the generation of meaning which the first volume fails to take up. If so, or if Myllykoski later applies himself to that task, the result might well prove to be a more convincing picture than form criticism in its various guises has so far delivered. And he has already provided a more interesting picture by way of alternative.

Bruce Chilton

Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, NY 12504

Metaphorik, Erzählstruktur und szenisch-dramatische Gestaltung in den Sondergutgleichnissen bei Lukas, by Bernhard Heininger. NTAbh 24. Münster: Aschendorff, 1991. Pp. vii + 250. DM 56.

This study of the parables unique to Luke, a revised 1989 dissertation done under H.-J. Klauck at Würzburg, is divided into three parts: Part A discusses parable theory, Part B focuses on the Lucan use of monologue in parables, and Part C consists of studies of the individual parables. These studies include the question parables (beginning "Who of you . . ."), which are sometimes neglected. The textual studies do not, however, include the Good Samaritan.

Part A makes selective use of narrative theory and theory of metaphor to establish a theoretical framework. Heininger notes the importance of the "dramatic triangle," a set of three interacting character types (the *Handlungssouverän* like the father in the Prodigal Son, a chief dramatic figure or protagonist, and a secondary dramatic figure). He also emphasizes that a theatrical metaphor is appropriate in describing Luke's parables; hence his frequent use of the term "dramatic."

His discussion of metaphor gives attention to English-language studies. He refers to the tension in metaphor, to the distinction between vehicle and tenor, and to the way in which the vehicle (the metaphorical expression) provides a filter for our perception of the tenor. Heininger helpfully calls attention to the ease with which metaphor may develop into narrative, since the metaphor brings with it a bundle of associations that can be used in narrative construction. Heininger rejects the search for a single *tertium comparationis*. There may be numerous connections between vehicle and tenor. We fall into allegory only when we impose a foreign horizon of understanding in place of the intention of the author and the original addressees' horizon of expectations. Heininger is not interested in the polyvalent potential of metaphor nor its power to

stimulate the imaginative involvement of various sorts of hearers. He is interested in historically locatable meaning and therefore gives considerable attention to social realities reflected in the parables and previous metaphorical usage of the parables' characters and events. Heininger's contributions on these topics, along with his study of parallels to parable motifs in other ancient narrative, are the most valuable in the book, at least for this reader.

Part B is an extensive section (52 pp.) on the use of monologue in the special Lucan parables. It is remarkable that so much attention is given to this one feature of the parables. The texts considered are Luke 12:17-19; 15:17-19; 16:3-4; and 18:4-5. Usually introduced by an indication that the speaker is speaking "in himself," these monologues consist of two parts. The first indicates the problem that the character is facing; the second indicates the resulting decision. The monologue is a specifically Lucan feature that highlights the decision of the speaker and thereby reveals character. There are parallels in ancient novel and comedy, and Heininger's discussion of these is interesting and valuable. His references to ancient comedy, not only in discussing monologues but also in relation to other issues, provide material that deserves attention and suggest that comedy may be a neglected resource for study of the parables.

Part C is devoted to studies of individual parables, of which the chapter on the Lost Son is the longest. This chapter is an expanded version of the procedure that Heininger regularly follows: he begins with literary criticism (in the older meaning of the term) and then moves to a discussion of structure and form, the social realities reflected in the story, previous use of the key metaphor being developed, the meaning of the parable as a parable of Jesus, and finally, the meaning of the parable in its Lucan form. His discussion of the Lost Son illustrates some of the strengths and weaknesses of his work.

Heininger is confident that literary criticism can lead us back to a pre-Lucan version of the parable that can be attributed to Jesus. He regularly attributes his reconstructed versions of the parables to Jesus unless there are strong reasons to the contrary. In the case of the Lost Son, Heininger believes that the original parable consisted only of Luke 15:11-17, 20, 22-23, 24c, which means that he has eliminated part of the younger son's monologue, his confession of sin to his father, and all of the confrontation between the father and his older son. His chief arguments seem to be: monologue is a Lucan characteristic, the Lucan version contains repetitions, and the father's control of the property after dividing it with his sons is not explained. In reply one can point out that a portion of the monologue remains in the reconstructed version, repetition is a common technique of popular story telling and therefore not necessarily a sign of later addition, and Heininger's reconstruction does not solve the puzzle about the father's control of the property. Heininger himself notes (p. 156) that vv. 22-23, which he includes in the original parable, assume that the father retains control of family property in spite of the division of property reported in v. 12. Furthermore, he agrees that the original parable began by referring to two sons, yet only one of them has any role in his version of the story.

Because Heininger is confident of his reconstruction, the following discussion of structure and form concerns the reconstructed parable rather than the Lucan parable. The latter is neglected except for a brief discussion at the end of the chapter. Nevertheless, there are interesting points in the course of the discussion. Heininger notes the repeated motif in comedy of the dissolute son who wastes his father's money and

must confess his failings. While this is a common *topos* of the ancient world, the details of the story show a Jewish perspective. Heininger also considers the metaphorical use of father and son in Judaism and its scripture, noting that it is especially the relation of Israel to Yahweh that is expressed in these terms, although individuals can also be addressed as God's son. Heininger briefly considers the possibility that the son in Jesus' parable might represent Israel but rejects this in favor of the standard view that the sinners in Jewish society are meant. Strangely, he argues for this by noting that there is a contrast figure in the story, the older brother, which indicates differentiation within Jewish society (p. 164). The older brother, however, is a contrast figure only in the Lucan version of the parable. In the reconstructed version he is simply another son.

My reaction to Heininger's treatment of some of the other parables is more favorable than in the case of the Prodigal Son. Yet I am frequently skeptical of the results of Heininger's literary criticism because, as he states (p. 224), the parables have been subjected to a detailed stylistic revision. Can we really detect what the redactor started with? On the other hand, Heininger's collection of parallels to literary techniques, especially the monologue, is valuable, and the discussions of metaphorical use in the ancient world of key themes in the parables are often interesting and illuminating.

Robert C. Tannehill
Methodist Theological School in Ohio, Delaware, OH 43015

Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples, by Jack Dean Kingsbury. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991. Pp. xii + 180. \$10.95 (paper).

With respect to the subject of conflict in Luke, how significant are the various Roman realities that are described within Luke's work? This question is at the center of any assessment of Jack Dean Kingsbury's new literary critical study on conflict within the Third Gospel.

Before turning to this question it is well to appreciate the basic framework that Kingsbury establishes by means of the number of conflicts he identifies and the chapter structure that he evolves for treating them. To take the conflicts first, according to the author there are essentially three. On a suprahuman level, there is Jesus' conflict with Satan. In addition Jesus has conflicts on the human level with his own disciples and with Israel. This latter conflict is to be regarded as the major conflict of the gospel, and it admits of further sub-division into two components. Of primary importance is Jesus' conflict with the group Kingsbury identifies as "the religious authorities"; less significant but still to be recognized is Jesus' conflict with "the people."

In his effort to do justice to these conflicts Kingsbury structures his presentation into four chapters. A comprehensive opening chapter describes the story world of Luke's Gospel giving particular attention to the settings that Luke portrays and the major and minor characters that Luke presents. As major figures Kingsbury identifies the following: the Narrator, God, Satan, Jesus, the Disciples, the Religious Authorities, and the People. The subsequent chapters of the book each focus upon a major character, showing how that character experiences and participates in conflict. Chapter 2 is "The Story of Jesus"; chapter 3 is "The Story of the Authorities"; chapter 4 is "The Story of the Disciples." In the estimation of the present reviewer, Kingsbury is at his best in the sections in which he treats Jesus' conflict with his disciples in his effort to bring

them to enlightenment and spiritual maturity. In addition, the sections describing Jesus' conflict with Satan and the role of God in terms of Jesus' larger story are also generally well done. Kingsbury writes with commendable clarity, and the position he takes in describing one side of a given conflict is always well integrated with the position he takes in analyzing the other side. This in itself is no mean feat given the fact that the various conflicts and story lines are complexly interwoven within Luke's narrative. In contrast to his analyses in the areas just mentioned, Kingsbury's analysis of the conflict between Jesus and "the religious authorities" is more problematic. With respect to this area the following representative questions can be raised: (1) Does Luke actually indicate that Jesus was opposed by a single monolithic group of adversaries as Kingsbury asserts on pp. 21, 79, and elsewhere? Or rather does Luke not distinguish between an early non-lethal opposition from the Pharisees and *their* scribes and a later Jerusalem opposition from the chief priests, the elders, and *their* scribes? (2) Does Luke indicate that the principal issue between Jesus and his adversaries in Jerusalem was who would rule over God's people as Kingsbury asserts on pp. 103-4 and elsewhere? Or rather is it not Luke's perspective that Jesus earned the lethal opposition of the chief priests and their allies by charging them with corruption in their administration of the temple and castigating them as "wicked tenants"?

(3) Does Luke indicate that the mood of the *entire* Jerusalem populace changed so that the authorities and people together coerced Pilate into ordering the death of Jesus as the author asserts on pp. 32, 102, and elsewhere? Or rather is it not Luke's sense that the chief priests and their allies manipulated *some* of the populace to call for Jesus' crucifixion, with others such as Joseph of Arimathea and the "Daughters of Jerusalem" never consenting to this manipulation?

In defense of Kingsbury on these points, it should be noted that he does take some account of passages that *prima facie* might not support his own conclusions; e.g., he does allude to the fact that the Pharisees had their own scribes (p. 101); he does allude to the fact that opposition to Jesus only became "acutely confrontational" during the final days in Jerusalem (p. 98); and he does mention Joseph's role in asking Pilate for Jesus' body (p. 104). Further, Kingsbury's endnotes on these points indicate that he is far from alone within scholarly circles in adopting the positions that he does. Nevertheless, he may well be attributing a lethal opposition to the Pharisees and the entire Jerusalem populace that Luke himself actually restricts to the chief priests, the elders, and their allied scribes.

As regards the passages in which Roman factors figure, Kingsbury treats the episode of the spies sent by the chief priests and their question regarding Roman tribute at several points (pp. 64, 98, 100) and also extensively treats Jesus' Roman trial and crucifixion (pp. 64-69, 102-4). Yet, in the estimation of this reviewer, what is lacking in Kingsbury's treatment of these and the other Gospel reports concerning "things Roman" is the recognition that Luke views 2:1-2, 3:1-2, the plot to denounce Jesus to the Roman governor, and Pilate's ultimate verdict against Jesus as definitely related to one another and vital to his story of Jesus.

In effect, what is being suggested here is that any study of conflict in Luke will remain out of focus unless a systematic treatment of Jesus' conflict with the Roman order is integrated into the overall analysis. Besides Pilate's ultimate verdict that Jesus is subversive and dangerous, there are at least two other aspects involved in this conflict. There is the aspect that Luke's narrative shows Jesus' adversaries willfully

misinterpreting his ministry so as to portray him as directly and even violently in conflict with Rome. There is the aspect that Luke's narrative depicts Jesus as being *implicitly* in conflict with Rome's established values and practices.

From this reviewer's perspective, Kingsbury is partially correct when he states the following about Jesus: "In Luke's story Jesus is in fact Messiah-King, not as one who foments revolution against Rome, but as one who mediates salvation to such as this second criminal: to the 'poor,' the 'captives,' and 'the lost'" (p. 68). The fact that Jesus' "mediation of salvation" carries major implications for Roman rule is the dimension that must be integrated into this assessment. For, as Luke details, in the concrete circumstances of a Judea dominated by Rome, Jesus proclaimed and practiced a powerful alternative set of values oriented to the Kingdom of God. And, entering Jerusalem, he so powerfully challenged the corrupt chief priestly elites (installed and tolerated by Rome) that they denounced him as a violent threat to the governor who eventually condemned him as such.

Jesus' conflict with the Roman order in Luke is thus distinct from, although related to, his conflict with the chief priests and their allies. Kingsbury commendably emphasizes that, in struggling to bring his own disciples to spiritual maturity, Jesus' conflict with them is profoundly different than his major conflict with "the religious authorities" (p. 109). What is needed, then, is a comparable sensitivity to the type of conflict that Luke shows in terms of Jesus' explicit and implicit interactions with the Roman social order, interactions in which his social teachings are of critical importance.

Many of the sections of Kingsbury's book are highly effective in conveying a sense of the beautifully unfolding, nuanced movements of Luke's narrative. The book as a whole is carefully crafted and should be purchased and read as a work that concisely communicates the best of the "received tradition" regarding the scope of Luke's endeavors. Its limitations are not due to the fact that it capriciously departs from the mainstream of Lucan scholarship. Rather its inadequacies are related to the general inadequacies of traditional Lucan scholarship as regards "things Roman."

Richard J. Cassidy
Fordham University, Bronx, NY 10458

Host, Guest, Enemy and Friend: Portraits of the Pharisees in Luke and Acts, by David B. Gowler. Emory Studies in Early Christianity 2. New York: Peter Lang, 1991. Pp. xv + 405 \$63.95.

This revision of the author's 1989 dissertation (directed by Alan Culpepper) appears at a propitious time, for interest in how Jews—especially Jewish leaders—are depicted in Luke and Acts is at an all-time high. Several books and numerous articles on this subject have been published within the past decade, and the trend shows no signs of abatement. Gowler's book is a welcome addition to the ongoing critical debate about Jews in Luke-Acts in that it avoids two of the pitfalls common to recent studies of the issue. First, Gowler recognizes that Luke's Pharisees must be treated as a distinct group rather than being lumped together with all other Jewish leadership groups in the narrative. Second, Gowler grasps the fact that the problem is *literary* in nature and so requires a literary—rather than a historical-critical—methodology. Luke's Pharisees are characters in a narrative, and so the initial issue concerns how they are characterized in the story as it now stands.

Because there is no standardized literary methodology geared to ancient narrative, Gowler attempts to design his own. Almost two-thirds of the book is devoted to mapping out what he calls a "socio-narratological" approach to characters and characterization in Luke-Acts. For the sociological dimension of his model, Gowler draws on the recent studies of Bruce Malina and others on ancient Mediterranean cultural scripts concerning honor and shame, patron-client contracts, kinship, purity rules, and so forth.

Gowler is to be commended for arguing (against many literary critics) that the text's original cultural context should bear on subsequent interpretation of Luke-Acts. Many of the interpretive keys to the text are not, strictly speaking, within the text. Rather, they were assumed (conventional) knowledge on the part of both author and intended readers. Gowler's book recovers some of that ancient conventional knowledge and applies it to the portrayal of Pharisees in Luke's narrative. This process can be illuminating, as demonstrated in Gowler's explanations of how purity rules and hospitality codes underlie the (uniquely Lucan) episodes of Jesus dining with Pharisees. Too often, however, Gowler's sociological analyses seem forced or gratuitous; at points, they even obscure rather than clarify the narrative discourse. Analysis of Luke 17:20-21, for example, focuses almost exclusively on whether honor/shame codes are pertinent (they seem not to be) and largely ignores the ironic, paradigmatic portrayal of the Pharisees as scrutinizers who never recognize, observers who do not perceive ("the kingdom of God comes not with observation . . ."). Will the reader, who is also an observer, truly "see and hear" or merely look on? That is the rhetorical question raised by Luke's characterization of the Pharisees at this crucial juncture in the narrative.

The "narratological" (or literary) aspect of Gowler's method leaves much to be desired. Bypassing fundamental issues like the nature of texts, the identity of "the reader," and the process of reading, Gowler goes straight to a discussion of characterization in ancient and modern literature. The latter can be helpful (for bibliography and basic issues), but lacks the coherence and depth of an integrated hermeneutical theory. What Gowler comes up with is an eclectic method that leans heavily toward the formalist end of the interpretive spectrum, with occasional bows to the reader-oriented approaches. The most obvious lacuna in all of this is a critical model of reading. By what means does a reader construct the images of characters on the basis of textual and extratextual data? Characters are not actually in a text. Rather, they develop in the mind of a reader as he or she moves sequentially through a narrative. It follows that the interpreter must take *the process of character formulation* (e.g., identification, retrospection and anticipation, consistency-building, etc.), and not simply textual information, into account. In other words, one should not simply refer to the scattered evidence on the Pharisees without also factoring in how it is ordered and how it was processed by the audience. Without such interpretive controls one can reshape Luke's Pharisees into almost anything one desires.

Because Gowler fails consistently to monitor *accumulation* of character as reading progresses, he reiterates a ubiquitous error among Lucan scholars, i.e., the contention that the Pharisees are portrayed negatively in Luke but positively in Acts. If Luke and Acts are indeed two parts of a unified narrative, then the reader will carry over the deeply-engraved odious image of the Pharisees from Luke to Acts. When viewed from this reading perspective, the episodes involving Pharisees in Acts take on an ironic and tragic cast rather than the positive aspect Gowler sees. When Gamaliel lectures the Sanhedrin about God's will (Acts 5:38-39), for example, the reader cannot help

but remember that Gamaliel is a prominent member of a group that (so the reliable narrator reported) "rejected the will of God for themselves" (Luke 7:30). A sharper eye for such intratextual shadings certainly would have modified Gowler's assessment of the Pharisees in Acts.

In accord with his formalist tendencies, Gowler presents the Pharisees as an assortment of still pictures—host, guest, enemy, friend—in a portrait album through which we leaf at random. But narrative is not a self-sufficient static object; it exists only as readers engage the text in the ongoing, linear activity known as reading. It is thus temporally constrained, and its *dramatis personae* are more like characters in a movie than photographs in an album. A sense of the dynamism of Luke's story would do much to augment Gowler's work.

In conclusion, *Host, Guest, Enemy and Friend* is a refreshing attempt to apply sociological and literary-critical lenses to the Pharisees in Luke-Acts. It contains many insightful observations on individual passages, but, due to methodological shortcomings, it fails to identify and elucidate the overall role of this group in the narrative's discourse. Specialists will certainly have to take account of Gowler's study; others will probably be put off by its dissertation format and hefty price tag.

John A. Darr

Boston College, Chestnut Hill, MA 02167

Understanding the Fourth Gospel, by John Ashton. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991. Pp. xvi + 599. \$139.

The present volume by John Ashton, University Lecturer in New Testament Studies and Fellow of Wolfson College at Oxford University, is a massive work, comprising over five hundred and fifty pages of relatively small print and dealing with a host of issues either directly or indirectly related to the interpretation of the Fourth Gospel. In fact, the work is neither a monograph nor a commentary; I would describe it rather as an extensive critical overview of Johannine scholarship. For the reviewer the work is rather a nightmare, especially when its greatest asset, its learned and encyclopedic character, is also its greatest drawback, its lack of overall cohesion and development. Indeed, given this double nature of the work, even deciding where to begin, let alone settling on what to address, proves to be a difficult and frustrating task. Let me begin with comments on both the overall design of the volume and its style of argumentation.

First, with regard to structure, the volume presents a threefold division: Part I ("Questions and Answers"), covering the first one hundred and twenty-five pages, serves as an introduction to the volume; Part II ("Genesis"), encompassing over two hundred and fifty pages, is concerned with the literary history of the Gospel; and Part III ("Revelation"), consisting of the remaining one hundred and seventy-five pages, addresses the fundamental meaning of the Gospel.

Part I provides the traditional *status questionis* with two main principles of arrangement at work: the pivotal nature of R. Bultmann's work and an adaptation of M. H. Abrams's well-known typology of critical theories. Thus, the history of modern Johannine scholarship is traced in terms of three stages: before Bultmann; Bultmann; and after Bultmann. This history is further analyzed in terms of four "circles of enquiry"—content, author, readers, and the work itself—with the focus of attention shifting

significantly in each case from the pre-Bultmann to the post-Bultmann stage. For Ashton, therefore, Bultmann represents the one central figure in Johannine studies, though with a twist: not because of the solutions he advanced with regard to the questions addressed (all but that of the readers), all of which are characterized as fundamentally incorrect, but rather because of the very thorough and precise way ("penetration") in which he grasped and addressed the Johannine puzzle – the question involving the location of the Gospel in early Christian history as well as the central conception of the work itself. Such an assessment of Bultmann shapes in turn Ashton's own agenda: to provide alternative answers to Bultmann's penetrating questions in the light of subsequent scholarship.

This task is sequentially pursued in the remainder of the volume. In Part II Ashton deals with the first dimension of the puzzle, the question of location, which encompasses three circles of inquiry: the origins of the Gospel (background, sources, influences, and traditions), with special emphasis on Christology (the author); the nature and history of the Johannine community (the readers); and the history of the composition of the Gospel (the work itself). In Part III he turns to the second dimension of the puzzle, the question of central conception, which involves the fourth circle of enquiry: issues of matter and form, of worldview and genre (the content). Part II is excellent and by far the best part of the work, especially with regard to the question of origins: Ashton firmly locates the Gospel within the literature of religious dissent in Judaism, with a concrete social matrix in the history of the Johannine community and its struggle with official Judaism. Part III argues for revelation as the central conception of the work, but a revelation that is carefully described as follows: Jesus is the divine envoy who reveals the one God to the one world in and through the whole of his human life, not only in his words but also in his deeds.

Second, with regard to argumentation, the work may be described as bipolar. On the one hand, this is unquestionably the work of a mature scholar in the traditional mould, characterized by broad learning in the ancient Mediterranean world, especially in the literature of Judaism, and wide reading in the scholarly literature. Thus, one finds illuminating literary comparisons of all sorts, critical engagement with the scholarly tradition on any number of points, as well as countless asides and expansions on an enormous variety of topics. From this point of view, the volume becomes a treasured source of information on both the literary matrix of the Gospel and its modern critical tradition. On the other hand, such a display of learning ultimately lacks a strong sense of direction and development. As a reader – going from topic to topic, aside to aside, digression to digression – I found myself constantly wondering about the internal coherence of the different sections (large or small), the relationship of the sections to one another, and the relationship of each section to the controlling agenda concerning the revision of Bultmann's program. From this point of view, the volume is simply too massive and too broad for its own good. Its wealth of information constantly gets in the way of the line of argumentation, with clarity of purpose and leanness of argument yielding throughout to encyclopedic commentary and expansion. In the end, the author's irresistible urge to comment and pass judgment on an incredible number of issues has a severe impact on the larger agenda, on the overall goals and effects of the work as a whole.

I have described the author as a mature scholar in the traditional mould. Let me now expand on three essential aspects of this characterization: the theoretical home

of the author; the resultant view of the Gospel; and the contemporary significance of the work in the light of such positions.

First, despite some acquaintance with contemporary literary theory and criticism, the author remains firmly within the historical critical tradition in biblical criticism. Every principle of traditional historical criticism is present here and indeed taken for granted, e.g., an objectivist approach to meaning as coming either from the author or the world of the text; a further conception of meaning as univocal and retrievable, through the use of proper methodology; an evaluation of all preceding scholarship as either correct or incorrect, depending on approximation to the author's own interpretation of the Gospel. In this regard the work lacks proper theoretical acumen: not only does it fail to address critically the theoretical foundations of its own method, especially in this day and age, but it also tends to stereotype and dismiss far too lightly the contributions of the more recent critical methods, from narratology to reader response to deconstruction.

Second, such theoretical moorings lead to a classic view of the Gospel in terms of sources and redactions, layers and editions. Its basic principles are familiar: on account of its many aporias, the Gospel cannot be read as a unified and coherent composition; such aporias point rather to a long and complex history of composition; this history can be retraced through the reconstruction and exposition of its constitutive literary layers; the Gospel must be read from the ground up rather than from beginning to end. Such an approach, especially given its very detailed and extensive scope here, seems so fragile nowadays: the endless disquisitions and cuts, the unspoken linguistic and theological presuppositions, and the imperative inclusions and exclusions of texts and layers in the discussion of any one topic.

Finally, given its theoretical and methodological orientation, the work is ultimately a throwback to the early 1970s, with subsequent critical developments in the discipline acknowledged, but largely dismissed and much less engaged. As a summary of Johannine scholarship through 1970, the work is quite good; as a barometer of the present state of affairs, the work is quite dated and hence disappointing. In conclusion, I believe its greatest contributions—simply outstanding, in my opinion—to lie in the literary matrix it proposes for the Gospel and in the wealth of information it provides on a host of issues and topics.

Fernando F. Segovia
Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN 37240

Footwashing in John 13 and the Johannine Community, by John Christopher Thomas. JSNTSup 61. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991. Pp. 214. £22.50/\$39.50 (£18.75/\$29.50).

This volume by a professor at the Church of God School of Theology, Cleveland, Tennessee, is based on a doctoral dissertation done at the University of Sheffield under A. T. Lincoln. It consists of six chapters of unequal length.

The first briefly surveys seven prominent interpretations of the footwashing in John 13, including that which sees the footwashing as a symbol of forgiveness/cleansing of post-baptismal sins. The second deals with the textual variants of 13:10. The seven variant readings are reducible to two. Of these the longer reading is preferred (i.e., the one which includes "except for his feet").

The third compiles an extensive catalogue of citations about footwashing in antiquity, and at the same time, gives the texts themselves in English translation. To my knowledge, such a compilation is available nowhere else. This survey shows that footwashing in its many uses always denotes preparation of one kind or another. It also reveals that, outside John 13, an account of a superior voluntarily washing the feet of an inferior is without parallel in antiquity.

The fourth chapter functions in two ways. First, it sets the footwashing in its context in the Fourth Gospel as a whole. This both exposes the close tie between the passion and the footwashing and shows the dominant theme in John 13 to be cleansing. Second, chapter four does a verse-by-verse exegetical analysis of 13:1–20. Thomas contends that the pericope need not be divided into two parts with contradictory interpretations of the footwashing but makes good sense as it stands. His conclusions include the following. (1) There are two washings referred to instead of one. The first refers to baptism; the second refers to an additional act of cleansing that takes care of post-baptismal sins. (2) The footwashing is not optional. By refusing the footwashing, Peter is ultimately refusing the effects of the cross. (3) Verses 14–15 function as a command by Jesus to the disciples to continue this practice among themselves. It is not a call to humble service generally but to perpetuation of the practice of washing feet in the Christian community in particular as a sign of cleansing from sin.

Chapter five engages in historical reconstruction, attempting to show that the Johannine community engaged in the practice of footwashing as a religious rite with the same character as baptism and Eucharist. It probably preceded the Eucharist and was carried out by all members of the community. Supporting arguments are four: (1) the language of the text (so chapter 4); (2) the cultural context (so chapter 3); (3) the setting of chapters 14–17 in a eucharistic setting which prepares readers for the institution of a sacred rite; and (4) the way actual readers understood 13:14–17. It is the fourth argument that receives the most attention in this chapter. Extensive citations from patristic literature are collected to show: (1) that the practice of footwashing continued in the early church; (2) that this practice was connected to John 13; (3) that it was associated with dealing with post-baptismal sins; and (4) that it had a sacramental character. This collection is both one of the book's greatest strengths and one of its chief flaws. Chapter six summarizes the findings of the volume and points to the needs of future research. A select bibliography and several indices conclude the volume.

This is a helpful book even if sometimes unconvincing. The survey in chapter one is sketchy but useful. The discussion about the textual variants of 13:10 is thorough and on target. The collection of passages about footwashing in antiquity is worth the price of the volume. Jewish, Greco-Roman, and Christian sources are combed for analogous practices. The contention that the final form of 13:1–20 be read as a unity is well taken, as is the conclusion that the text speaks of two washings, one associated with Christian initiation and one dealing with post-baptismal sins. Unconvincing is the claim that vv. 14–15 are a command to continue the practice of footwashing in the community of Jesus' disciples. Verse 15 says, "Do *as* I have done to you," not "Do *what* I have done to you."

Most problematic is the uncontrolled use of patristic material in chapter five. The citations show the early church was divided about continuation of the literal practice of footwashing (Augustine, *John: Tractate* 58.4). Only one church father cited calls

footwashing a sacrament (Augustine). In most cases cited footwashing functions as part of the normal offer of hospitality by Christians to other believers, either local or visiting. Sometimes it serves to demonstrate the humility of the one doing the washing, as, for example, when a bishop washes the feet of subordinate priests. Occasionally the humility of the act is regarded as curing the post-baptismal sin (pride) of the one doing the washing. In only one case (Augustine) does one find the combination: the practice is continued (*Letter* 55.33); it is regarded as a sacrament (*Homilies on John* 58.5); and Jesus' washing of the disciples' feet is interpreted as his dealing with their post-baptismal sins (56.5 and 58.5) and the disciples' washing of one another's feet is seen as their forgiving one another's sins (59.5). Augustine, however, located the practice during Lent, either on the eighth day or on the third eighth day (*Letter* 55.33), not within the church's regular eucharistic celebration.

Thomas makes a compelling case for the interpretation of the footwashing in John 13 as symbolic of dealing with post-baptismal sins, whether of Jesus' forgiving of his disciples' post-baptismal sins or of disciples' forgiving one another for their post-baptismal faults as preparation for the Eucharist. The case for the continuation of the literal practice of footwashing in the Johannine community as a rite of equivalent nature to baptism and Eucharist is less than convincing. The stated problems with the volume's thesis, however, in no way detract from the book's achievements. It must be read and its arguments weighed by every Johannine specialist. Reading it will be a pleasure because of its organization and clarity.

Charles H. Talbert

Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, NC 27109

The Son of the Man in the Gospel of John, by Delbert Burkett. JSNTSup 56. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991. Pp. 199. £22.50/39.50. (£18.75/29.50 subscriber).

This fascinating dissertation, written at Duke University under the supervision of D. Moody Smith, proposes an entirely new way, of looking at John's use of the phrase *ho huios tou anthrōpou*. On the basis of careful arguments Burkett rejects both Jewish apocalypticism and gnosticism as relevant backgrounds for John's usage (p. 177 ". . . perhaps the only Gnostic myth associated with John is the myth that its christology is Gnostic"). He finds unsatisfactory the proposal of R. Leivestad, E. Ruckstuhl, F. J. Moloney and others that *ho huios tou anthrōpou* refers to the humanity of the Word-become-flesh, primarily on the basis of 3:13, where the phrase appears to designate a heavenly being.

Burkett proposes that the indispensable background for a proper understanding of the phrase is Prov 30:1-4, which, with slight emendation of the Hebrew consonantal text, he translates (I quote in part): "Store up my words, my son, receive the oracle, says the Man to Ithiel ('God is with me'), to 'God is with me so that I am able.' . . . Who has ascended to heaven and descended? Who has gathered wind in his garments? Who has wrapped water in a mantle? Who has established all the ends of the earth? What is his name and what is his son's name? For you know." The key element is *hgbr*, which can be read either as "the Man" or as "the Mighty One." The context indicates that the reference in either case is to God. When pointed as "the Man," the reference to God is "enigmatically veiled or concealed" (p. 64). Ithiel is thus presented as God's

son, i.e., as "the son of the Man." The Hebrew or Aramaic phrase has been literally rendered in *ho huios tou anthrōpou* through the use of two articles.

Echoes of Prov 30:1–4 are found by Burkett in a number of Johannine texts, but most important for his thesis is 3:13 and its context, where he finds four associated motifs from the Proverbs passage. The claim of the Johannine Jesus that no one has ascended to heaven except himself can refer only to his preincarnate state. The ascent/descent sequence points to Prov 30:4; since Jesus substitutes himself for God he implies the oneness of "the Son of the Man" and God. Further support for the proposal that the Johannine Jesus identifies himself with Ithiel is found in 3:2 ("no one is able . . . unless God is with him") and 3:11 (the "we" refers not to John's church but to the unity of the Son with the Father). The filial relationship linking "the Son of the Man" with God is clearly presented in 6:27, and in 8:28 the use of the phrase is "explicable . . . only if it means 'the Son of God' or 'the Son of the Father'" (p. 99). While there is thus no difference in meaning between "the Son of the Man" and "the Son of God," there is a difference in function; the former remains an enigmatic self-designation whose meaning is hidden from others (12:34).

In the final chapters Burkett examines: the use of the title in 1:51; the texts concerning the lifting up and glorifying of the Son of the Man; the Son of the Man as the Word of God (with a helpful comparison of John 6 with Isaiah 55); the *egō eimi* texts; and finally texts associating "the Son of the Man" with the light of the world.

This provocative study is carefully researched and well written. It deserves serious attention. If the central thesis fails to convince, this will be due to the fact that the evidence is not as compelling as the author maintains. If John had really intended his readers to interpret *ho huios tou anthrōpou* as proposed, he would surely have provided more explicit help, especially in view of the difficulties the LXX translators had with the Proverbs passage. Objection must be taken to Burkett's treatment of the ascent/descent language both in Proverbs and in John. His claim that God is frequently portrayed in the OT as ascending from earth to heaven is not supported by the texts he cites (p. 66 n. 1), nor does he produce any OT text in which God is represented as first ascending in order to descend. The logic of the sequence of the verbs in Prov 30:4a is dictated by the human situation, not the divine. The same logic underlies John 3:13. No human has ascended to heaven and subsequently descended. The Johannine Jesus claims that he is the only human who has done this; he does not deny that non-human beings such as the angels have done it (Burkett's treatment of John 1:51 undercuts his argument that the ascent-descent language of Prov 30:4a can refer only to God). Burkett quite properly observes that the grammar of 3:13, taken strictly, implies a pre-incarnate heavenly ascent or ascents of the speaker. He may be correct in his argument that for John all the OT texts that speak of God's immanence refer to the Son of God. Nevertheless, since heavenly ascents are made regularly by angels, it is better to depend more heavily on the logic of the statement than on its grammar, and assume ellipsis: "No human has ascended to heaven (and returned, and thus has knowledge of *ta epourania*) except the one who descended from heaven."

I must differ from Burkett regarding his assumption that the meaning of a phrase such as *ho huios tou anthrōpou* can be read from the contexts in which it appears. As Burkett concedes, the phrase serves consistently as a self-designation; i.e., it "names" the speaker, Jesus. Consequently any explication of the "name" must be explicit, not merely implicit. Explicitly the mysterious phrase says nothing more about the identity

of the speaker than the name "Jesus." From its locations in the Fourth Gospel we can determine that it names a *human being* whose origin is in heaven and who is properly confessed as the Son of God but who must suffer mortal death on a cross. Semantic logic does not require that *ho huios tou anthrōpou* be synonymous with "the Son of God" simply because both are used as ways of referring to Jesus. Contra Burkett p. 98, John 6:27 does not *explain* the self-designation by virtue of its context in which Jesus' relationship with the Father is presented. With many other investigators Burkett assumes that *ho huios tou anthrōpou* has meaning for John independent of its semantic function as Jesus' peculiar self-designation; Jesus is the Son of (the) Man, i.e., Jesus is to be identified with an OT (or gnostic) figure that has already been defined by an earlier literary (or oral) source. Because of the phrase's unusual self-naming function, however, this assumption requires justification.

Despite these criticisms I found much of value in this book and will return to it in the future. I look forward to further scholarly contributions from its author.

Douglas R. A. Hare
Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, PA 15229

The Pre-Christian Paul, by Martin Hengel in collaboration with Roland Deines. London: SCM; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1991. Pp. xii + 162. \$21.95 (paper).

Martin Hengel has a quest: to revise the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* reconstructions of earliest Christianity in light of the vast amount of information available to modern scholarship. His tack is always the same: to examine issues in the light of Jewish and Greco-Roman historiography in all its dimensions. Here Hengel reinvestigates five issues surrounding the life of the apostle Paul (i.e., Sha'ul): his origin and citizenship, his educational background, the nature of Pharisaic study of the Law in Jerusalem, the use of Greek in education in Jerusalem, and Sha'ul the persecutor. Ultimately, Hengel aims to show that Paul's theology was heavily shaped by his Jewish-Pharisaic background and his Damascus experience. Put differently, Paul's theologies of grace and justification are both so firmly anchored in his Jewish past that one cannot understand his emphases without understanding his past. Justification is not just an idea of Paul; it is the center of his thought.

Methodologically, Hengel disputes (rather tersely) the current denial of the historical usefulness of Acts and Pauline letters and seeks instead to show their essential covergences; furthermore, an underlying motif of the work is the necessity of combing ancient sources in order to comprehend the cultural and social factors at work in the events and texts. Few would dispute Hengel here; fewer, however, are as competent as Hengel at combing the sources. Thus, the book becomes significant just for its presentation and comprehension of the historical details at work in this reconstruction of Paul's pre-Christian life.

Hengel intimates that Sha'ul acquired Roman citizenship as the result of his father's or grandfather's emancipation from slavery. He further suggests that Sha'ul was probably not from a poor family and that he worked in leather as a part of "lay nobility by birth." He concurs with van Unnik that Sha'ul was educated in Jerusalem (not Tarsus) and that his parents relocated there sometime after his early years. Thus, Sha'ul's education was thoroughly Jewish. Indeed, Hengel also argues that Sha'ul was educated in

a Jerusalem school of the Pharisees where he became connected with the rabbinic, Essenic, and apocalyptic ideas that find their home in his Christian theology; but it is also clear that Paul was more charismatic, eschatological, theocratic, and dualistic than most of the Pharisees of his day.

The question quickly becomes how we are to explain Paul's command of Greek if he was educated in Jerusalem. After detailing what he thinks was a Jerusalem population of which 10 to 15 percent spoke Greek primarily, Hengel argues that there were many synagogues in Jerusalem that had as their primary goal the education of both native Jerusalem Greek-speaking Jews and diaspora Greek-speaking Jews. It was here that Sha'ul found "a ministry," and he learned his sophisticated (if also distinctive) form of rhetoric in Jerusalem.

Eighteen to thirty-six months after the death of Jesus Sha'ul was converted; Hengel is fond of the traditionalist views on the chronology of Paul's life (here he depends frequently on Rainer Riesner's recent *Habilitationsschrift*). Even though educated under Gamaliel, Sha'ul seems to have broken with his teacher's essential pacifist stance over against the growing Christian movement. He eventually came to be the leader of the assault in Jerusalem against the Greek-speaking Christians who broke from careful obedience to the Law. When those Christians fled Jerusalem to Damascus, Sha'ul chased them there in his zeal for the Law. On the road to Damascus Sha'ul was converted and called; Paul's theology was shaped by this background and is in most regards an interaction with his Jewish past. As a result of his persecution of the Hellenistic wing of the church in Jerusalem, Paul avoided Jerusalem. He had fought those Christians over the Law, over the Temple, over the impossible crucifixion of the Messiah, and these factors were deeply enmeshed in the sociological markers of Judaism.

Although not a major breakthrough in Pauline studies, and although Hengel is hardly arguing anything substantially new, the book is an important update of Hengel's work as he proceeds toward his reconstruction of earliest Christianity in the light of what he accepts in contemporary historiography. We are beginning to gain a glimpse of where he will be when the larger work will be finished.

Here we find a complete grasp of European secondary literature (frequently enough he cites German Ph.D. dissertations and Habilitation dissertations of which he is the mentor or editor and his editor, Roland Deines, worked the footnotes into—at times—magnificent histories of research) in a manner that will be useful to those who follow his steps. In addition, Hengel is one of the few contemporary scholars who is (correctly, I think) willing to describe the varieties of Judaism by using evidence drawn from the New Testament. But most importantly, Hengel has placed Paul into a believable, consistently Jewish, context over against which the converted Paul interacts. Here we find a reasonable solution especially to Paul's education that explains both his Jewishness and his desire to communicate in Greek. Paul, Hengel argues, was educated in Jerusalem but in the Hellenistic wing of Judean Judaism, and his rhetorical styles were developed in synagogues in interaction with travelling diaspora Jews. This solution commands consent and deserves careful scrutiny. Furthermore, although many of us have come to appreciate the constructions of Judaism found in E. P. Sanders and J. Neusner, few of us are entirely satisfied that such explanations can adequately describe the Judaism out of which Sha'ul seems to have emerged and against which he so fiercely debates. Sanders's Judaism is not that which Paul describes in Galatians; and even if some want to contend that Paul has got Judaism wrong, few want to resort to an explanation that

discounts Paul's data entirely. I think Hengel's reconstruction (in part, to be sure) is believable and broader and, importantly, it attempts to use both Acts and the Pauline letters in chronological order.

In sum, we have a book that is a bit iconoclastic, a bit traditionalist, and a bit innovative, all marks of independence and good scholarship. The following criticisms are minor. First, Hengel's stance over against German critical scholarship is amusing when one watches from this side of the water. Hengel is obviously in a running and heated dialogue over radical skepticism with respect to the historical usefulness of Acts and some of the Pauline letters. The problem is that Hengel is both terse and evasive. Perhaps Hengel should publish more complete descriptions and analyses of contemporary German skepticism. Second, it must be understood that this book is not a thoroughgoing monograph; rather, it is a series of five studies on various issues in Paul's past. As such, however, it lacks unity and at times clear organization. While we can accept this piece as a preliminary sketch of where Hengel is going, it remains difficult at times to follow the logic and implications of his thought. But the book is important and needs to be studied by all those who are engaged in serious study of the historical, religious, and social contents of Paul's thought and life. Unfortunately, the current waves of literary criticism have eclipsed the importance of serious historiography. Perhaps Hengel's book will call some back to the study of ancient sources.

Scot McKnight

Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, IL 60015

Clothed With Christ: The Example and Teaching of Jesus in Romans 12.1–15.13, by Michael Thompson. JSNTSup 59. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991. Pp. 292. £30.00/\$50.00 (£22.50/\$37.50 subscriber).

Although Bultmann's interpretation of 2 Cor 5:16 as an indication of Paul's disinterest in the "Jesus of history" is no longer popular, the perception that the apostle was largely uninfluenced by Jesus' teaching and ministry is still widespread. And this is so largely because Paul himself so seldom refers explicitly to Jesus' teaching or example. Michael Thompson, in this revision of his Cambridge dissertation under John Sweet, meets this argument head on. He argues that the paucity of Paul's explicit references to "Jesus tradition" cannot be used to prove that Paul was unconcerned with, or uninfluenced by, this tradition, and that, in fact, both Jesus' example and teaching have "significantly influenced the shape of his [Paul's] admonitions" (p. 20).

In support of the first of these conclusions, Thompson adduces the example of other NT writers and of the apostolic fathers. He shows that explicit quotations of Jesus tradition are very rare in other NT letters and not much more frequent in the early fathers. Yet there is good reason to think that the NT writers and especially the fathers had access to and interest in the traditions about Jesus. We should, then, adjust our expectations of what to expect in Paul accordingly and stop claiming (as many "minimalists" do) that Paul's rare direct references to Jesus are indicative of a lack of influence. This, however, simply raises another question: why, if they were interested in and influenced by Jesus' teaching and example, do NT writers so seldom refer explicitly to him? Thompson adduces a number of reasons for this situation, the most

important in his estimation being the existence of a common early Christian teaching about Jesus and his teaching, the occasional and specific purposes of NT paraenesis, and, for Paul in particular, the centrality of Jesus' death and resurrection and his need to establish his independent apostolic authority.

Thompson seeks to establish his second main conclusion by showing that Paul refers frequently to Jesus tradition in his exhortations to the Roman Christians in 12:1–15:13. References to such tradition could, he argues, take three different forms: quotation, in which Jesus tradition is introduced with an explicit citation formula; allusion, in which Paul signals his *intention* to remind his audience of Jesus tradition; and echo, or reminiscence, in which Jesus tradition has influenced Paul but without it being clear whether Paul was himself aware of such influence. Thompson carefully assesses each possible reference to Jesus tradition in Rom 12:1–15:13, using criteria such as common vocabulary, shared concepts, similar purpose, and distinctiveness to decide whether a reference exists or not. He concludes that this section of Romans contains no quotations of Jesus tradition, one "probable" allusion (14:14; cf. Mark 7:15–23), one "possible" allusion (12:14b; cf. Matt 5:44//Luke 6:27–28), three "virtually certain" echoes (the two cited above along with 13:8–10; cf. Matt 22:39–40 and parr.), and several probable echoes (14:13a [cf. Matt 7:1–4]; 14:17 [cf. Jesus' teaching on the kingdom]; 14:13b [cf. Jesus' teaching about *σχάνδαλα*]; 13:7 [cf. Mark 12:17 parr.]; 12:17–19 [cf. Matt 5:38–48//Luke 6:27–36]; 12:9 [cf. Jesus' teaching about hypocrisy]; and 13:11–12 [cf. Jesus' calls for eschatological wakefulness]). Other echoes of Jesus tradition are possible but not demonstrable.

The strengths of Thompson's study are at least three. First, relying on literary theorists, he is careful to distinguish among the different levels at which earlier tradition may appear in another writing. Second, he sets the debate about "Paul and Jesus" in an appropriately broader context through his examination of the place of Jesus tradition in other early Christian books. And, third, he exercises commendable caution in assessing the influence of Jesus tradition on Paul. Although critical of the "minimalists" who find little influence from Jesus on Paul, he does not make the mistake of so many "maximalists" and find obscure and unlikely references to Jesus in every Pauline text.

Thompson's methodological caution and rather unsensational conclusions render his study less open to criticism than other more bolder proposals might be. However, I do have three concerns. First, while there is some theoretical value in distinguishing "allusions" and "echoes," the criteria by which it is determined whether Paul is deliberately reminding his readers of dominical tradition or simply reflecting its (perhaps unconscious) influence on him are perhaps inadequate to the task. The job becomes particularly difficult when the criterion involves what Paul's Roman readers were likely to know. Moreover, one must ask whether it is likely that Paul could have written exhortations which were clearly influenced by Jesus' teaching and/or example without his being aware of it (see, e.g., p. 110). My second concern relates to an area of Thompson's work that might repay greater exploration: the reasons why apparently generally accepted Jesus tradition is explicitly referred to so seldom in early Christian writings. Thompson, as we have seen, suggests some reasons, but much more could be done on this point. Finally, Thompson's conclusion that Jesus' example and person were more important for Paul than Jesus' teaching and that Paul felt free at times "to set aside" Jesus' teachings is not fully supported by his own study. The two possible allusions

that Thompson finds both involve specific teachings of Jesus; and he does not demonstrate any point at which Paul "sets aside" Jesus' teaching.

Douglas J. Moo

Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, IL 60015

Eschatology and the Covenant: A Comparison of 4 Ezra and Romans 1-11, by Bruce W. Longenecker. JSNTSup 57. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991. Pp. 318. £35/\$60.

Since Schweitzer, 4 Ezra has played a significant role in the investigation of Paul's relation to Judaism. Often relied upon as an example of the Jewish "works-righteousness" that Paul attacked in Romans, 4 Ezra was pushed to the periphery of early Jewish "covenantal nomism" in E. P. Sanders's *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977). In this book, a revision of a 1988 Durham University dissertation written under J. D. G. Dunn, Longenecker proposes comparing the *two* Jews who remain "enigmas" for Sanders, falling "beyond the bounds of covenantal nomism" (p. 21). The proposal is intriguing, and Longenecker's sensitivity to literary features (e.g., the function of the dialogues between Ezra and Uriel; Paul's use of the diatribe style) promises an engaging study.

Unfortunately, the insight expressed in the introduction that in early Jewish literature "the understanding of the covenant varies from text to text" (p. 32) evaporates as Longenecker proposes to replace Sanders's "covenantal nomism" with "ethnocentric covenantalism," a category "necessary for this project" (p. 34). The generalization that in early Judaism "the ethnocentric character of the covenant was not called into question" stands without the sort of important qualifications that Ephraim Urbach advanced in a 1981 article, although Urbach is cited at this point. Further, Longenecker warns the reader that the treatments of 4 Ezra and of Romans 1-11 that follow will focus on only those passages in which "each author interacts with ethnocentric covenantalism," and that Romans will be read "thematically not sequentially" (p. 36).

The frustrating consequence is that genuine exegetical insights must often compete with polarized dogmatic categorizations for the reader's attention, a prominent concern being the measure of "ethnocentrism" in any particular statement in the texts. In 4 Ezra, Ezra's questions about the fate of God's covenant with Israel are promptly labeled "ethnic particularism" and "ethnocentrism"; Uriel's opposing argument that a few (including Ezra) have in fact kept the commandments becomes a doctrine of "individualistic legalism" in which "the individual himself has it within his own means to ensure his own solution" (p. 84); the angel's remark that *Ezra* has "a treasure of works" (7:77) is repeatedly generalized as evidence of a works-righteousness *soteriology*. Uriel's emphasis on future salvation is read as a "disqualification" of the mercy of God (who is, instead, bound by an "established time scale," p. 62); consequently, his message (and the message of 4 Ezra) "represents the inevitable collapse of Jewish covenantalism when the foundation upon which it was established (the mercy of God) is removed" (p. 98).

The "conversion" that Longenecker postulates between the third dialogue (6:35-9:25) and Ezra's first vision (9:26-10:60) means that Ezra has learned to "drop his covenantal perspective." Accordingly, in Longenecker's view, the ensuing visions of Zion's restoration do *not* represent the future of the covenant people; rather "Israel"

and "Zion" have become ciphers for "the few who earn their way into the next age," "wholly apart from their status as Jews" (cf. p. 151); the consolations offered to the weeping woman (i.e., Zion) are not really consolations; and Ezra's comforting speeches to the people (12:46-49; 14:27-36) are subtly "ironic" and "insincere" (e.g., p. 120). Longenecker admits that Ezra's exhortation in 14:27-36 does not challenge a "covenantal understanding of God's ways," since "every aspect of this speech could just as easily appear in a prophetic call for the people to be obedient to their covenant God" (p. 137). But on the premise that Ezra has abandoned covenantalism, these words cannot mean what they say. What *appears* to be covenantal nomism is but a divine feint: "*the reader*, however, knows the inside story and discerns the irony of the situation" (p. 154), namely, that God "has willed the classified information to be withheld from the people" (p. 137), an event Longenecker compares with the "parable secret" of Mark 4:10-12.

The treatment of Romans is similarly hampered by categorical predetermination. Despite a reference to J. Christiaan Beker's insistence on the contingent nature of Paul's letters, Longenecker appears uninterested in exploring the contingency of Romans, dismissing suggestions (e.g., by W. S. Campbell) that the Roman situation be investigated and presuming the conventional view of the letter as the "theological rationale for Paul's provocative mission" (p. 162). After a cursory survey of some recent studies of Paul and the Law, Longenecker identifies the relevant theological polarity for reading Romans in 1:16-17: "the tension between universal salvation and particularistic advantage" (p. 170).

That in the following chapter Romans 2-3 are read as Paul's "attack on Jewish ethnocentrism" is hardly surprising, given the history of Christian interpretation of this passage; what is disturbing is that Longenecker can cite S. K. Stowers's work on the diatribe extensively, with no acknowledgment that Stowers considers just this line of interpretation "anachronistic and completely unwarranted" (*The Diatribe and Paul's Letter to the Romans* [Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981] 112). Longenecker describes Paul's attack as "a rhetorical technique without empirical correspondence" (p. 176), the reflex of "theological commitments already held" by Paul, namely, "that ethnocentrism is improper" (p. 180), "ethnocentrism" here representing "all those Jews who stand outside of the boundaries of the christian community" (p. 191).

In the chapters that follow, notorious exegetical and rhetorical questions elsewhere in Romans are quickly resolved on the postulate that whatever Paul *says* (setting two passages of Torah in apparent opposition in Rom 10:6-10, for example, or describing the ego's lethal encounter with Torah in Romans 7), he *means* simply to attack "ethnocentric covenantalism," which is throughout opposed to "Christian faith." In this "thematic" approach, the argumentative integrity of the letter, and what possible relevance Paul's attack on Jewish ethnocentrism might have had for a specific Christian audience, are not considered.

Longenecker admits that there is an "*ethnic*," rather than "*ethnocentric*," aspect to Paul's thinking: If Paul's treatment of "the Jew" is not "wholly dismissive," it is because of Paul's personal "affection for his people" which "does not arise out of the inner workings of Paul's gospel" (p. 248). This affection is expressed, in crude terms, as concern for the conversion of the Jews: "Like the mule who follows the carrot wherever it goes, so too will the Jews follow salvation; when they recognize that they cannot contain it within an ethnocentric community, they will join the community wherein grace is at work (or so Paul hopes)" (p. 249).

This "ethnic component" of Paul's "christological covenantalism" is seen to focus in Romans 11. Other scholars, beginning with F. C. Baur, have found the letter's climax in this chapter, and especially in Paul's warning to Gentile Christians not to boast of having "replaced" Israel (11:11–32); yet Longenecker compares Paul's thinking here not with Gentile-Christian attitudes but with "popular expectations in Early Judaism." Paul's warning to Gentiles is treated as a rather incidental qualification of issues raised in the preceding theological précis: "Romans 11 could well have concluded at 11:10 with no loose ends remaining" (p. 256; cf. p. 259). The "ethnic" component of Paul's thought consists in the affirmation that "all Israel will be saved" (Rom 11:25), which Longenecker interprets to mean "all Israel will be turned to faith in Christ" (p. 257). Whether this "ethnic component" is integral to Paul's theology (as implied on pp. 264–65) or an unrelated residue of personal feeling (pp. 248–49) is not resolved.

The same difficulty afflicts the final chapter, where synthesizing comparisons are drawn. Longenecker declares that for both Paul and the author of 4 Ezra, eschatological perspectives have "disqualified" the "ethnocentric slant of traditional Jewish covenantalism" (p. 269) — naturally enough, since "in the light of the desperate condition of sin which pervades the whole of humanity, the very justice of God would be compromised" by ethnocentric covenantalism (p. 270). Yet Longenecker refrains from expelling either writer from the orbit of covenantal Judaism. Paul does make ethnic affirmations, even if this is "posturing" (p. 276) unrelated to his theological argument (p. 275); his redefinition of Law and Israel "only testifies to the diversity within Early Judaism." Although Longenecker admits that "in the case of 4 Ezra, a definitional label is harder to obtain," the difficulty is no deterrent. Thus, 4 Ezra propounds "an individualistic legalism" in which "grace is available [only] to those who have no need of it" (p. 271); on the other hand, "the author dresses up his innovation with the garb of covenantalism, perhaps even an ethnocentric covenantalism" (p. 277), even if such residues are only "legitimizing posturings rather than the core of his perspective."

This ambivalence suggests that the category Longenecker has chosen as "necessary" for this project is not as helpful as he might wish. (Not incidentally, the opposition of "particularism" vs. "universalism," derived ultimately from F. C. Baur, have served to replace the "law vs. grace" dichotomy in recent attempts to rehabilitate Paul theologically in the "post-Sanders environment." Longenecker himself seems unconcerned with such rehabilitation, remarking comfortably enough on Paul's "inconsistency" or "self-contradiction.") He would like Romans and 4 Ezra to be the "exceptions which help to prove the rule" that ethnocentric covenantalism "was prevalent in Early Judaism"; but interpreting both documents as attempts to undermine that system begs questions by presuming what in either writing is essential, and what is vestigial or theological camouflage. Further, his assertions that Paul "never really comes to grips with the ethnocentric covenantalism against which he launches so many arguments" and that the author of 4 Ezra "knew of no way to transcend the traditional [i.e., ethnocentric] mindset by means of rational deductions" (p. 279) raises suspicions that the theological categories in question have been rather artificially imposed.

Scholars of these texts, and of early Judaism more generally, will find many of Longenecker's judgments stimulating, but the book must be read with discretion. Students approaching these issues for the first time should be directed elsewhere.

A substantial bibliography and indexes of biblical references and of authors are included.

Neil Elliott

College of St. Catherine, St. Paul, MN 55105

The Agency of the Apostle: A Dramatistic Analysis of Paul's Responses to the Conflict in 2 Corinthians, by Jeffrey A. Crafton. JSNTSup 51. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991. Pp. 188. £21 (\$35).

This revision of a Ph.D. dissertation (Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary/Northwestern University, 1989, under Robert Jewett) applies Kenneth Burke's dramatistic rhetorical analysis to 2 Corinthians to gain insight into Paul's argument.

Crafton begins by introducing Burke and other elements of the new rhetoric. He first discusses the new rhetoric's attention to "identification" (the process of coming to share another's understanding of a situation through symbols). He then sets out Burke's method. Burke sees language as an act rather than simply an effort to convey information and so describes a rhetorical event as the interaction of five elements (the Dramatistic Pentad): Act (what was done), Scene (where the act took place), Agent (who did it), Agency (the means of the symbolic action), and Purpose (the goal of the act). The rhetor uses these elements in varying relations and proportions ("ratios") to create identification. Crafton asserts that dramatism is particularly appropriate for biblical studies because it examines how texts try to create a new understanding of the world, the goal which biblical literature seeks to attain. Crafton then introduces *ethos*, defining it as one's "primary orientation to reality" (p. 40). *Persona* is an element of *ethos* which helps the rhetor interact "with the communal beliefs and values of the audience" (p. 38). Rhetoric functions within *ethos* and yet enables an audience to evaluate and redefine its *ethos*. Crafton asserts that attention to *ethos* is especially necessary when the rhetor is experiencing opposition.

Moving to 2 Corinthians, Crafton presupposes the five letter hypothesis and accepts Georgi's identification of the opponents. He sees the core of Paul's argument with the Corinthians as their differing expectations for leaders. Crafton devotes a chapter to each of the three main letters he finds in 2 Corinthians. Each of these chapters identifies the rhetorical situation, analyzes the structure of the argument, and then discusses each major section of the argument.

Crafton identifies 2 Cor 2:14-6:13 + 7:2-4 as Paul's first response to the super-apostles. Paul's rhetorical strategy is to lead the Corinthians into his orientation by presenting himself as an agency rather than entering their agent orientation. The opposition between orientations is the central motif of the letter and is most clear in 3:7-18 where, Crafton says, Paul presents Moses and the super-apostles as agents who function as mediators while he is an agency through whom God is directly present. Since the Corinthians' orientation is so different from his, Paul communicates his agency *ethos* through metaphors (e.g., earthen vessel, captive in a procession, aroma, and ambassador) to establish "common symbolic ground" (p. 73). Crafton concludes that the strategy of arguing about modes of apostleship did not succeed in changing the Corinthians' orientation. So Paul must use a new strategy in the next letter.

Crafton asserts that in chaps. 10–13, the “Letter of Attack,” Paul adapts his strategy more to his audience by taking on the agent *persona*. The primary opposition here is between agent and counter-agent. While employing the agent *ethos* Paul uses irony, parody, and sarcasm to destroy the orientation on which it is based. By presenting himself as the “warrior-fool” Paul rejects the agent *ethos* and forces the Corinthians to choose between the agent and agency orientations. According to Crafton, this strategy succeeds and the Corinthians return to Paul. All that remains is to put their relationship on more solid ground, which Paul does in the Letter of Reconciliation, 1:3–2:13 + 7:5–16.

According to Crafton, the Letter of Reconciliation shows no more conflict over authority and no more tension, even though it addresses some echoing accusations and a mutual lack of trust. Paul’s rhetorical strategy is to interpret the history of his relations with the Corinthians. He revises “the communal memory” (p. 162) by emphasizing their participation with him and by identifying the conflict as a problem with one person (2:1–11) who has been punished and whom Paul has forgiven. Paul here takes on the *ethos* of co-agent with God. He does not return to his agency *ethos* because even though the Corinthians are now loyal to him, they have not accepted his agency *ethos*. Crafton sees this letter as a single, four-part narrative with an opening Berakah. By interpreting their history, Paul brings the Corinthians to his orientation and to a vision of the way things should be.

Crafton concludes that the dramatistic method has guided us through a story of conflict in which a variety of rhetorical strategies are used to effect a resolution. We have been led “from condition through action to reflection” (p. 164). Further, dramatism has brought new insight into Paul’s self-presentations.

This very readable but often repetitive study demonstrates the value of attention to rhetorical structure and offers some new tools (the agent/agency distinction) for understanding Paul’s self-presentations. While the ideas conveyed with this vocabulary are not new, they do bring the issues into clear focus. Crafton has done a service for those not familiar with current discussion of how metaphor, irony, sarcasm, and retelling history function in rhetoric. His clear discussions of these devices as rhetorical tools are quite helpful.

There are, however, some questions to be raised about this study. First, it is methodologically unsound to put as much weight on a disputed passage as Crafton puts on 2 Cor 3:7ff. when he identifies it as the place where the agent/agency distinction is most clear.

Second, while Crafton shows that Paul’s rhetorical *persona* in 2:14ff. is clearly different from that in 10–13, he is not as successful in exposing a difference between 2:14ff. and 1:3ff. Crafton’s distinction between the orientations of agency and co-agent with respect to these letters seems to reflect Burke’s categories more than Paul’s argument. The absence of attention to 2 Cor 6:1, where Paul calls himself God’s “co-worker,” contributes to this perception. Crafton treats this passage in one footnote where he simply asserts that “co-worker” means something compatible with agency. The absence of this discussion places in serious doubt the difference in rhetorical strategy Crafton finds in these two letters.

We might also ask whether the view of agency Crafton arrives at is Burkean or Pauline or a combination of the two. More importantly, Crafton’s discussion of the co-agent strategy seems to assume that agency is Paul’s true self-understanding rather

than simply a rhetorical strategy, as he defined it in connection with 2:14ff. How one moves from a rhetorical *persona* to the rhetor's actual self-understanding is a thorny question, but Crafton's emphasis on the different ways Paul presents himself requires discussion of this issue, if he assumes that a particular *persona* is the real Paul.

Even with these problems, Crafton has done us the service of carefully analyzing the rhetorical structure of 2 Corinthians. And while he has not, to this reader's satisfaction, shown a unique fit between Burke's dramatism and the letters of Paul, he has demonstrated that attention to rhetoric and the ways it works to re-orient a conceptual world are important for understanding Paul's letters to his churches.

Jerry L. Sumney

Ferrum College, Ferrum, VA 24088-9001

Colossians: A Commentary, by Petr Pokorny. Trans. Siegfried S. Schatzmann. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991. Pp. xviii + 232. \$19.95.

The translation and publication of Pokorny's commentary marks the appearance in English of one of the more significant recent historical critical commentaries on Colossians. In keeping with his earlier work, *The Genesis of Christology* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1987), the author's overriding concern throughout this commentary is with the theology and Christology of Colossians. His method of approach in the commentary is both historical and theological, with an emphasis on the overall theology of the letter. The commentary is divided into an Introduction, an Exegesis (consisting of six sections) and Concluding Observations.

The Introduction treats many of the topics one expects within a scholarly commentary, discussing date and place of composition, authorship questions, and particular problems Pokorny sees in relation to the structure of the letter and commentary. The primary focus of this introduction, as with many commentaries on Colossians, is on the problem of authorship and the related problems of date of composition and intended recipients. After eventually concluding that the letter is decidedly non-authentic, but within the Pauline tradition, Pokorny struggles with the issue of intentional pseudonymity within the canon. Having relegated authorship to the questionable status of pseudonymity, Pokorny then proposes a unique solution to the problems of date of composition and intended recipients, theorizing that the letter was "postdated" by a later author as a way of providing a document to use against heretics in the real author's community.

The "Exegesis" section of the commentary begins with a brief discussion of the epistolary prescript. The aspects of the prescript are considered in a typical manner, in terms of both epistolary form and the identification of those named as senders and recipients. Also included within this initial section is the first excursus, focused on the title "Christ" as found within the prescript.

The first major portion of the exegesis focuses on both the thanksgiving period and the Christ hymn in 1:3-23. This section begins with discussion of the thanksgiving period (1:3-8) and is immediately interrupted by an excursus on the "characterization of God as the Father of the Lord Jesus Christ." Following the analysis of the thanksgiving, the discussion turns to the intercessory prayer (1:9-11). Within this subsection, Pokorny proposes a chiastic structure for this initial section, with thanksgiving (vv. 3-8),

intercession (vv. 9–11) and a model thanksgiving (vv. 12–20) forming the parallel structures. The remaining verses (vv. 21–23) are then construed as a continuation of the intercession and application of the Christ hymn. The majority of this first section, however, is focused on the Christ hymn (1:15–20). Pokorny provides an extended discussion on interpreting the hymn, in which he analyzes the poetic structure, history of religions background, theological intentions, and possible *Sitz im Leben* of the hymn. The verse-by-verse commentary following this extended discussion is interrupted by two excursuses, the first dealing with the “principalities and authorities” mentioned in the hymn and the second with the Christology of the hymn in terms of the “body of Christ.”

Part two of the exegesis treats 1:24–2:5 as constituting the “preliminaries” to the main argument of the letter. That is, Pokorny considers the letter’s main purpose to be concerned with supporting the validity of the apostolic witness. This section plays a key role for him between the foundation given by the Christ hymn and the main argument. This section is divided into two parts, the first concerned with relations between the apostle and the larger church (1:24–29) and the second with the apostle and the Colossian community (2:1–5).

Part three of the exegesis focuses on 2:6–23 as the main argument of the letter and treats both the opposing philosophy and the letter writer’s response to it. The Colossian philosophy is analyzed in an excursus, where Pokorny concludes that it represents a syncretistic movement and not the work of judaizing Christians or mystery religion adherents, as earlier scholars had theorized. No attempt is made to identify this opposing philosophy with that of a specific historical group, although a number of possibilities are suggested. In connection with the excursus following the Christ hymn, a second excursus on the “body of Christ” is given, this time in relation to the opposing philosophy.

Curiously, Pokorny proposes that the final portion of the argument of the letter is the paraenesis (3:1–4:6). Pokorny argues that this section is rhetorically important in that it falls at the end of the main argument and, at the same time, is dependent on the previous portions of the letter in terms of content and consequences. In some tension with this assertion, however, Pokorny follows the tradition, established by Dibelius, that the situation addressed by a letter is separate from its paraenesis, with the paraenesis assumed to be of a more general nature. He thus suggests that, while content and consequence are derived from the earlier portions of the letter which directly address the Colossian situation, the paraenesis is unrelated to this situation. Three excursuses are given in this portion of the commentary, the first being a treatment of the ethical consequences of the argument of the letter as a whole in relation to the beginnings of the paraenesis in 3:3. The second treats the vice and virtue lists (3:5–11) noting both their links to Hellenistic philosophy and their connection to eschatology in the NT. In the final excursus, Pokorny examines the Household Code, noting both the history of research and proposing a number of ways to interpret and appropriate the code as a part of the canon, concluding that it represented a defensive measure with regard to both social setting and correct understanding of the gospel.

Lastly, the epistolary postscript is treated as external to the main argument of the letter, containing merely personal notes and greetings. The discussion of these verses is largely tied to comparisons with the Letter to Philemon and other Pauline letters, as well as attempts at identification of the persons named.

Ironically, the “Concluding Observations” do not summarize or draw together the various elements proposed in the introduction and discussed implicitly through the course of the commentary. Rather, Pokorny discusses the theology of Colossians in relation to its inclusion within the canon, Pauline tradition, and place within the theology of the church, both past and present.

To summarize, Pokorny’s commentary provides a comprehensive historical and theological analysis of Colossians. His detailed verse-by-verse commentary is thoroughly versed in the history of scholarship and secondary literature. However, the concern for Christology appears to overwhelm the commentary occasionally, as in the extended treatment given the Christ hymn and the numerous excursuses. In addition, the commentary also suffers from the common ailment of inadequately providing an overall sense of the structure of the letter. While Pokorny does propose a conception of the overall structure in the Introduction, the relationship of each section to this structure is not discussed in the course of the Exegesis. In the end, Pokorny’s commentary provides an excellent summary of scholarship to date on Colossians and a decidedly modern theological perspective for appropriation of the letter. However, readers will be disappointed if they are looking to find an application of more recent methods of analysis (e.g., sociological, rhetorical).

Matt Collins
Hermitage, TN 37076

Proleptic Priests: Priesthood in the Epistle to the Hebrews, by John M. Scholer. JSNTSup 49. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991. Pp. 243. £30 (\$52.50).

Scholer holds that it is the intention of the author of Hebrews to assert implicitly that his readers are priests. They are priests because of their relationship to Jesus, the High Priest. The author of Hebrews also shows their priestly status and function by describing them in a way that is analogous to the LXX description of the Levitical priesthood.

This book gives a brief description of the priesthood/high priesthood of Christ in Hebrews in order to show how the recipients of the letter’s relation to Christ makes them priests. Scholer believes that both the author and recipients of Hebrews were familiar with a *ὁμολογία* or confession used in worship which proclaimed Christ as high priest. The recipients, however, understood Christ’s priesthood as a heavenly reality unrelated to his earthly life. This belief coincided with their over-realized eschatology. In his understanding of the situation of the recipients of Hebrews Scholer is influenced by M. Rissi (*Die Theologie des Hebräerbriefs: Ihre Verankerung in der Situation des Verfassers und seiner Leser* [WUNT 141; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1987] 1–130).

The author of Hebrews corrects their faulty eschatology by showing that Christ’s heavenly high priesthood is based on his earthly priesthood and once-for-all sacrifice. His heavenly priesthood began with the exaltation, when he became a priest after Melchizedek’s order, and will last until the parousia. His “perfection” (*τελειῶν*) is the same as his exaltation and entrance into God’s presence. Since he is a heavenly High Priest who suffered as a human being and offered himself as a once-for-all sacrifice, he is able to “perfect” believers and thus give them access to the presence of God—now, through prayer and worship, after their death in a more direct way. But full access

to God—the “rest” discussed in Heb 3:6–4:11—is not available for them until the parousia. In his earthly high priesthood Christ identified with Christian believers (i.e., the recipients of Hebrews). Since they were Christ’s “brothers” (2:10–18) they were also entitled to be called priests due to this relationship. Their priesthood is characterized by direct access to God through their High Priest, yet it is only “proleptic,” because this access will not be complete until after the parousia.

In the LXX the words προσέρχεσθαι (ἐγγίζειν), “to draw near,” and εἰσέρχεσθαι (εἰσιέναι), “to enter in,” are used to describe the priests ministering in the sanctuary. When so used προσέρχεσθαι is usually a translation of the Hebrew שָׁנָה or קָרַב and εἰσέρχεσθαι of נָכַח. It is Scholer’s contention that the use of these words in Hebrews to describe the recipients of the letter shows that they are analogous to the Levitical priests. Although he discusses both terms extensively, the strength of his argument must lie with προσέρχεσθαι, for εἰσέρχεσθαι is never used in Hebrews to describe the recipients directly. The closest usage is 6:19, in which the participle form of εἰσέρχεσθαι modifies the believers’ “hope” of entering into the presence of God. Scholer also makes reference to the related noun εἰσοδόν in 10:19. Otherwise εἰσέρχεσθαι is always used in the present tense to describe the repeated entrance of the Levitical priests/high priests into the sanctuary or Holy of Holies [9:6–7 (εἰσίσαιιν), 9:25] and in the aorist to describe Christ’s once-for-all entrance into God’s presence (9:11–12, 24; 6:20). As Scholer indicates, there are two ways in which the LXX uses προσέρχεσθαι with a cultic sense: it is used of the access of the priests to the first tent in order to make offerings for the people. It is also used to describe the people’s approach to God in prayer and worship on the basis of these sacrifices. While Scholer is able to show that the usage of προσέρχεσθαι in Hebrews is cultic and is related to an approach to God based on sacrifice 4:16; 7:19 [ἐγγίζειν]; 7:25; 10:1, 22; 12:18–24; his case for cultic use in 11:6 is not as strong), he is not, in my judgment, able to show that it describes the recipients of Hebrews in a way that makes them analogous to the OT priests. Rather, it makes them analogous to the OT people of God as a worshiping community. Scholer admits as much in his discussion of 10:1 and 12:18–24. Surely in 7:19 and 7:23–25 it is the High Priest Christ who is contrasted with the OT priests, not Christian believers who now “draw near.” Nor is there anything in 4:16 or 10:22 that would require us to draw a parallel between Christian believers and Levitical priests. In the Old Testament the high priest was not just related to the other priests. He was related to and represented the entire people of God.

Scholer has certainly demonstrated an analogous relationship between Christian believers and the people of God under the old covenant. But, in my judgment, it is questionable whether he has demonstrated a relationship between Christians and the Levitical priesthood. Indeed, one might ask whether the author of Hebrews would have been willing to make such an identification. As Scholer indicates, the OT, in which the main function of the priesthood was sacrifice and mediation, is determinative for Hebrews’ concept of priesthood. Hebrews’ description of priesthood in 5:1–4 centers on representation, sacrifice, and mediation. These functions are of the essence of priesthood. And in respect to them Jesus’ own work is final. According to Hebrews, Christian believers now have an access to God which even the Levitical high priest did not have, but which it was the goal of priesthood to provide *for the whole people of God*.

Some will question Scholer’s understanding of a ὁμολογία as the origin of the high

priestly Christology of Hebrews, his analysis of the eschatological problem of the readers which the author of Hebrews seeks to correct, and his identification of God's "rest" with the state of believers after the parousia. One might also ask how Christ's priesthood "according to the order of Melchizedek" could begin with his exaltation and end with the parousia. What, then, was Christ's earthly priesthood? Certainly not one according to the order of Aaron. It also seems strange that Christ's priesthood will end with the parousia but that the parousia is the very point at which the "proleptic" priesthood of believers becomes a full priesthood.

There is much to be learned by reading Scholer's work. It is the first large-scale treatment of this subject in Hebrews. He is to be commended for attempting to integrate his understanding of the priesthood of the recipients of Hebrews with an overall theological understanding of the book. His survey of priesthood in the OT, the Pseudepigrapha, the rabbinic literature, the Qumran literature, Philo, and the mystery religions is very helpful. His footnotes contain numerous references that will be of interest to those interested in studying priesthood in the first century. This book is a must for anyone interested in the use of *προσέρχομαι* and *ἔισερχομαι* in Hebrews. I also find his analysis of *τελειοῦν* convincing. All who are interested in the way Hebrews describes the position of Christian believers will find this book useful.

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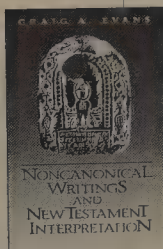
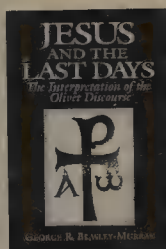
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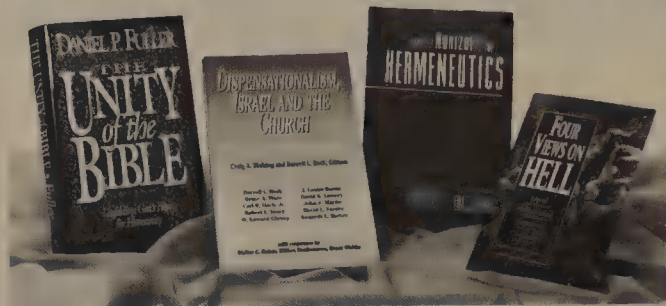
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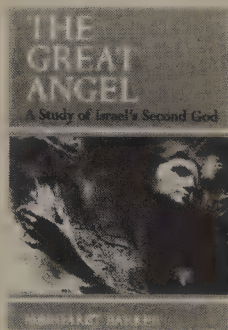
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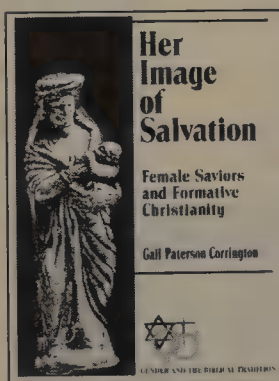
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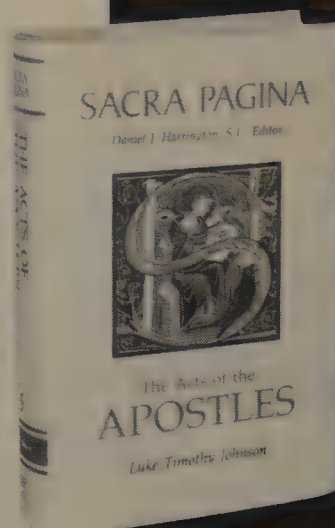
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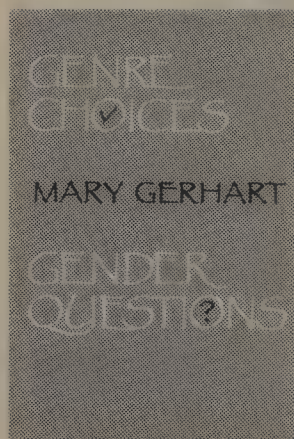
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AN INVESTIGATION OF THE LEGITIMACY OF SOURCE DISTINCTIONS FOR THE PROSE MATERIAL IN JEREMIAH

MICHAEL J. WILLIAMS

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 19104

I. Introduction to the Problem

The initial assertion that the book of Jeremiah comprises three main divisions is traceable to the work of Bernhard Duhm in 1901.¹ He described these divisions as: (1) the prophetic poems of Jeremiah, which he viewed as the original prophecies of Jeremiah; (2) the book of Baruch, or biography of Jeremiah; and (3) supplements to the writings of Jeremiah and Baruch. These latter supplements were said to be of a nonhomogeneous nature, stemming from many authors over hundreds of years and exhibiting the most diverse value and character. Furthermore, Duhm attributed Deuteronomistic diction to them and concluded that they were primarily postexilic elaborations or expansions.²

Sigmund Mowinckel, following Duhm, later provided a more detailed analysis of these sections, which he labeled Source A, Source B, and Source C—corresponding, respectively, to Duhm's three divisions.³ He likewise concluded that Source B was to be differentiated from Source C in that "while B places the chief stress upon the biographical and historical data, C gives only the speeches of Jer."⁴ Like Duhm, he viewed this Source C as having a "a remarkably large resemblance with the 'deuteronomic' language of the editorial parts of Dtn., Jdg., Sam., and Kgs.," extending even to the phraseology.⁵

Although the basic trichotomy of the Jeremianic materials has been upheld in subsequent critical investigation with only minor variations,⁶ more

¹ D. Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1901).

² *Ibid.*, x.

³ S. Mowinckel, *Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia* (Kristiania: Jacob Dybwad, 1914) 45ff. He also noted the existence of a minor fourth source (D) consisting of chaps. 30-31.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 33-34.

⁶ See, e.g., the subsequent classification of W. Rudolph (*Jeremia* [Tübingen: Mohr, 1947]), whose deviations from Mowinckel's structure are outlined by L. Stulman (*The Prose Sermons of the Book of Jeremiah: A Redescription of the Correspondences with the Deuteronomistic Literature in the Light of Recent Text-critical Research* [SBLDS 83; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986]) 16.

recent scholarship has produced some theories dissenting from the historical consensus.⁷ These include, for example, H. Weippert's view that Source C is rooted in the prophetic preaching of Jeremiah and has no connection at all with the literary circles associated with Deuteronomy or the Deuteronomistic historical work;⁸ W. Holladay's arguments that the distinction between Sources B and C cannot be maintained on the basis of diction;⁹ E. Nicholson's assertion that both Source B and Source C were shaped by a Deuteronomic circle and that their division is illegitimate;¹⁰ and J. P. Hyatt's belief that Source C is not an independent "source" but rather a Deuteronomic redaction of what constitutes Mowinckel's Sources A and B.¹¹ Such theories present a serious challenge to the previously assumed distinctions between the three sections. It is in the light of the skepticism regarding the legitimacy of the separation of Sources B and C that this present analysis is undertaken.

Because distinctions between the poetic Source A¹² and the prose Sources B and C involve considerations of a different type and magnitude,¹³ we have restricted our study to the intragenre material.¹⁴ The results of our investigation will show that the Source B material is a nonhomogeneous corpus whose classification involves more difficulties than are customarily recognized.

II. Analysis

The Contents of Sources B and C

Louis Stulman has recently drawn upon the diverse Source C material assembled by various scholars in order to compile a corpus of material common to them all—that is, an *ipso facto* undisputed Source C.¹⁵ We will use this composite Source C in the following comparison.

⁷ A good summary of many of these theories is provided by L. Perdue in "Jeremiah in Modern Research: Approaches and Issues," in *A Prophet to the Nations: Essays in Jeremiah Studies* (ed. L. Perdue and B. Kovacs; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1984) 1–32.

⁸ See W. Holladay's summary of her work in "A Fresh Look at 'Source B' and 'Source C' in Jeremiah," VT 25 (1975) 394–412.

⁹ See p. 206 below.

¹⁰ See pp. 206–7 below.

¹¹ Hyatt outlines his theory in "The Deuteronomic Edition of Jeremiah," in *Vanderbilt Studies in the Humanities* 1, ed. Richmond C. Beatty, J. Philip Hyatt, and Monroe K. Spears (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1951) 71–95.

¹² Mowinckel's Source A also contains some prose material, e.g., 14:11–16; 16:1–13; and 24:1–10.

¹³ Such considerations include whether or not the prose material is derivative from the poetic material and the difficulties involved in comparing elements within completely different genres. To this last consideration, however, attention must be directed to the work of H. Weippert (*Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches* [BZAW 132; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1973]), whose contention that the prose speeches in Jeremiah are a sort of demetrified poetry adds a further dimension to the discussion.

¹⁴ This is not to deny the existence of subgenres in the prose of Jeremiah. Prose narrative and prose speech are later distinguished and separately treated.

¹⁵ Stulman, *Prose Sermons*, 56–118.

Because no such “undisputed” corpus of Source B material has yet been assembled, we will use Mowinckel’s Source B. To ensure no overlap between his Source B and our composite Source C materials, any verses that occur in both catalogues will be subtracted from the former.

This resultant Source B corpus consists of two major subgenres: prose narrative and prose speeches. In order to observe whether similarity between Sources B and C is greater for one subgenre of B than for the other, we have isolated the B speech material (Bsp),¹⁶ which we will then compare concomitantly with the comparison of the entire B corpus to Source C.

In comparing Sources B and C, we have taken account of the differences between the Masoretic text (MT) of Jeremiah and the much shorter Septuagintal (LXX) version by denoting the full MT text of Source B as “B,” the material common to the MT and LXX as “Bl,” and the material unique to the MT as “B +.” This is intentionally parallel to Stulman’s designation in order to enable a closer comparison of our findings for Source B with his for Source C. Stulman has further facilitated our comparison by providing, in another work,¹⁷ a parallel presentation of the MT and retroverted LXX of practically all the prose sections of Jeremiah.¹⁸

The above methodology has yielded the following B, Bl, and B + for Source B as a whole as well as for Bsp (see tables 1 and 2, next page).

The Characteristic Features of Sources B and C

Having defined Sources B and C, we must examine the specific features of each source. After this examination, we can then take up the question of the reasons why many scholars believe that these sources should be divided from each other.¹⁹

¹⁶ To my knowledge, no such comparison between the prose speech and prose narrative material in Source B has previously been undertaken. In the following pages, the figures for the prose narrative material for Source B = B - Bsp.

¹⁷ L. Stulman, *The Other Text of Jeremiah: A Reconstruction of the Hebrew Text Underlying the Greek Version of the Prose Sections of Jeremiah with English Translation* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985).

¹⁸ In an apparent oversight, however, Stulman has listed Jer 20:1–10 (20:1–6 being necessary for our study) in his table of contents while omitting it from the book itself. In its stead is found Jer 21:1–10, which, as one would expect, is not listed in the table of contents. The present author has, therefore, prepared Jer 20:1–6 in the same format as that used by Stulman. This rendering (as also Stulman’s) was prepared in accordance with the guidelines set forth by E. Tov (*The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* [Jerusalem: Simor, 1981] 97–158). This presentation of Jer 20:1–6 is provided in Appendix A and serves as the basis for any discussion involving that passage.

¹⁹ It is not the purpose of this study to pinpoint the provenance of these sources nor to ascertain the date of their inclusion into the book of Jeremiah. Even the nature of their respective characterizing features is only considered insofar as it impinges on the primary aim of this study, which is to investigate the validity of their separation.

Table 1
SOURCE B

	TOTAL	WORDS IN B1	WORDS IN B +		
I: ²⁰ 19:1-2, 10-11a; 19:14-20:6	185	21/23/119	163	3/2/17	22
II: 26:1-24	363	335	335	28	28
III: 28:1-17	250	182	182	68	68
IV: Included in Stulman's C					
V: 36:1-32	495	439	439	56	56
VI: 37:1-10	124	111	111	13	13
VII: 37:11-16	76	70	70	6	6
VIII: 37:17-21	79	70	70	9	9
IX: 38:1-13	211	166	166	45	45
X: 38:14-28a	231	206	206	25	25
XI: 38:28b; 39:3, 14; 40:2-12	238	0/19/14/161	194	4/0/1/39	44
XII: 40:13-43:7	800	656	656	144	144
XIII: 43:8-13; 44:15-19, 24-30	301	68/76/109	253	14/4/30	48
TOTAL WORDS	3353	IN B1:	2845	IN B + :	508

Table 2
THE SPEECHES OF SOURCE B (Bsp)

	TOTAL	WORDS IN B1	WORDS IN B +		
I: 19:1-2, 10-11a, 15; 20:3b-6	138	21/23/18/58	120	3/2/3/10	18
II: 26:2-6, 12-15, 18-19	179	70/59/42	171	2/3/3	8
III: 28:2-4, 6-9, 11a, 12-16	194	22/49/13/56	140	23/5/5/21	54
IV: Included in Stulman's C					
V: 36:1-3, 5-7, 28-31	175	49/41/70	160	3/5/7	15
VI: 37:7-10	58		55		3
VII: No speech material					
VIII: 37:17b-20	46		42		4
IX: 38:2-3	28		26		2
X: 38:17-18, 20-23	98	29/57	86	9/3	12
XI: 40:2b-5a, 9b-10	100	45/30	75	25/0	25
XII: 42:2-6, 9-22	319	81/188	269	5/45	50
XIII: 43:9-13; 44:16-19, 24b-30	272	63/60/104	227	14/3/28	45
TOTAL WORDS:	1607	IN B1:	1371	IN B + :	236

²⁰ The Roman numerals follow the use of Mowinckel in his subdivision of Source B (*Jeremia*, 24).

Originating with Duhm, and later reaffirmed by Mowinckel, the view that Source B is to be characterized as biographical gained general acceptance. That the material ascribed to Source B is at least to be described as historical none dispute. However, the speeches, addresses, dialogues, etc. which this corpus also comprises point toward the need for a more precise designation than simply "biographical." Even Duhm, though content to label Source B (his *Buch Baruchs*) a biography of Jeremiah, nevertheless noted the peculiar circumstances in which the narrator, even over a long period, seemingly loses sight of the prophet (40:7–41:18).²¹

Another common characterization of Source B is that it constitutes not a strict biography, but rather a history of the suffering of Jeremiah.²² This possibility Nicholson flatly disallows. He justifies this assertion by citing passages in, e.g., chaps. 26, 28, and 36 (all included in our resultant Source B), in none of which, he maintains, "does the fate of Jeremiah at the hands of his countrymen play any significant role whatsoever."²³ His ensuing arguments appear to provide adequate justification for his contention.

Having observed the inadequacy of the terms used to describe Source B, with the exception of the broad designation "historical narrative," the way appears open for a different assessment of this material, which may more satisfactorily account for all the data. Such assessments have been put forward, and these alternatives will later receive further elaboration.

The nature of Source C involves difficulties of its own. In the work of Duhm, it appears that Source C served simply as the catchall category for those sections of Jeremiah which did not fit into his "prophetic poems of Jeremiah" nor his "book of Baruch." As such, he gave it the appropriate heading of "supplements."²⁴ Nevertheless, he—like Mowinckel, Rudolph, and others after them—perceived these heterogeneous passages to have an affinity with Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic literature.²⁵ This has led to the almost universally accepted conclusion summarized aptly by W. McKane: "It does not seem reasonable to deny that there are affinities between Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic prose and the prose of the book of Jeremiah, but a precise definition of these affinities will always be difficult to achieve."²⁶

²¹ Duhm, *Jeremia*, xv.

²² Rudolph, *Jeremia*, xiv: "It is incorrect to speak of a 'biography' of Jeremiah. . . . He rather depicts only the sufferings and persecutions to which Jeremiah was exposed due to his prophetic calling."

²³ E. Nicholson, *Preaching to the Exiles: A Study of the Prose Tradition in the Book of Jeremiah* (New York: Schocken Books, 1970) 17.

²⁴ Duhm, *Jeremia*, x. This category included roughly two-thirds (approximately 850 of 1350 verses) of the entire book of Jeremiah!

²⁵ Duhm, *Jeremia*, x: "deuteronomistic"; Mowinckel, *Jeremia*, 33: "deuteronomic"; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, xvi: "We apparently have here before us a work of the exilic *Deuteronomiker*."

²⁶ W. McKane, "Relations Between Poetry and Prose in the Book of Jeremiah with Special Reference to Jeremiah iii 6–11 and xii 14–17," in *A Prophet to the Nations*, ed. Perdue and Kovacs, 273.

Attempts have been made, though, by various scholars to define these affinities, at least on linguistic grounds, through the compilation of lists of words, phrases, and expressions that have been perceived to be common to both corpora. Recently, Stulman has proposed another such list of linguistic indices of Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic (Dtr) diction.²⁷ He has attempted to give adequate regard to previous scholarship by including in his eclectic list "all the idioms referred to by more than one scholar as indicative of C's provenience and its association with Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic tradition."²⁸ In searching for the presence of these linguistic indices in the Source C corpus, furthermore, he has distinguished between text which is in an apparently common tradition of the MT and LXX (C1), that which is peculiar to the MT (C+), and that which is found in the MT (C; = C1 + C+).²⁹ The application of this list to the Source C corpus has yielded the following results:³⁰

Total number of words in C1:	4334	100%
(Total number of words in C:	5435	100%)
Number of words identified		
as indexed diction in C1:	795	18.3%
(Number of words identified		
as indexed diction in C:	1055	19.4%)

Stulman believes this more than justifies the conclusion that "there is some form of association between C1 and Dtr."³¹ It remains to be seen, however, if this feature of the Source C material is sufficient to differentiate it from the remaining prose of Jeremiah found in Source B.

The Presence of Typical Source C Features in Source B

While it has been observed that classifications of Source B material beyond general designations fail to account adequately for all the material assigned to that corpus, the classification of Source C as Dtr seems beyond doubt (as Stulman has demonstrated). In any event, we have in Stulman's list various indices that occur with marked frequency in Source C and are said to characterize that material. It may safely be postulated, therefore, that if a similar frequency of occurrence for these indices is noted in the Source B corpus, any differentiation of these two corpora on the basis of such indices would be negated.

It will be remembered that a distinction was made between Source B prose narratives and Source B speeches. When Source B is probed for the

²⁷ Stulman, *Prose Sermons*, 31-44.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 32.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 131.

³¹ *Ibid.*

presence of the Dtr indices that were observed in Source C, therefore, this distinction will be maintained. Source B will also be analyzed with regard to both B and B1 material, B + material being easily derivable from their difference. The format of this investigation will include a parallel presentation of B and Bsp material, subdivided according to Mowinckel's system³² and listing any occurrences of Dtr indices in each subdivision as they occur in the text. Each instance of Dtr diction will also be followed by the number of words involved, placed in parentheses, as well as the number of the index as it is found in Stulman's list. When a difference in text occurs between B and B1 such will be noted for the index involved.

Every effort has been made to be as conservative as possible in the accumulation of instances of Dtr diction. For example, in Jer 42:18 and 36:7 (B and B1) the phrase "great is the anger and wrath [of the LORD]" is not counted among the occurrences of Dtr diction because in Stulman's list (#57) another term, קצף, is included in the standard phrase. Similarly, in Jer 43:2 (B and B1), when Jeremiah is accused of lying (שקר אתה מדבר), this is not counted because of the absence of the verb נבא, which is present in Stulman's list (#75). It is hoped that such procedure will result in accurate statistical information which may then be used in forming conclusions regarding this material. However, if the inclusion of any of the following words or phrases into the realm of Dtr diction is yet objectionable to the reader, with the attendant information provided with each index, adjustments in the calculations may easily be made.

Table 3

DEUTERONOMIC TERMINOLOGY OF SOURCE B

(including number of words involved and index reference
number of Stulman's list of Dtr diction)

B	Bsp
I. 19:1-2, 10-11a; 19:14-20:6	I. 19:1-2, 10-11a, 15; 20:3b-6
19:15 B: יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל (4) #68	19:15 B: יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל (4) #68
B1: יהוה	B1: יהוה
B: הנני מבי אל-העיר ... ועל ... (4) #10	B: הנני מבי אל-העיר ... ועל ... (4) #10
B1: same	B1: same
B: הקשו את-ערפם (2) #46	B: הקשו את-ערפם (2) #46
B1: same	B1: same
B: את כל-הרעה אשר דברתי עליה (5) #91	B: את כל-הרעה אשר דברתי עליה (5) #91
B1: same	B1: same

³² Mowinckel, *Jeremia*, 24.

20:6

B: אשר-נבאת להם
בשקר (3) #75
Bl: same

20:3b-6

20:6 B: אשר-נבאת להם
בשקר (3) #75
Bl: same

II. 26:1-24

26:3 B: וישבו איש מדרכו
(4) #12
Bl: same
B: מפני רע מעלליהם
(3) #63
Bl: same

II. 26:2-6, 12-15, 18-19

26:3 B: וישבו איש מדרכו
(4) #12
Bl: same
B: מפני רע מעלליהם
(3) #63
Bl: same

26:4 B: ללכת בתורתי
(2) #45
Bl: same

26:4 B: ללכת בתורתי
(2) #45
Bl: same

26:5 B: עבדי הנבאים (2) #5
Bl: same
B: והשכם ושלח (2) #70
Bl: same

26:5 B: עבדי הנבאים (2) #5
Bl: same
B: והשכם ושלח (2) #70
Bl: same

26:6 B: אתן לקללה לכל גויי
(4) #49
Bl: same

26:6 B: אתן לקללה לכל גויי
(4) #39
Bl: same

26:13 B: הטיבו דרכיכם
(3) #82
Bl: same
B: ושמעו בקול יהוה
(3) #1
Bl: same
B: אל-הרעה אשר דבר
(4) #91
Bl: same

26:13 B: הטיבו דרכיכם
(3) #82
Bl: same
B: ושמעו בקול יהוה
(3) #1
Bl: same
B: אל-הרעה אשר דבר
(4) #91
Bl: same

26:15 B: רם נקי אתם נתנים
(4) #13
Bl: same

26:15 B: רם נקי אתם נתנים
(4) #13
Bl: same

26:19 B: אל-הרעה אשר דבר
(3) #91
Bl: same

26:19 B: אל-הרעה אשר דבר
(3) #91
Bl: same

III. 28:1-17

28:2 B: יהוה צבאות אלהי
ישראל (4) #68
Bl: יהוה

28:14 B: יהוה צבאות אלהי
ישראל (4) #68
Bl: יהוה

28:15 B: הבטחת . . . על שקר
(3) #87
Bl: same

III. 28:2-4, 6-9, 11a, 12-16

28:2 B: יהוה צבאות אלהי
ישראל (4) #68
Bl: יהוה

28:14 B: יהוה צבאות אלהי
ישראל (4) #68
Bl: יהוה

28:15 B: הבטחת . . . על שקר
(3) #87
Bl: same

IV. This section of Mowinckel's Source B is also found in Stulman's composite Source C and is therefore omitted here.

V. 36:1-32

36:1 B: היה הדבר הזה
אל-יירמיהו מאת יהוה
(6) #71
Bl: היה דבר יהוה אלי

36:3 B: יושבו איש מדרכו
הרעה (4) #12
Bl: same

36:7 B: וישבו איש מדרכו
הרעה (4) #12
Bl: וישבו מדרכו הרעה

36:29 B: אדם ובהמה (2) #73
Bl: same

36:31 B: ופקדתי עליו ועל . . .
(4) #76
Bl: same
B: ועל-ישבי ירושלם
ואל-איש יהודה
(4) #41
Bl: same
B: כל-הרעה אשר-דברתי
(3) #91
Bl: same

V. 36:1-3, 5-7, 28-31

36:1 B: היה הדבר הזה
אל-יירמיהו מאת יהוה
(6) #71
Bl: היה דבר יהוה אלי

36:3 B: יושבו איש מדרכו
הרעה (4) #12
Bl: same

36:7 B: וישבו איש מדרכו
הרעה (4) #12
Bl: וישבו מדרכו הרעה

36:29 B: אדם ובהמה (2) #73
Bl: same

36:31 B: ופקדתי עליו ועל . . .
(4) #76
Bl: same
B: ועל-ישבי ירושלם
ואל-איש יהודה
(4) #41
Bl: same
B: כל-הרעה אשר-דברתי
(3) #91
Bl: same

VI. 37:1-10 no instances noted	VI. 37:7-10 no instances noted
VII. 37:11-16 no instances noted	VII. no speech material present
VIII. 37:17-21	VIII. 37:17b-20
37:19 B: נביאיכם (1) #80	37:19 B: נביאיכם (1) #80
Bl: same	Bl: same
IX. 38:1-13	IX. 38:2-3
38:2 B: בחרב כרעב וכדבר	38:2 B: בחרב כרעב וכדבר
(3) #69	(3) #69
Bl: בחרב כרעב	Bl: בחרב כרעב
X. 38:14-28a	X. 38:17-18, 20-23
38:16 B: אשר מבקשים את-	
(3) #77	
Bl: 0	
38:17 B: יהוה אלהי צבאות	38:17 B: יהוה אלהי צבאות
(5) #8	(5) #8
Bl: יהוה	Bl: יהוה
38:20 B: וייטב לך (2) #21	38:20 B: וייטב לך (2) #21
Bl: same	Bl: same
B: שמע-נא בקול יהוה	B: שמע-נא בקול יהוה
(3) #1	(3) #1
Bl: same	Bl: same
XI. 38:28b; 39:3, 14; 40:2-12	XI. 40:2b-5a, 9b-10
40:2 B: דבר את-הרעה הזאת	40:2b B: דבר את-הרעה הזאת
אל-המקום הזה	אל-המקום הזה
(5) #91	(5) #91
Bl: same	Bl: same
40:3 B: ולא-שמעתם בקולו	40:3 B: ולא-שמעתם בקולו
(2) #1	(2) #1
Bl: same	Bl: same
40:9 B: וייטב לכם (2) #21	40:9 B: וייטב לכם (2) #21
Bl: same	Bl: same
40:12 B: אשר נדחו-שם	
(2) #52	
Bl: 0	

XII. 40:13-43:7

- 42:6 B: בקול יהוה . . . נשמע
(3) #1
Bl: same
B: למען אשר ייטב-לנו
(3) #21
Bl: same
B: נשמע בקול יהוה
(3) #1
Bl: same

XII. 42:2-6, 9-22

- 42:6 B: בקבל יהוה . . . נשמע
(3) #1
Bl: same
B: למען אשר ייטב-לנו
(3) #21
Bl: same
B: נשמע בקול יהוה
(3) #1
Bl: same

- 42:10 B: ובניתי אתכם ולא
אהרם ונטעתי אתכם
#86 (8) ולא אתוש
Bl: same

- 42:10 B: ובניתי אתכם ולא
אהרם ונטעתי אתכם
#86 (8) ולא אתוש
Bl: same

- 42:13 B: שמע בקול יהוה
(3) #1
Bl: same

- 42:13 B: שמע בקול יהוה
(3) #1
Bl: same

- 42:15 B: יהוה צבאות אלהי
ישראל (4) #68
Bl: יהוה

- 42:15 B: יהוה צבאות אלהי
ישראל (4) #68
Bl: יהוה

- 42:17 B: בחרב וברעב ובדבר
(3) #69
Bl: בחרב וברעב
B: הרעה אשר אני מביא
#10 (5) עליהם
Bl: same

- 42:17 B: בחרב וברעב ובדבר
(3) #69
Bl: בחרב וברעב
B: הרעה אשר אני מביא
#10 (5) עליהם
Bl: same

- 42:18 B: יהוה צבאות אלהי
ישראל (4) #68
Bl: יהוה
B: והייתם לאלה ולשמה
ולקללה ולחרפה
(5) #39
Bl: same

- 42:18 B: יהוה צבאות אלהי
ישראל (4) #68
Bl: יהוה
B: והייתם לאלה ולשמה
ולקללה ולחרפה
(5) #39
Bl: same

- 42:21 B: שמעתם בקול יהוה
(3) #1
Bl: same

- 42:12 B: שמעתם בקול יהוה
(3) #1
Bl: same

- 42:22 B: בחרב ברעב ובדבר
(3) #69
Bl: בחרב ברעב

- 42:22 B: בחרב ברעב ובדבר
(3) #69
Bl: בחרב ברעב

43:4 B: ולא-שמע בקול יהוה
(3) #1
Bl: same

43:5 B: אשר נרחו-שם
(2) #52
Bl: 0

43:7 B: שמועו בקול יהוה
(3) #1
Bl: same

XIII. 43:8-13; 44:15-19, 24-30

43:10 B: יהוה צבאות אלהי
ישראל (4) #68
Bl: יהוה
B: נבוכדראצר מלך-בבל
עבדי (3) #90
Bl: נבוכדראצר מלך-בבל

XIII. 43:9-13; 44:16-19, 24b-30

43:10 B: יהוה צבאות אלהי
ישראל (4) #68
Bl: יהוה
B: נבוכדראצר מלך-בבל
עבדי (3) #90
Bl: נבוכדראצר מלך-בבל

44:15 B: מקטרות נשיהם
לאלהים אחרים
(4) #38
Bl: same

44:17 B: לקטר למלכת השמים
(3) #38
Bl: same
B: אנחנו ואבותינו
מלכינו ושרינו
(4) #88
Bl: same
B: בערי יהודה ובחצות
ירושלם (4) #74
Bl: same

44:17 B: לקטר למלכת השמים
(3) #38
Bl: same
B: אנחנו ואבותינו
מלכינו ושרינו
(4) #88
Bl: same
B: בערי יהודה ובחצות
ירושלם (4) #74
Bl: same

44:18 B: לקטר למלכת השמים
(3) #38
Bl: same

44:18 B: לקטר למלכת השמים
(3) #38
Bl: same

44:19 B: מקטרים למלכת
השמים (3) #38
Bl: same

44:19 B: מקטרים למלכת
השמים (3) #38
Bl: same

44:25 B: יהוה צבאות אלהי
 ישראל (4) #68
 B1: יהוה אלהי ישראל
 B: לקטר למלכת השמים
 (3) #38
 B1: same

44:25 B: יהוה צבאות אלהי
 ישראל (4) #68
 B1: יהוה אלהי ישראל
 B: לקטר למלכת השמים
 (3) #38
 B1: same

44:29 B: כִּי־פָקֵד אֲנִי עֲלֵיכֶם
 (3) #76
 B1: same

44:29 B: כִּי־פָקֵד אֲנִי עֲלֵיכֶם
 (3) #76
 B1: same

44:30 B: מִבְקָשִׁי נִפְשׁוּ (2) #77
 B1: same
 B: וּמִבְקֵשׁ נִפְשׁוּ (2) #77
 B1: same

44:30 B: מִבְקָשִׁי נִפְשׁוּ (2) #77
 B1: same
 B: וּמִבְקֵשׁ נִפְשׁוּ (2) #77
 B1: same

The results of our investigation into the evidences for the existence of Dtr diction in the Source B corpus may be summarized in the same arrangement that was provided for Source C:

I.	Total number of words in B1:	2845	100%
	(Total number of words in B:	3353	100%)
	Number of words identified		
	as indexed diction in B1:	178	6.3%
	(Number of words identified		
	as indexed diction in B:	215	6.4%)
II.	Total number of words in B1sp:	1371	100%
	(Total number of words in Bsp:	1607	100%)
	Number of words identified as		
	indexed diction in B1sp:	168	12.3%
	(Number of words identified as		
	indexed diction in Bsp:	198	12.3%)

The percentages of Dtr diction occurring in the various corpora may now be exhibited comparatively:

B: 6.4%	Bsp: 12.3%	C: 19.4%
B1: 6.3%	B1sp: 12.3%	C1: 18.3%

It is clear from the above data that the prose speech material of Source B contains about twice as high a percentage of Dtr indices as that of Source B taken as a whole. However, it is also clear that the prose material in Source C contains about three times as high a percentage of Dtr indices as that of Source B taken as a whole. The Bsp material, therefore, occupies a mediate position, in terms of Dtr diction, between Source B material as a whole and Source C material as a whole. The data are somewhat unexpected; they should be compared with the recent theories concerning the prose material of Jeremiah.

*The Results of the Investigation of Source B
in Light of Recent Theories*

In comparing the prose to the poetry in the book of Jeremiah, W. Holladay expresses doubt that the distinction between Source B and Source C is a valid one.³³ He further asserts that if "the interested student will take the trouble to underline the typical phrases in the prose throughout the book of Jeremiah, he will find that they occur just as often in the *speeches* of Source B as they do in Source C."³⁴ The above results of just such an exercise, however, do not seem to confirm his conclusion. After a detailed analysis, Stulman determined that Dtr diction characterized Source C material (19.4% of C and 18.3% of C1). Yet we have found in a parallel study of Source B *speech* material that Dtr diction occurs with much less frequency there (12.3% of both Bsp and of B1sp). Holladay, however, has compiled his own list of phrases that he has found to be typical of the prose material in Jeremiah³⁵ and has apparently made his statement on findings resulting from this list. Holladay has stated frankly that he was concerned only with phrases that appeared to be characteristic of the prose material, "without any *a priori* assumptions as to whether the style is 'Deuteronomic' or not."³⁶ Nevertheless, when his list of twenty-seven indices is compared with Stulman's list, it is discovered that over two-thirds of the indices (nineteen of twenty-seven) are included in Stulman's list as characteristic Dtr diction. It is difficult to understand how he could come to doubt the distinction between Sources B and C with respect to Dtr diction on the basis of his remaining eight indices.

In a later work, Holladay suggests that perhaps the wrong path has been pursued in such an atomistic analysis of the book of Jeremiah conducted without due regard for its overall structure.³⁷ While this suggestion holds promise, unfortunately for our purposes—and as the title of Holladay's work implies—how his insight impinges on Source B material would only be seen for chap. 19. Even this chapter, though, is not included in any of the structural "cycles" outlined in the book, but is rather termed "secondary material"³⁸ whose placement in the book of Jeremiah is to be explained in terms of a previously existing "cycle." Nevertheless, Holladay's suggestion is useful in that it shifts our attention back to the larger literary landscape.

Such a broader perspective, while proceeding from a different vantage point, is evident in the work of Nicholson. His central thesis is that the unifying

³³ W. Holladay, "Prototype and Copies: A New Approach to the Poetry-Prose Problem in the Book of Jeremiah," *JBL* 79 (1960) 351-67.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 354. Italics are his.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 354-66.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 353.

³⁷ W. Holladay, *The Architecture of Jeremiah 1-20* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1976).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 158.

principle that binds Sources B and C together is the common theology they are concerned to present:

The primary concern of these narratives is theological rather than purely historical or biographical and . . . such a theological understanding offers a more comprehensive evaluation of their origin and composition and their relationship with one another. To be more specific, . . . the twofold division of the prose in Jeremiah as held by most commentators cannot be sustained and . . . the so-called biographical material assumed its present form, like the prose sermons and discourses, at the hands of the Deuteronomists to present a theological interpretation of the prophetic teaching and ministry of Jeremiah.³⁹

It is true that Nicholson would also have the diction in Sources B and C be closer in affinity than what it has proved to be, for he maintains that "even on the literary level . . . the sharp distinction which has so often been drawn between the two blocks of material is very questionable."⁴⁰ This point, however, is not critical to his argument.⁴¹

Rather, Nicholson provides substantiation for his claim by noting the major Dtr themes he finds reflected in the prose sections. These themes include (1) the authority of the prophetic word; (2) a portrayal of the prophets as spokesmen and preachers of the law; (3) an explanation of why God rejected Israel and will continue to do so unless Israel "turns again"—which develops into a word of hope for Israel's future; and (4) the problem of false prophecy. Even the contention earlier expressed by Holladay that "many of the characteristic phrases of the prose sections of the book of Jeremiah are a reshaping in prose of phrases which either are original to the genuine poetry of Jeremiah or, though not new to Jeremiah, were employed by him in his poetic oracles in an original fashion" Nicholson claims to be "strikingly reminiscent of the way in which the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic authors have handled and presented similar material in the Deuteronomic corpus."⁴²

The difference in the percentage of incidence of Dtr diction in B and Bsp material may also find its explanation in the function of the prose speech material which Nicholson finds to be operative in the book of Jeremiah: "In the book of Jeremiah many of the narratives provide nothing more than the historical framework for a prose sermon."⁴³ If it is the case that prose speech or prose narrative is used according to particular functional requirements, it is conceivable that the diction involved would also be different.

³⁹ Nicholson, *Preaching to the Exiles*, 35–36.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*: "The fact that there is a difference in literary style between the two types of prose material in Jeremiah is in itself no basis on which to advocate a different origin and authorship for each of them." While this may be the case, the need is still present to provide an adequate explanation for the difference.

⁴² Holladay, "Prototypes and Copies," 351; Nicholson, *Preaching to the Exiles*, 34.

⁴³ Nicholson, *Preaching to the Exiles*, 36.

Nicholson's arguments regarding the essential nature of the prose go far in explaining the state of affairs that has been found to exist in the book of Jeremiah, yet some outstanding problems remain to be resolved.

III. Summary and Conclusion

Source C was determined to be characterized by Dtr diction based on the comprehensive work of Louis Stulman. The percentage of Dtr diction occurring in Source C legitimated the classical critical consensus.

Source B was derived from Mowinckel's Source B minus those parts that were found in Stulman's Source C. This resultant Source B was found to lack adequate characterization beyond generalities, so the possibility that it might contain percentages of occurrence of Dtr diction comparable to Source C was investigated. In order to produce an accurate comparison, the criteria used for the investigation consisted of the Dtr indices catalogued by Stulman in his verification of the Dtr nature of Source C.

It would have been simpler if the results of such an investigation provided a clear yes or no to the question of whether or not Source B also demonstrated a Dtr nature. Unfortunately, the answer proved to be an inconclusive maybe. Definite gradations in the Source B corpus were observed, with Bsp having the highest percentage of Dtr diction (approximately two-thirds that of Source C) and the Source B corpus considered as a whole having the lowest (approximately one-third that of Source C).

In the subsequent review of some current studies in the area of Jeremiah prose, Nicholson's connection of Sources B and C through a common Dtr theology afforded the most benefit in understanding a relationship between the two prose corpora.

The questions that such a study has highlighted prove to be ones of crucial importance in the determination of the presence of Dtr diction. Their answers, oddly enough, are absent from the sum of the works referenced herein, rendering any comparative work such as this most tentative. The questions are the following: (1) What are the allowable limits on the variation of wording of an accepted deuteronomistic index? (2) At what level of frequency of occurrence is Dtr diction considered to become "characteristic" of the analyzed corpus?

The first question has been at least posed by Holladay,⁴⁴ but its answer was not even attempted for his own study. An example of the problem is illustrated by index #10 of Stulman's list of Dtr indices,⁴⁵ in which he presents the index in question in parallel lines of English and Hebrew. In the Hebrew, however, the critical word "evil," which is provided in the English, is omitted. Such irregularities, though seemingly small when considered separately, when

⁴⁴ Holladay, "Prototype and Copies," 357.

⁴⁵ Stulman, *Prose Sermons*, 34.

taken cumulatively and applied to one of the longest books of the Bible, may have a significant effect.

The second question has even greater bearing on our present study. If Source C is widely conceded to be characterized by Dtr diction when that diction accounts for about 20 percent of the vocabulary, to what level must that percentage drop before a corpus is no longer considered to be so characterized? Reminiscent of Abraham's plea for Sodom, we ask ourselves concerning Source B, What if there are only 12 percent Dtr indices in the corpus? Will we disqualify it and not rather allow it to be so classified for the sake of the 12 percent that are in it?

Acknowledging the caution necessary in light of the above uncertainties, we are yet able to advance guardedly a few conclusions. First, the data testify to a basically nonhomogeneous affinity of Source B material with Dtr diction as far as that affinity is identified by the correspondence to specific indices. If Source C is to be differentiated from Source B on the basis of such diction, then consideration will have to be made of Source B's bipartite nature in this regard.

Second, the inaccuracy of the terms "biography" or *Leidensgeschichte* to describe the varied contents of Source B necessitates its reclassification along lines such as those suggested by Nicholson. Until such a unifying criterion is agreed on, however, Source B prose speeches and prose narratives should be regarded as separate corpora. This is corroborated by differences in genre and frequency of incidence of Dtr diction.

Finally, if a unifying criterion is agreed on for Source B, some satisfactory explanation for the difference in percentage of incidence of Dtr diction in its subgenres must also be submitted.

APPENDIX A

A Parallel Presentation of the Consonantal MT and the Retroverted LXX Text⁴⁶ for Jeremiah 20:1-6

LXXV (1)	וַיִּשְׁמַע פֶּשַׁחֹר בֶּן־אֹמֶר הַכֹּהֵן וְהוּא־פִקֵּד נִגִּיד בְּכֵית יְהוָה
MT (1)	וַיִּשְׁמַע פֶּשַׁחֹר בֶּן־אֹמֶר הַכֹּהֵן וְהוּא־פִקֵּד נִגִּיד בְּכֵית יְהוָה
LXXV	אֶת־יִרְמְיָהוּ נָבִיא אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה
MT	אֶת־יִרְמְיָהוּ נָבִיא אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה
LXXV (2)	וַיִּבֶה אֹתוֹ יִרְמְיָהוּ הַנְּבִיא וַיִּתֵּן אֹתוֹ עַל־הַמַּהֲפָכֶת
MT (2)	וַיִּבֶה פֶּשַׁחֹר אֶת יִרְמְיָהוּ הַנְּבִיא וַיִּתֵּן אֹתוֹ עַל־הַמַּהֲפָכֶת

⁴⁶ This is based on the critical edition of the LXX prepared by A. Rahlfs (*Septuaginta: Id Est Vetus Testamentum Graecae iuxta LXX Interpretes* [Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935]). LXXV stands for the text retroverted from an LXX Vorlage.

- LXXV
MT אשר בשער בית מני העליון אשר בבית יהוה
אשר בשער בנימין העליון אשר בבית יהוה
- LXXV (3)
MT (3) ייצא פשהור את־ירמיהו מן־המחפבת ויאמר אליו
יהי ממחרת ייצא פשהור את־ירמיהו מן־המחפבת ויאמר אליו
LXXV ירמיהו לא פשהור קרא יהוה שמך כי אס־מתייבן
MT ירמיהו לא פשהור קרא יהוה שמך כי אס־מגור מסביב
- LXXV (4)
MT (4) כי כה אמר יהוה הנני נתנד למגור לכל־אחבך ונפלי
כי כה אמר יהוה הנני נתנד למגור לך ולכל־אחבך ונפלי
- LXXV
MT בחרב איביהם ועינוך ראות אתה ואת־כל־יהודה אתן ביד
בחרב איביהם ועינוך ראות ואת־כל־יהודה אתן ביד
- LXXV
MT מלך־בבל יהגלם והכם בחרב
מלך־בבל יהגלם כבלה והכם בחרב
- LXXV (5)
MT (5) ונתתי את־כל־חכן העיר הזאת ואת־כל־יגיעה
ונתתי את־כל־חכן העיר הזאת ואת־כל־יגיעה ואת־כל־יקרה
- LXXV
MT ואת־כל־איערות מלכי יהודה ביד איביו
ואת־כל־איערות מלכי יהודה אתן ביד איביהם ויזוים ולקחום
- LXXV
MT והביאים כבלה
והביאים כבלה
- LXXV (6)
MT (6) וכל יושבי ביהרד תלכו בשבי ובכל
ואתה פשהור וכל יושבי ביהרד תלכו בשבי ובכל תבוא ושם
- LXXV
MT תמות ושם תקבר אתה וכל־אחבך אשר־נבאת להם בשקר
תמות ושם תקבר אתה וכל־אחבך אשר־נבאת להם בשקר

ECHOES AND FORESHADOWINGS IN MARK 4-8 READING AND REREADING

ELIZABETH STRUTHERS MALBON

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, VA 24061-0135

Mark's Gospel presents its hearer/reader with echoes and foreshadowings—to use both an aural and a visual metaphor—in the process of hearing or reading and rehearing or rereading—the narrative. An “echo” may be as simple as a repeated word or as subtle as a recurrent movement of the plot. Likewise, a “foreshadowing” can be as singular as a pregnant phrase or as complex as an allusive pattern of images. Listening and looking more closely for Mark's echoes and foreshadowings in chaps. 4–8 will give us a richer understanding of Mark's narrative (story and discourse) and the relation between Mark's author (real and implied) and reader (implied and real). We begin by characterizing briefly these important distinctions.

I. Introduction

The distinction between story and discourse was highlighted by Seymour Chatman.¹ Story is the *what* of a narrative; discourse is the *how*. Story indicates the *content* of the narrative, including events, characters, and settings, and their interaction as the plot. Discourse indicates the *rhetoric* of the narrative, how the story is told. Certain echoes within the Marcan *story* have often been heard: the walking on the sea echoes the calming of the sea; the feeding of the four thousand echoes the feeding of the five thousand; the parable and explanation concerning defilement (chap. 7) echo the parable of the sower and its explanation (chap. 4). Here we will listen for echoes within the Marcan *discourse*—or, better, and in Chatman's words, within the story-as-discoursed.

Recent literary criticism has taught us to distinguish the author and the reader not as isolated entities but as poles of a continuum of communication. A real author writes a text for a real reader. An implied author, a creation of the real author that is implied in his or her text, presents a narrative to an implied reader, a parallel creation of the real author that is embedded in the text. And a narrator tells a story to a narratee.² Of course, within a story a

¹ Seymour Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978).

² Again, see Chatman. For a clear and convenient summary, see Mark Alan Powell, *What Is Narrative Criticism?*² (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990) 8–9, 19–21, 25–27.

character may narrate another story to another character. Most narrative critics of the Gospels have found little or no difference between the implied author and narrator and the implied reader and narratee. Here we will listen for echoes and watch for foreshadowings between the Marcan story's characters as narrator and narratee (for example, Jesus telling the crowd a parable) and the Marcan narrative's implied author and implied reader. Again our focus will be on the story-as-discoursed. The story is where the characters interact; the discourse is where the implied author and implied reader interact. The hearer or reader only knows the story through the discourse.

A word must be said about reading and rereading. Reader response critics have made narrative critics more aware of the temporality of the reading experience.³ One reads Mark 1:1, then 1:2, and so on until 16:8. Some reader response critics of the Gospels attempt to comment from the point of view of the first-time reader, although, of course, such reader response critics are not themselves first-time readers.⁴ This procedure can lead to significant insights. But since most real readers of the Gospels are rereaders, here we will ask (briefly) how the experience of rereading affects apprehension of echoes and foreshadowings. We will even consider whether the *implied* reader of Mark is a rereader!

It seems likely that Mark's first real readers were mainly hearers, listeners to the narrative read aloud by one reader. Thus "echoes" within the Gospel narrative would be an embodied, experienced metaphor.⁵ It may be that "anticipations" (or "forecasts") rather than "foreshadowings" would do more justice to this presumed primary experience of aurality, since "foreshadowings" is a visual metaphor. But perhaps working with one aural and one visual metaphor will be appropriate for us twentieth-century rereaders of a first-century narrative. "Echoes" and "foreshadowings" are indeed metaphors, not technical literary terms, and I have no desire to push them from the former to the latter. Perhaps it is only as metaphors that they can do justice to the

³ See the discussion in chapter 3 of Robert M. Fowler, *Let the Reader Understand: Discovering the Rhetoric of Mark's Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991).

⁴ Written for an assumed first-time reader is Richard A. Edwards, *Matthew's Story of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985). See also Jouette M. Bassler, who assumes the point of view of a first-time "implied" reader over against an "informed" reader ("The Parable of the Loaves," *JR* 66 [1986] 157-72).

⁵ Eric Havelock observes that oral composition "operates on the acoustic principle of the echo" ("Oral Composition in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles," *New Literary History* 16 [1984] 182). See also idem, *Preface to Plato* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963). On oral compositional techniques in Mark, see Joanna Dewey, "Oral Methods of Structuring Narrative in Mark," *Int* 53 (1989) 32-44; and idem, "Mark as Interwoven Tapestry: Forecasts and Echoes for a Listening Audience," *CBQ* 53 (1991) 221-36, esp. pp. 234-36. Dewey's second article was published after I had written this one, although I remember hearing hers in an oral version earlier. I did not (consciously) remember her paper having the current subtitle, but the *echo* effect of my title with her subtitle is impressive. Even after reading (rereading!) Dewey's second article, I stick with "foreshadowings" rather than "forecasts" for the reason stated in the text below.

multiform, plurisignificant reality of the Marcan narrative, the story-as-discoursed, the Gospel as read and reread.

Echoes and foreshadowings can be classified as intratextual, within the boundaries of one text, or intertextual, between one text and another or other texts. (Overlap is of course possible; an intertextual allusion, for example, could be repeated intratextually.⁶) Recent work on the biblical (that is, “Old Testament”) allusions and quotations in Mark has made important observations about what are called here intertextual echoes and foreshadowings.⁷ The present essay, however, will be able to explore only intratextual echoes and foreshadowings of Mark’s Gospel.

II. Echoes in the Marcan Story

Mark 4–8 is a section in which most interpreters have heard multiple echoes. The scholarly discussion of these echoes, however, has shifted from the debate over the hypothetical sources of the real author (Achtemeier on pre-Markan miracle catenae),⁸ to the isolation of the compositional techniques of the real or implied author (Neirynck on duality in Mark),⁹ to the

⁶ This is a central theme of Mary Ann Beavis, *Mark’s Audience: The Literary and Social Setting of Mark 4.11–12* (JSNTSup 33; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989): Mark 4:11–12 echoes Isa 6:9–10 and is in turn echoed by Mark 6:52; 7:14–23; and 8:14–21.

⁷ J. D. M. Derrett, *The Making of Mark: The Scriptural Bases of the Earliest Gospel* (2 vols.; Shipston-on-Stour, Warwickshire, England: Drinkwater, 1985); George W. Buchanan, *Typology and Gospel* (Lanham, MD: University Press, 1987); Wolfgang Roth, *Hebrew Gospel: Cracking the Code of Mark* (Oak Park, IL: Meyer-Stone Books, 1988); Dale and Patricia Miller, *The Gospel of Mark as Midrash on Earlier Jewish and New Testament Literature* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1990).

⁸ Paul J. Achtemeier, “Toward the Isolation of Pre-Markan Miracle Catenae,” *JBL* 89 (1970) 265–91; idem, “The Origin and Function of the Pre-Markan Miracle Catenae,” *JBL* 91 (1972) 198–221. See also Leander E. Keck, who argues that the various miracle stories of Mark reflect two types of miracle stories, those typically told of a Hellenistic *theios anēr* (“divine man”) and those told of “the strong man” (“Mark 3:7–12 and Mark’s Christology,” *JBL* 84 [1965] 341–51).

⁹ Frans Neirynck, *Duality in Mark: Contributions to the Study of the Marcan Redaction* (BETL 31; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1972). See also Robert M. Fowler, *Loaves and Fishes: The Function of the Feeding Stories in the Gospel of Mark* (SBLDS 54; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981). Fowler’s challenge to Achtemeier at the level of the so-called doublets in Mark 4–8 parallels Neirynck’s challenge to the source critics at the level of duplicate expressions. Apparently Fowler had an unknown precursor in Karl Paul Donfried, who published an article on the Marcan feeding stories in 1980, after Fowler’s 1978 dissertation but just before its 1981 publication: “The Feeding Narratives and the Marcan Community: Mark 6,30–45 and 8,1–10,” in *Sonderdruck aus Kirche – Festschrift für Günther Bornkamm zum 75. Geburtstag* (ed. Dieter Lührmann and Georg Strecker; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1980) 95–103. Donfried argued, largely on the basis of Neirynck’s analysis of Marcan duality, “that Mark has adapted twice a single feeding story received from oral tradition to meet the needs of his congregation” (p. 99). “It appears a most likely hypothesis,” Donfried concluded, again paralleling Fowler, “that Mark intentionally gave a second account of the feeding story so as to underline this theme of the non-understanding of the disciples” (pp. 101–2). See as well Norman R. Petersen, “The Composition of Mark 4:1–8:26,” *HTR* 73 (1980) 185–217; and L. William Countryman, “How Many Baskets Full? Mark 8:14–21 and the Value of Miracles in

consideration of the effect on the implied or real reader (Fowler on reader response criticism of Mark).¹⁰ Echoes frequently heard (see figure 1) will be presented briefly here so that more attention can be paid to perhaps fainter echoes that also ring true. For Mark 4–8 these fainter echoes consist primarily in the repetition in larger narrative scale and at the level of discourse of smaller narrative patterns usually at the level of story. It is at this level of larger patterns of the story-as-discoursed that foreshadowing is also observable in Mark 4–8.¹¹

As 8:22–10:52 is punctuated by three passion predictions that foreshadow the story of Jesus’ death and resurrection, so 4:1–8:21 is punctuated by three sea incidents, three significant narrative events set on the Sea of Galilee, echoing one another: (1) calming the sea (4:35–41), (2) walking on the sea (6:45–52), and (3) conversation about loaves, in the boat on the sea (8:13–21). Jesus is on or by the sea at other times in the Marcan narrative as well (but not after 8:21), but only on these three occasions is an event narrated between the embarking and the disembarking. Recurrent character groupings, themes, and rhetorical questions provide echoes among the three scenes. The characters involved in each sea event are Jesus and the disciples, and the theme of the disciples’ response to Jesus and their understanding of his person and his actions is central in each case and is twice highlighted in a concluding rhetorical question (4:41; 8:21).

The reverberations between the first and second sea incidents, as deeds of power, *δυνάμεις*, are louder than are the reverberations of either of them with the third, the conversation. But the sea conversation echoes not only the preceding two sea incidents but especially the preceding two miraculous

Mark,” *CBQ* 47 (1985) 643–55. T. A. Burkill (“Mark 3:7–12 and the Alleged Dualism in the Evangelist’s Miracle Material,” *JBL* 87 [1968] 409–17) argues against Keck (“Mark 3:7–12”). For an impassioned argument against attributing tensions within a text too easily to separate sources, see Adele Berlin, *Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative* (Sheffield: Almond, 1983), chap. 5, “Poetic Interpretation and Historical-Critical Methods.”

¹⁰ Fowler, *Let the Reader Understand*; Bassler, “Parable of the Loaves.”

¹¹ Of course Mark 4–8 is heard and read in the context of the entire Gospel of Mark. I hope to argue elsewhere that the large-scale echoes and foreshadowings of Mark suggest a rough “score” or general “image” like this:

1:1–3:35	(4:1–34)	4:35–8:21
	8:22–10:52	
11–12	(13)	14–16

Petersen discusses 4:1–8:26 as an overarching unit. I believe, however, that Mark’s patterning is reflected more clearly by considering 8:22–26 (the two-stage healing of blindness) primarily as the foreshadowing opening of the next section (8:22–10:52) rather than as merely the “episodic completion” (Petersen, “Composition,” 216) of 4:1–8:21, although the pericope is certainly transitional, with significant links in both directions (see Norman Perrin, *The New Testament: An Introduction* [New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974] 155). More importantly, no one overall “outline” of Mark can do justice to its overlapping narrative patterns, as I have argued with regard to its spatial settings in *Narrative Space and Mythic Meaning in Mark* (New York/San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1986; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991) and as Joanna Dewey has argued with regard to the Gospel as a whole in “Mark as Interwoven Tapestry.”

FIGURE 1

4:1-9	Parable of sower
4:10-20	Explanation of parable(s)
4:21-	Additional parables and
34	Additional explanations
4:35-41	*SEA CALMING
5:1-20	Healing Gerasene demoniac
5:21-24a	Jairus's request for healing
5:24b-34	Healing hemorrhaging woman
5:35-43	Healing Jairus's daughter
6:1-6	Rejection in the <i>patris</i>
6:7-13	Sending out of the Twelve
6:14-29	Herod and the death of John
6:30	Return of the apostles
6:31-44	<i>FEEDING THE 5000</i>
6:45-52	*SEA WALKING
6:53-56	Healings at Gennesaret
7:1-13	Argument with Pharisees and scribes on the tradition of the elders
7:14-15 (16)	Parable on defilement
7:17-23	Explanation of parable
7:24-30	Healing Syrophoenician woman's daughter
7:31-37	Healing deaf man in the Decapolis
8:1-9	<i>FEEDING THE 4000</i>
8:10-12	Pharisees' request for a sign
8:13-21	*SEA CONVERSATION

feeding stories. The sea conversation, with its mysterious arithmetic review of the results of the two feedings, is the climax to this entire section of Mark, as many hearers/readers have observed.

The feeding of the five thousand and the feeding of the four thousand provide perhaps the most clear and ringing of all Marcan echoes. The extent of repetition between them has apparently bothered some interpreters since the author of Luke's Gospel, who does not include the second one. The two accounts have shared allusions—backward and forward. Both events are mighty works, *δυνάμεις*, set in the wilderness (*ἔρημος τόπος*, 6:32, 35; *ἐρημία*, 8:4). Jesus, amidst conversation with his skeptical disciples, provides bread in the desert, just as Moses, amidst the murmuring of the skeptical Israelites, had provided bread in the desert. And Jesus' source of power is the same as Moses'. In addition, the language of both feeding stories suggests the early church's celebration of the Eucharist—especially in the four verbs describing Jesus' action with the loaves: took/blessed/broke/gave (6:41 and 8:6). But, following the lead of John C. Hawkins and Neirynck when dealing with duplicate expressions, we can observe what the second incident adds to the first.¹²

In the first feeding story Jesus feeds his own people—Jews, which is remarkable enough, given their numbers. But in the second feeding story Jesus feeds an almost equal number of “others”—non-Jews, Gentiles. The Jewish and Gentile makeup of the two crowds Jesus feeds is suggested symbolically in the numbers of baskets of leftover pieces gathered (twelve and seven),¹³ but it is first indicated in the narrative by the spatial settings on the west and the east sides of the Sea of Galilee, as I have argued elsewhere in detail.¹⁴ The Jewish and Gentile nature of the two crowds is probably also suggested by the narrator's stated reason for Jesus' compassion in each case “because (ὅτι) they were like sheep without a shepherd” (6:34), an image with a strong background in the Jewish scriptures (Num 27:17; 1 Kgs 22:17; Ezek 34:5), and “because (ὅτι) they have been with [him] now for three days and have nothing to eat. [And] if [he] send[s] them away hungry to their homes, they will faint on the way—and some of them have come a great distance” (8:2–3), an image

¹² Noting the work of Hawkins before him, Neirynck argued that Mark is not simply redundant but that the second word, phrase, or pericope *adds* something to the first (Neirynck, *Duality*, 45). See John C. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae: Contributions to the Study of the Synoptic Problem* (1909; 2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 141.

¹³ E.g., D. E. Nineham, *The Gospel of St. Mark* (Pelican New Testament Commentaries; Baltimore: Penguin, 1963) 207–8; Norman A. Beck, “Reclaiming a Biblical Text: The Mark 8:14–21 Discussion about Bread in the Boat,” *CBQ* 43 (1981) 49–56, esp. p. 52 n. 15. Contra Countryman, who notes that “the second feeding used larger resources to feed fewer people, with less left over at the end” (“How Many Baskets,” 647) and, taking these numbers more literally than symbolically, concludes that the second feeding story manifests an “embarrassing decline” (p. 650) in miraculous power. Countryman argues that this decline “fits into Mark's overall picture of the miracles” (p. 650), which is especially clear in Mark 4–8: Achtemeier's first cycle of Marcan miracle stories manifests “an extraordinary ease of performance,” whereas in the second cycle “either Jesus is reluctant to perform the miracle or he has apparent difficulty in doing so” (pp. 648, 649).

¹⁴ Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, “The Jesus of Mark and the Sea of Galilee,” *JBL* 103 (1984) 363–77; see also idem, *Narrative Space*.

of a universal human problem—hunger—and Jesus’ universal and humane response.

Thus, what is added by the implied author in the second feeding story is the inclusion of the Gentiles in Jesus’ ministry. It is the implied reader, of course, who is the primary beneficiary of this addition. The echoes between the two feeding stories and the addition occur within the *story* (Jesus and his disciples, as characters, travel all around and end up on the eastern side of the sea by 8:1–9), but it is in the *story-as-discoursed*, the story as presented by the implied author to the implied reader, with *this* arrangement and *this* rhetoric rather than some other, that the reverberations and the addition sound forth most tellingly. First the implied reader understands that Jesus can feed a multitude, and then she or he understands more—that Jesus can feed a multitude of outsiders. Understanding and understanding more are what is at stake for both the implied reader and the characters of Mark’s narrative at 4:1–34 and 7:14–23. These two blocks of material provide a third strong echo effect in Mark 4–8.

The twofold pattern of 4:1–20 is parable of the sower (4:1–9) followed by explanation of the parable(s) (4:10–20).¹⁵ In vv. 11–12 the Marcan Jesus distinguishes two groups of those who hear him: those who have been given the μυστήριον (perhaps “mystery” is a more appropriate translation than “secret”)—the μυστήριον of the kingdom of God—and those for whom everything “comes in parables.” To the second group the Marcan Jesus applies Isaiah’s prophecy about seeing but not perceiving and hearing but not understanding. To the textual representatives of the first group Jesus gives an explanation of the parable of the sower (4:14–20).

This twofold pattern is echoed in 4:21–34. Verses 21 and 24 would seem to present two (minimal) parables: the lamp and the measure. Verses 22 and 25, both beginning with γάρ (“for”), would seem to offer brief explanations of these two little parables.¹⁶ Verse 23, right in the middle, repeats the refrain:

¹⁵ Mark 4 is central to Mary Ann Tolbert’s recent reading of the Gospel; however, it is not so much the twofold pattern of parable and explanation in 4:1–20 that is important but the content of the allegorical explanation in 4:14–20, which she, in turn, applies allegorically to Mark’s Gospel as a whole: the disciples are the rocky soil (*Sowing the Gospel: Mark’s World in Literary-Historical Perspective* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989]). See my review in *JR* 72 (1992) 95–96. A parallel to this aspect of Tolbert’s book may be seen in an article by Greg Fay, also published in 1989. Fay argues that “Mark 4:1–34 has a seven-part concentric structure in which the interpretation of the parable of the sower functions as the center term and introduces the motif of the incomprehension of the disciples” (“Introduction to Incomprehension: The Literary Structure of Mark 4:1–34,” *CBQ* 51 [1989] 65–81, quotation from p. 79). In contrast, John Paul Heil argues “that the growth parables in Mark 4 function as embedded metaphorical narratives which not only recapitulate the success despite failure of Jesus’ ministry that the implied reader has already experienced in the previous narrative, but also point to inevitable future success despite failure for both Jesus and his disciples” (“Reader-Response and the Narrative Context of the Parables about Growing Seed in Mark 4:1–34,” *CBQ* 54 [1992] 271–86, quotation from pp. 285–86).

¹⁶ Jonathan Bishop, “*Parabolē* and *Parrēsia* in Mark,” *Int* 40 (1986) 41.

"Let any one with ears to hear listen." Verses 26–29 and 30–32 present two somewhat longer parables: the seed growing of itself and the mustard seed. No specific explanations of these parables are given, but vv. 33–34 reiterate the twofold pattern of parables to a larger group followed by explanations to a smaller group. The referent of the "them" to whom Jesus did not speak except in parables—like the audience of 4:21–32—is not stated. But group two, "those outside" (4:11), is certainly intended. Thus 4:21–34 echoes—in a somewhat muffled way—the twofold pattern of 4:1–9/10–20: additional parables and additional explanations.¹⁷

The twofold pattern of parable and explanation is echoed once again in 7:14–23,¹⁸ which is not only shorter but also simpler than 4:1–34. Here the rhythm is hard to miss. Verbal, situational, and structural parallels with 4:1–34 establish a clear relation between the two sections. At 4:1 the crowd gathers to Jesus, but at 7:14 Jesus calls the crowd to himself. At 4:3 Jesus begins, "Listen" (ἀκούετε), and at 7:14 he begins, "Listen to me, . . . and understand" (ἀκούσατέ μου . . . καὶ σύνετε). Like 4:10, 7:17 signals a shift in Jesus' setting and audience: here to the disciples in the house. As before, the disciples question Jesus about the parable (7:17; cf. 4:10); and as before, Jesus questions the disciples about their lack of understanding (7:18a; cf. 4:13). Finally, as before, Jesus gives the disciples an explanation of the parable (7:18b–23; cf. 4:14–20). Of course every time the Marcan Jesus gives an additional explanation to his disciples within the story, the implied author of Mark does the same for the implied reader of the story-as-discoursed. To reiterate our dominant aural metaphor, 7:14–23 echoes 4:1–34; to apply a visual metaphor, 7:14–23 is a structural miniature of 4:1–34.

Marcan commentators have often analyzed the pattern of public pronouncement and private explanation in the Gospel.¹⁹ What is less obvious is that 4:35–8:21 seems also to echo 4:1–34, more faintly, yet more grandly: 4:35–8:21 is a structural magnification of the twofold pattern of 4:1–34. What happens at the level of the story in 4:1–34 is echoed by what happens at the level of the discourse in 4:35–8:21. Marcan commentators have often noted that the miracles of Mark 4–8, especially the two sea miracles and the two feedings, function very much like the parables as they are presented in Mark 4.

¹⁷ The plural παραβολαί in vv. 2 and 11 and the Marcan Jesus' explanation in vv. 11–12 suggest that the narrative events of 4:1–20 are typical; this, in turn, along with the Marcan narrator's explanation in vv. 33–34, suggests that the narrative events of 4:21–34 are iterative.

¹⁸ Neirynck had already noted a connection between the parable plus explanation pattern in chaps. 4 and 7 (*Duality*, 57).

¹⁹ See Philip Sellew, "Composition of Didactic Scenes in Mark's Gospel," *JBL* 108 (1989) 613–34, and the literature cited there. Sellew argues that Mark received two traditional didactic scenes, 4:3–20 and 7:14–23 (both involving a parable), and on this model redacted three others, 8:14–21; 9:14–29; and 10:1–12 (the first two involving miracles). In Mark's Gospel, Sellew concludes, "the position and function of the enigmatic saying [in need of and to receive explanation] in the [didactic] scene's formal structure can be replaced with other material that Mark considers 'teaching,' especially the miracle stories" (p. 633). See below and n. 29.

In the words of Madeleine Boucher, “The miracles, like the parables, are revelations given obliquely.” Like the parables, the Marcan miracles have “more than one level of meaning and are thus subject to the same misunderstanding as the parables.”²⁰ What I wish to add to this widely shared perception is that the Marcan δυνάμεις, taken not individually but together in their narrative arrangement in the story-as-discoursed, are also subject to the same pattern of presentation-plus-additional-explanation as the parables. The Marcan Jesus tells, then explains, a parable; the Marcan implied author tells, then explains by additional telling, a story. Figure 2 aims at making this pattern easier to hear, see, and understand.

III. Echoes and Foreshadowings in the Marcan Story-as-Discoursed

Mark 4:1–20 consists of Jesus’ parable to the crowd and his additional explanation to his disciples, with vv. 10–13 offering a transition from the first teaching situation to the second. Mark 4:21–34 consists of additional parables and additional explanations, with vv. 33–34 offering a summary of this twofold teaching technique. The twofold pattern is clear: parable and explanation, with comments and questions about the disciples’ “understanding” (4:10–13) in between. 4:1–34 is followed immediately by the first sea incident, which ends with the disciples’ question of how Jesus is to be understood: “Who then is this, that even the wind and the sea obey him?” (4:41).

The first sea incident initiates a series not of Jesus’ words (as in 4:1–34) but of Jesus’ works — not parables but mighty deeds (δυνάμεις, 6:2): calming the sea, healing the Gerasene demoniac (a Gentile), healing the hemorrhaging woman and Jairus’s daughter (two Jews),²¹ and feeding the five thousand (Jews).

²⁰ Madeleine Boucher, *The Mysterious Parable: A Literary Study* (CBQMS 6; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association, 1977) 76, 80; see esp. pp. 69–80. Cf. Bassler, “Parable of the Loaves,” 158: “Like the parables, then, the multiplication of the loaves creates a crisis of understanding that separates those privileged with insight from those who are not.” John R. Donahue concludes more generally that the Gospel stories of Jesus’ mighty works “operate in the same way” as Jesus’ parables: “They are acted parables of God’s action” (“Miracle, Mystery and Parable,” *The Way* [London] 18 (1978) 252–62, quotation from p. 262). See also Beavis, *Mark’s Audience*, esp. 157–66, on “events” as parables.

²¹ These four miracles (calming the sea, healing the Gerasene demoniac, healing the hemorrhaging woman, and healing Jairus’s daughter) are taken by Kathleen M. Fisher and Urban C. von Wahlde to be a Marcan miracle collection (4:35–5:43) parallel to the immediately preceding parable collection (4:1–34), forming the dual center of a chiasmic structure:

3:12–19 Choice of the Twelve (to preach and exorcise)

3:20–36 Rejection of Jesus by some (intercalation)

4:1–34 Parable Collection (preaching)

4:35–5:43 Miracle Collection (exorcising)

6:1–6 Rejection of Jesus at Nazareth

6:7–33 Sending of Twelve (to preach and exorcise; intercalation)

FIGURE 2

4:1-9	Parable of sower *SEA SERMON
4:10-20	Explanation of parable(s)
4:21-	Additional parables and
34	Additional explanations
4:35-41	*SEA CALMING
5:1-20	Healing Gerasene demoniac
5:21-24a	Jairus's request for healing/
5:24b-34	Healing hemorrhaging woman/
5:35-43	Healing Jairus's daughter
6:1-6	(Rejection in the <i>patris</i>)
6:7-13	(Sending out of the Twelve/
6:14-29	Herod and the death of John/
6:30	Return of the apostles)
6:31-44	FEEDING THE 5000
6:45-52	*SEA WALKING
6:53-56	Healings at Gennesaret
7:1-13	(Argument with Pharisees and scribes on the tradition of the elders/
7:14-15 (16)	Parable on defilement/
7:17-23	Explanation of parable)
7:24-30	Healing Syrophoenician woman's daughter
7:31-37	Healing deaf man in the Decapolis
8:1-9	FEEDING THE 4000
8:10-12	(Pharisees' request for a sign)
8:13-21	*SEA CONVERSATION

This series of five δυνάμεις is interrupted by reference to the rejection of Jesus in his πατρίς (“native town”) and the intercalated accounts of the mission of the disciples and the death of John the Baptizer. While Jesus’ rejection in Galilee foreshadows his rejection in Jerusalem, John’s death foreshadows not only Jesus’ passion but also the passion of his disciples (see 13:9–13). The final mighty work in this series, the first Marcan feeding story, is followed immediately by the second sea incident, which closes with the narrator’s comment about the disciples’ misunderstanding: “And they were utterly astounded, for they did not understand about the loaves, but their hearts were hardened” (6:51b–52).

The second sea incident opens a second series of Jesus’ mighty works: walking on the sea, healing many at Gennesaret (Jews), healing the daughter of the Syrophoenician woman and the deaf man in the Decapolis (two Gentiles), and feeding the four thousand (Gentiles). The series of five δυνάμεις is interrupted by reference to Jesus’ dispute with the Pharisees and some of the scribes concerning the tradition of the elders and Jesus’ parable to the crowd and explanation to the disciples concerning defilement. While the conflict between Jesus and the Pharisees and scribes preludes the conflict between Jesus and the chief priests, scribes, and elders, Jesus’ teaching of the crowd and the disciples at 7:14–23 echoes that at 4:1–34. The second series of mighty works is followed by the narration of the Pharisees’ request for a “sign,” manifesting their failure to understand anything that has happened. The third sea incident, which follows 6:45–8:12, ends with Jesus’ question about the disciples’ understanding: “Do you not yet understand?” (8:21).

The echo effects of the three sea incidents and the two feeding stories are obvious. The echoes between the two groups of healings set off or framed by the sea incidents and feeding stories are more subtle, but they are insistent. Each group relates one exorcism. Each group recounts one story of healing by touching Jesus’ garments (5:27, 28; 6:56). Each group narrates one story in which Jesus speaks a healing word in Aramaic (5:41; 7:34). Each group presents one healing story that contains Jesus’ admonition to tell no one (μηδεὶς, 5:43; 7:36). Each group contains one healing story that results in widespread proclamation (κηρύσσειν, 5:20; 7:36). Each group narrates the healing of one man and one girl. In the first group a father asks for healing for his daughter; in the second group a mother pleads for her daughter. The first group concerns a Gentile and two Jews; the second group concerns a group of Jews and two Gentiles. The first group contains one independent healing story and two that are intercalated; the second group contains two individual healing stories and one that is a summary. Although the parallels between the two groups of three healings are not exact or rigid (especially since the second three do not occur

(“The Miracles of Mark 4:35–5:43: Their Meaning and Function in the Gospel Framework,” *BTB* 11 [1981] 13–16). Fisher and von Wahlde have observed some significant Marcan echoes, especially “preach” and “exorcise,” but their failure to suggest how the sea calming relates to the sea walking weakens their argument for a chiasmic structure.

in one cluster as the first three do), there are enough echoes to give a sense of balance to the two groups—each of which is preceded by a sea incident and followed by a feeding story.

Healing, calming the sea and walking on water, and feeding the multitudes are all δυνάμεις. The episodes intervening within these ten narrated δυνάμεις, where echoes rebound, are also interestingly interrelated, and within them foreshadowings abound. Once between the first sea incident and the first feeding story, and once between the second sea incident and the second feeding story, we find three pericopes that are very closely connected with each other.²² The first set of three consists of intercalated stories focusing not on Jesus but on his followers, the disciples, and his forerunner, John the Baptizer. The compound story of Herod's belief that Jesus is John resurrected and the flashback of John's death at the hands of Herod is intercalated into the story of Jesus' sending out of the Twelve to preach and to exorcise demons and their return to Jesus. The second set of three closely connected pericopes occurs at 7:1–23, where Jesus' questioning of the teaching of the elders unites three scenes separated by character shifts in Jesus' audience: 7:1–13, Pharisees and scribes; 7:14–15 (16), the crowd (and the disciples); 7:17–23, the disciples. In addition, two more independent stories intervene in the two groups of stories of δυνάμεις, one in each group: the account of Jesus' rejection in the synagogue in his πατρίς and the narration of the Pharisees' request for Jesus to perform a "sign (*sēmeion*) from heaven."²³ All these stories intervening in the telling of ten δυνάμεις foreshadow, in one way or another, the escalating struggle between Jesus and the Jewish leaders and the culmination of that struggle in his passion.

Jesus' rejection in the synagogue foreshadows his rejection in the Temple. The powerlessness of Jesus in his passion is anticipated—even amidst his works of power. His rejection intrudes on his success; mighty works are not the final word. The intercalated stories of the mission of the disciples and the death of John, following as they do the story of Jesus' rejection in his πατρίς, serve to link the careers of John, Jesus, and the disciples. John the Baptizer goes out to preach (κηρύσσειν, 1:4), is rejected and handed over (παραδιδόναι, 1:14), and is killed (chap. 6). Jesus goes out to preach (κηρύσσειν, 1:14), is rejected (chap. 6) and is to be handed over (παραδιδόναι, 3:19 and other references) and killed (see esp. 8:31; 9:31; 10:33–34). The disciples go out to preach (chap. 6—κηρύσσειν, 6:12), and later they too will be rejected, handed over (13:9–13; παραδιδόναι, 13:9, 11, 12), and killed (13:12). At chapter 6, the disciples are in the initial phase of their career—preaching; Jesus is in the middle phase—rejection; and John is in the final phase—death. But each, the Marcan

²² Petersen labels them "composite minimal units" ("Composition").

²³ Petersen recognizes that his "unique decision" to consider 8:1–20 (the feeding of the four thousand) and 8:11–12 (the Pharisees' request for a sign) together as one "minimal unit" is one of the "controversial points" of his argument ("Composition," 188). Petersen considers 6:45 a completed "crossing" of the Sea of Galilee and 8:10 a "side trip" on the sea.

implied author assures us by a series of juxtapositions, echoes, and foreshadowings, will complete the sequence. In chap. 6 the disciples succeed not only in preaching but also in casting out many demons (6:13), that is, in doing mighty works of healing, *δυνάμεις*. In terms of story time, the Marcan Jesus sends his disciples out directly after his own rejection, and it is while the disciples are on their mission of preaching and *δυνάμεις* that the implied reader of the story-as-discoursed learns of John's death. Thus the rhetoric of the implied author leads the implied reader to know that what begins with *δυνάμεις* will likely end with death. Not only does the power to do mighty works *not* guarantee the power to save oneself from death, but the willingness to do mighty works entails the willingness to risk one's life.

Chapter 6 portrays Jesus' disciples in the light of his precursor, John. Chapter 7 portrays Jesus' disciples in the light of his opponents, the Pharisees and scribes. More precisely, the three character groups of 7:1–23 illustrate three types of relations with Jesus. Although Jesus *initiates* the conversation only with the crowd, he has the last word with each of the three groups of characters. Against those who argue from authority (Pharisees and scribes), Jesus argues from a higher authority. To those who will listen (the crowd), Jesus speaks. With those who ask questions (the disciples), Jesus enters into a dialogue to enable understanding.

Clearly the Pharisees do not understand. At the very end of the second series of five *δυνάμεις* in Mark 4–8, the Pharisees begin “to argue with [Jesus], asking him for a sign from heaven, to test him” (8:11). Only the Pharisees and Satan are explicitly said by the implied author to test the Marcan Jesus (*πειράζειν*, 1:13; 8:11; 10:2; 12:15–Pharisees and Herodians), and the Pharisees do so repeatedly, their attitude in the question about a sign being echoed again in questions about divorce and paying taxes to Caesar. This questioning of Jesus' authority also echoes the attitude of those who rejected him in the synagogue in his *πατρίς* (“Where did this man get all this?” 6:2) and foreshadows the attitude of the chief priests, scribes, and elders in the Temple (12:1–12), who, frustrated in their own attempt, sent the Pharisees and Herodians to Jesus “to trap him in what he said” (12:13). The Pharisees—and the Jewish leaders as a group—seek an absolutely unambiguous sign of Jesus' power and authority, a sign that can be read in only one, nonparadoxical way. This is satanic, of course, because, as William Countryman notes, “Miracles are not signs: they do not convey a clear, unobstructed view of Jesus' mission and authority.”²⁴ Not for the Pharisees and other Jewish leaders, not for those of his hometown, and not even for the disciples. *Δυνάμεις* require faith and risk not only to perform or to receive but even to understand.²⁵

²⁴ Countryman (“How Many Baskets,” 652). On the Marcan use of the terms *δυνάμεις* and *σημεῖα* as opposed terms in the contexts of Christology and eschatology, see Vernon K. Robbins, “*Dynameis* and *Sēmeia* in Mark,” *BR* 18 (1973) 1–16.

²⁵ Achtemeier sees in the parallels between the two groups of miracle stories in Mark 4–8 sure signs of previous sources, and in the stories intervening in these two groups of miracle stories

The two groups of five δυνάμεις in Mark 4–8 (including one on the sea and one with loaves)—ringing with echoes—plus the intervening stories—glowing with foreshadowings—are preceded by 4:1–34, Mark’s parable chapter, which focuses on understanding—and understanding more. The foundational question of chap. 4 appears to be, “With what can we compare the kingdom of God, or what parable will we use for it?” (4:30). More than a simple telling of parables is offered in the Marcan narrative; further explanation is given to the twelve disciples and also “those who were around [Jesus]” (4:10). Perhaps the foundational question for the rest of this section of Mark, 4:34–8:21, is, “Who then is this . . . ?” (4:41). And again more than a simple telling is offered in the Marcan narrative. The events of 4:35–6:44—both Jesus’ mighty works and the intervening events that foreshadow his passion and that of the disciples—should provide an answer to the question of Jesus’ identity: he is the Messiah, but a suffering messiah as well as a powerful one.²⁶ Yet the disciples have difficulty understanding these events as they earlier had difficulty understanding the parable of the sower (6:51–52; cf. 4:10–13). Thus, further explanation is given in the events of 6:45–8:12; here events shed light on earlier events as in chap. 4 words of explanation shed light on the words of the parable. The events of 6:45–8:12 also provide an answer to the question of Jesus’ identity, an answer whispered perhaps in 5:1–20 (the Gerasene demoniac) but shouted here: Jesus is the Messiah, but a messiah for Gentiles as well as for Jews.²⁷

Furthermore, one might say that the second sea incident itself provides Jesus’ answer to the question of his identity that was raised by his disciples in the first sea incident. (Although Mark 4–8 is punctuated by *three* sea incidents, the first *two* are distinguished as δυνάμεις.²⁸) The second mighty work on the

(6:1–33 and 7:1–23) sure signs of Marcan redaction (“Isolation”). The connections between the miracle stories and the intervening stories are considered only in light of Mark’s purpose of counteracting the θεῖος ἀνὴρ theology of Jesus implicit in the two miracle catenae by inserting the “teaching” material in 6:1–33 and 7:1–23 into the combined and redacted collections (“Origin and Function”). Achtemeier’s second group of miracles and mine are notably different because he assumes that the healing of blind Bartimaeus (8:22–26) originally followed the second sea incident and was displaced by Mark and replaced with the summary of healings at Gennesaret. Achtemeier does not consider the relation of 4:1–34 to 4:35–8:21 (or 8:26).

²⁶ That the Marcan Jesus is a suffering servant type of messiah—and that his disciples must likewise serve and suffer—becomes the major theme in 8:22–10:52.

²⁷ That the Marcan Jesus is a messiah for a new type of community (Gentiles as well as Jews) was prepared for in 2:1–3:6, in which the traditional Jewish community comes to reject Jesus, and 3:7–35, in which Jesus calls a new community—twelve men as disciples and “whoever does the will of God” as family (3:35). The connection between the suffering service of the Messiah and his outreach to Gentiles might be interpreted in this way: lack of concern for the dangers of “defiling” oneself in contact with unclean persons manifests willingness to serve others and to suffer the consequences to oneself (including ridicule, ostracism, and even death).

²⁸ Petersen is much impressed with the triadism of the sea incidents and designates each one the center section of one of the three “cycles” he outlines for 4:1–8:26. By his stress on the triadism Petersen apparently wishes (among other things) to counteract the attention given to the duality by those who see it as a sign of dual sources (Petersen, “Composition,” 195 n. 28). But Mark 4–8

sea might be said to be the explanation of the first as parable, for the disciples' question in the first sea incident ("Who then is this . . . ?" 4:41) is answered by Jesus in the second ("It is I," ἐγώ εἰμι, 6:50—with an allusion to God's response to Moses from the burning bush, Exod 3:14 LXX).²⁹

Thus, if in terms of the twofold pattern of parable and explanation, 7:14–23 echoes 4:1–34 in smaller scale, then 4:35–8:21 echoes 4:1–34 in larger scale: initial parabolic words (4:1–9) or works (4:35–6:44), plus additional explanatory words (4:10–20) or works (6:45–8:12), with comments or questions about the disciples' understanding near the midpoint (4:10–13; 6:51–52). The resounding pattern is this: Hear. Understand? Listen again! See. Understand? Look again! A surrounding echo effect is produced by the final scene of Jesus in the boat on the sea, questioning the disciples, at 8:13–21, and the initial scene of Jesus in the boat on the sea, teaching the crowd, at 4:1–9. The "sea conversation" echoes the "sea sermon," and together they enclose Mark 4:1–8:21 (see figure 2). Perhaps the two-stage healing of the blind man at Bethsaida, often—and convincingly—interpreted as an allusion forward to Peter's half-sight/half-blindness as expressed in 8:29 and 32,³⁰ is also an allusion backward to

manifests not only a triadism (three sea incidents) but also a dualism (two sea δυνάμεις) and perhaps even a double dualism: two mighty works on the sea framed by two mighty "words" on the sea—a sermon to the crowd from the boat at the edge of the sea (4:1–9) and a conversation with the disciples in the boat crossing the sea (8:13–21).

²⁹ Related to these observations of mine is the suggestion of Bishop that the Marcan Gospel manifests an alternating pattern in Jesus' speaking—between speaking ἐν παραβολῇ and speaking παρρησίᾳ ("quite openly," 8:32) (Bishop, "Parabolē," 39–52). Bishop's analysis begins with 4:1–34, where he notes "the generic contrast between parable and explanation, mystery and interpretation, and crowd and disciples" (p. 40). Then he traces, throughout various other pericopes and sections in Mark, this contrast, "evidently redactional, between a cryptic disclosure and a more literal interpretation which is, however shocking, in principle comprehensive enough and so repeatable even to 'the crowd' at large" (p. 39). Bishop's investigation is both broader and more narrow than mine: he examines more individual Marcan passages, but he focuses on smaller units of material. Of particular relevance here is Bishop's observation that the "parabolē / parrēsia distinction may be traced through other subspecies of narrative besides explicit parables" (p. 44), beginning with the healing stories. He suggests (not entirely clearly!) that healing stories represent parable rather than explanation, although their "parabolic overtones are [often] left underdeveloped" (p. 45). "The cures," he writes, "are *all* enigma; and so unfelt as such, as befits an experience of the crowd: acted parables to which no explanation is added because none is yet felt to be needed" (p. 44). But I think that the disciples' failure to go ahead of Jesus to Bethsaida *does* indicate the need for explanation of mighty works, which in turn indicates that mighty works are parabolic. And I think that the second series of mighty works in Mark *does* attempt such explanation. As Bishop notes of παραβολαί we might also note of δυνάμεις: "Those outside . . . can know only the literal sense of any expression; only insiders will even know that a parable is a parable" (p. 41)—or that a mighty work is a parable. See n. 19 above.

³⁰ See, e.g., E. S. Johnson, "Mark viii.22–26: The Blind Man from Bethsaida," *NTS* 25 (1979) 370–83; and Frank J. Matera, "The Incomprehension of the Disciples and Peter's Confession," *Bib* 70 (1989) 153–72.

4:1–8:21, where Jesus repeatedly works in two stages so that the disciples may see and see clearly.³¹

Not just the form (two stages of instruction) but also the content of 4:1–34; 7:14–23; and 4:35–8:21 suggests parallels or echoes. The parables of the kingdom in chap. 4 are parables of contrast: the kingdom's culmination will be surprising in contrast with its beginning; the mysterious kingdom of God will bring something other than what one might expect. The implied reader's understanding of the parable in chap. 7 is influenced as much by the implied author's intrusive comment as by the Marcan Jesus' commentary: "(Thus he declared all foods clean)" (7:19). Defilement is a matter of evil thoughts and actions, not of unclean foods or unwashed hands. From the traditional Jewish point of view, that is certainly an unexpected and surprising manifestation of the kingdom of God. Even more surprising from the traditional viewpoint is the thrust of 4:35–8:21. There is a clear parallel between the implied author's explicit comment in 7:19—"(Thus he declared all foods clean)"—and the implied author's implicit comment in the narrative rhetoric of 4:35–8:21—Thus he declared all peoples clean. In the surprising kingdom of God that is breaking into history in Jesus, all foods may be accepted into the body and all peoples may be accepted into the community.³²

Additional weight is given to such a reading of 4:35–8:21 when the geographical settings are followed closely—and taken seriously as narrative markers of the extant Gospel rather than only as clues to its possible sources. At issue are the itineraries of the Marcan sea voyages and their narrative and theological significance.³³ I have argued elsewhere that the sea voyage Jesus commands his disciples to take at 6:45, "to the other side, to Bethsaida," is—significantly—detoured;³⁴ they land at Gennesaret, still on the west side, at 6:53. The disciples are unable to go before Jesus to Bethsaida just as they are unable to understand about the loaves (6:52). Jesus and the disciples do finally

³¹ See n. 11 above. Dewey calls the healing of blindness at Bethsaida "the third item in a sequence of doublets": "two stories of the disciples afraid on the boat (4:35–41; 6:45–52)," "two stories of miraculous feedings of thousands (6:30–44; 8:1–10)," and two stories of difficult healings using spittle. "In addition," Dewey continues "the two spittle healings [of deafness and of blindness] relate symbolically to the material between them"—8:14–21, with its question about hearing and seeing.

³² Which is, quite explicitly, the rhetorical effect of another early Christian story: Acts 10. See Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (New York: Random House, Pantheon Books, 1970) 65–81; and Jerome H. Neyrey, "Body Language in 1 Corinthians: The Use of Anthropological Models for Understanding Paul and His Opponents," *Semeia* 35 (1986) 129–70, now revised and republished as chapter 5 of *Paul In Other Words: A Cultural Reading of His Letters* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990) 102–46.

³³ Fowler outlines three two-part voyages in Mark 4:1–8:22, all of which he regards as the creation of the author of Mark (*Loaves and Fishes*, 57–68). Yet Fowler insists that, although the "boat motif is a vital element in the framework of Mark 4–8" (p. 63), "drawing inferences about the exact itinerary of the boat trips is quite suspect, because exactness and accuracy is simply not a concern of the author" (p. 60).

³⁴ Malbon, "Sea."

reach Bethsaida, at 8:22, at the close of the third sea incident. The narrated activities of Jesus and his disciples during this delay, during this second effort to reach Bethsaida, comprise the second series of *δυνάμεις* and intervening stories. Within the story-as-discoursed it would appear that the Marcan Jesus works in two stages to enable the disciples to “see,” to perceive the scope of his ministry, to understand that there is bread for the people on the east as well as on the west of the sea, for Gentiles as well as for Jews.

If Jesus’ outreach to the Gentiles was foreshadowed in the healing of the Gerasene demoniac in the first series of *δυνάμεις*, it is confirmed and explained in the second series as a whole. The events that are narrated as part of the detour form the content of Jesus’ further explanation to the disciples of the events of 4:35–6:44. Additional instruction of the disciples is characteristic of the Marcan Jesus and typical of the rhetoric of echoes of the implied author—from the explanation of the parables in chaps. 4 and 7, to the additional ministering to Gentiles in chaps. 7–8, to the instructions on discipleship following the disciples’ misunderstanding of the passion predictions in chaps. 8–10. It is not easy, the Marcan story-as-discoursed admits and insists, to understand the kingdom of God—nor the implications of this kingdom for purity rules, the relation of Jews and Gentiles, and the nature of messiahship and discipleship. Like the Marcan Jesus with the disciples, the Marcan implied author with the implied reader works hard—doubly hard—to make himself understood.³⁵

The conclusion of a large section of Mark (4:1–8:21) with Jesus’ questioning of the disciples (8:13–21), combined with the conclusion of the second group of five *δυνάμεις* and intervening stories (6:45–8:12) with the Pharisees’ request for a sign (8:10–12), suggests that Jesus’ disciples are distinguished from his opponents not by possessing the right answers but by being possessed by the right question: not “Why does he not perform a sign from heaven?” (see 8:11), but “Who then is this . . . ?” (4:41).³⁶ Petersen and Fowler see the misunderstanding (or incomprehension) of the disciples as central to 4:1–8:21 or 4:1–8:26.³⁷ I see as a central thrust of 4:1–8:21 the search for understanding—

³⁵ One could perhaps extend the analogy once more—as 4:1–9 is to 4:10–20, so 7:14–15(16) is to 7:17–23; so 4:35–6:44 is to 6:45–8:12; so 1:1–8:21 is to 8:22–16:8—suggesting that while 1:1–8:21 tells how Jesus is the expected (powerful) Messiah, 8:22–16:8 tells more—how Jesus is the surprising (suffering, serving) Messiah.

³⁶ Cf. Matera, “Incomprehension,” 160: “The message of the kingdom cannot be grasped immediately, it must be continually explained, and those who do not understand must be willing to ask questions.”

³⁷ Petersen, “Composition”; and Fowler, *Let the Reader Understand*. On this issue their views are compatible in general with the views of Weeden and Kelber (see Theodore J. Weeden, Jr., *Mark—Traditions in Conflict* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971]; Werner H. Kelber, *The Kingdom in Mark: A New Place and a New Time* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974]; idem, *Mark’s Story of Jesus* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979]; idem, *The Oral and the Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983].) See also Bassler, who focuses more on the “disorientation” of the implied reader than on the incompre-

understanding of who Jesus is and thus of what following him entails. The disciples embody that search, that ongoing process, which, like Mark's Gospel itself (its superscription is "The *beginning* of the good news . . ."), does not come to a decisive end in the Marcan narrative. But neither the Marcan narrator nor the Marcan Jesus (nor his messenger at the empty tomb) gives up on the disciples. In this action too the implied reader is asked to follow.³⁸

IV. Reading and Rereading Mark

I do not claim that a first reader or a first hearer would observe all that I have suggested here—although much of it has been observed by scholarly rereaders like myself. Yet I do assume that Mark's first hearers probably heard more as listeners to an oral narration than we do. And I have no reason to assume that Mark expected his narrative to have only one hearing or one reading. In fact, the implied reader of Mark would appear to be a rereader!

Mark's Gospel opens with a sentence with no verb ("The beginning of the good news of Jesus Christ, the Son of God"), which is generally—and I think appropriately—taken as a title for the whole Gospel.³⁹ Why would a complete narrative of the story of Jesus be called the *beginning* of the good news? Probably because the narrative is really incomplete, open-ended,⁴⁰ as

hension of the disciples ("Parable of the Loaves"). Fowler, as a reader response critic (*Let the Reader Understand*), is particularly concerned with discourse, as opposed to story, a major concern for a narrative critic. But he not only reifies the separate existence of story and discourse (whereas the story-as-discourse is all we have) but also passes over the story level of events when it better suits his overall (and prior) reading of the Marcan disciples as failures. For example, the Marcan Jesus' prediction that at least Peter, James, John, and Andrew (13:3), and probably the disciples in general (13:37), will be brought to trial because of their Christian faith after Jesus' death (13:9–13), is presented by Fowler as not relevant for the story (since the disciples show no "uptake") but only relevant for the discourse (where the implied reader provides the "uptake"). This reading does not do justice to Mark's rhetoric, which is a *narrative* rhetoric, a persuasion by story.

³⁸ I have argued this view in the following articles (see also the literature cited there): "Fallible Followers: Women and Men in the Gospel of Mark," *Semeia* 28 (1983) 29–48; "Disciples Crowds/Whoever: Marcan Characters and Readers," *NovT* 28 (1986) 104–30; "The Jewish Leaders in the Gospel of Mark: A Literary Study of Marcan Characterization," *JBL* 108 (1989) 259–81. See also Matera, "Incomprehension," 172: "the theme of the disciples' incomprehension in 6,14–8,30 serves the Christological function of heightening the mystery of Jesus' identity. The ultimate reason for the disciples' incomprehension is not a failure on their part, but the hardening of their hearts. And the hardening of their hearts is the Evangelist's way of saying that the mystery of Jesus' person is too great for human beings to perceive without divine assistance. Ultimately, the theme of the disciples' incomprehension tells us more about Jesus than it does about the disciples." On the Marcan portrayal of the disciples' process of understanding Jesus in the context of Jewish and Greco-Roman traditions and conventions concerning teachers and disciples, see Vernon K. Robbins, *Jesus the Teacher: A Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation of Mark* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984).

³⁹ See M. Eugene Boring, "Mark 1:1–15 and the Beginning of the Gospel," *Semeia* 52 (1990) 43–81, esp. 47–53.

⁴⁰ The Marcan ending has generated an outpouring of scholarly commentary. See, e.g., Norman R. Petersen, "When is the End not the End? Literary Reflections on the Ending of Mark's

is the “good news” it seeks to tell. The unresolved Marcan ending returns the reader to the beginning—where the reader is reminded that it is all a beginning. The whole Gospel is an echo of the good news, and its end is still the beginning of the Gospel because the good news is still echoing. Anyone who understands at 1:1 what it means to call Jesus “Christ, the Son of God,” is already a rehearer of the good news, if not a rereader of the Gospel. Clearly the implied author is a rehearer, and the implied reader is usually his or her counterpart. The implied author’s foresight, which is really 20/20 hindsight, is shared with the implied reader.

Within the story-as-discoursed, the disciples of the Marcan Jesus are encouraged to listen and listen again—to understand by hearing echoes; to look and look again—to perceive by seeing the foreshadowed fulfilled. The same encouragement is given to the implied reader. The healing of the Gerasene demoniac in chap. 5 is not enough to impel the disciples ahead of Jesus to Gentile Bethsaida at 6:45. They need to hear this startling good news for Gentiles again. Thus 6:45–8:12 is filled with echoes of 4:35–6:44—for the disciples within the story and for the hearers and readers of the story-as-discoursed. The implied author does not expect the disciples to understand the good news of Jesus Christ, Son of God, until it has been fully told, from baptism through resurrection, and fully heard—and heard again. The same expectation applies to the implied reader. Only in the echo is the sound true and clear.

Frans Neirynck has observed “a sort of homogeneity in Mark from the wording of sentences to the composition of the gospel.”⁴¹ I concur and add that this homogeneity includes a pattern of echoing whereby the juxtaposition of parable and explanation in chap. 4 (already an echo at the level of story) is echoed in miniature in the mighty word and explanation in chap. 7, and in magnificence in the story-as-discoursed in chaps. 4–8, in which a series of mighty works is followed by second series of *δυνάμεις* as their explanation.

Eric Havelock has observed that oral composition operates on the echo principle.

What is to be said and remembered later is cast in the form of an echo of something said already; the future is encoded in the present. All oral narrative is in structure continually both prophetic and retrospective. . . . Though the narrative syntax is paratactic—the basic conjunction being “and then,” “and next”—the narrative is not linear but turns back on itself in order to assist the memory to reach the end by having it anticipated somehow in the beginning.⁴²

Narrative,” *Int* 34 (1980) 151–66; Thomas E. Boomershine, “Mark 16:8 and the Apostolic Commission,” *JBL* 100 (1981) 225–39; J. Lee Magness, *Sense and Absence: Structure and Suspension in the Ending of Mark’s Gospel* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986).

⁴¹ Neirynck, *Duality*, 37.

⁴² Havelock, “Oral Composition,” 183. After citing this same passage from Havelock in fuller form, Dewey comments: “It is hard to conceive of a better description of the Gospel’s narrative

Like “Mark” the author, “Jesus” the teacher operates on the echo principle. The disciples are to rehear; the implied reader is to reread. Here too there is “a sort of homogeneity” — a homogeneity between and among the characters, the narratee, and the implied reader—all creations of the implied author.⁴³

There is, in fact, an homology (a relationship between relationships) between and among orality in Mark’s culture, echoes and foreshadowings in Mark’s narrative, and rereading Mark’s Gospel. The need of storyteller and audience for repetition is homologous with the necessity for characters within the Marcan story, especially the disciples, to hear a second time before understanding, which is homologous with the implied author’s insistence that a reader of the Marcan story-as-discoursed pay the kind of attention that generally requires rereading. Both disciples and readers are called to be rehearers/rereaders. Both are asked to perceive that messiahs are not always what they seem at first glance. The epistemological (and indeed theological) implications of a rhetoric of echoes and foreshadowings, of a rhetoric of required rereading, are intriguing—but beyond the scope of the present essay. Clearly the Marcan epistemology assumes that very little is clear immediately. Knowing is a process. Understanding is an echo.

In rereading, everything in the story becomes an echo, an echo of the previous reading of the story-as-discoursed, which becomes in retrospect a foreshadowing, fulfilled in the rereading. In this way the rereader is even further sensitized to the echoes and foreshadowings the implied author presents to the implied reader. The rereader is more able to take up the task of the implied reader because the implied reader is already a rereader.

“Let anyone with ears to hear listen” (4:9, 23; 7:16 in some MSS).

“(Let the reader understand)” (13:14).

Let the reader reread!

technique. Mark does not have a clear linear structure; rather it consists of forecasts and echoes, variation within repetition, for a listening audience” (“Interwoven Tapestry,” 234).

⁴³ Fowler argues that if Jesus and the narrator are close in point of view, the disciples and the narratee should be close, but they are not (*Let the Reader Understand*). I would argue that the implied author assumes the closeness of the disciples and the narratee (and the implied reader) in order to critique and comfort the implied reader when critiquing and comforting the disciples. Fowler’s reading of a high evaluation of the implied reader at the expense of discrediting the disciples lets the implied reader off too easily: the implied reader, being *so* insightful, *so* superior to the main characters other than Jesus, does not have to question himself or herself. Fowler underestimates the distance between Jesus and the implied reader and overestimates the distance between the implied reader and the disciples.

“BUT I WANT YOU TO KNOW . . .”:
PAUL’S MIDRASHIC INTERTEXTUAL RESPONSE
TO THE CORINTHIAN WORSHIPERS (1 Cor 11:2-16)

L. ANN JERVIS

Wycliffe College, Toronto, Canada, M5S 1H7

The presence of Genesis creation subtexts in 1 Cor 11:2-16 suggests its intertextual character.¹ The task of the investigation undertaken here is to discover the nature and intention of Paul’s intertextuality in this passage.

The position of this study is that in 1 Cor 11:2-16 Paul responds to a misapprehension and consequent misappropriation of his previous teaching on the unity of man and woman in Christ.² His goal is to help his converts understand how they have misinterpreted that teaching. In order to clarify his earlier teaching Paul must recast the scriptural exposition on which it had been based. Paul’s initial teaching had relied on an exposition of the Genesis 1 creation account. His strategy for correcting the Corinthians’ misunderstanding is to

¹ J. Jervell recognizes that both Genesis creation stories underlie this passage (*Imago Dei: Gen 1, 26f im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960] 292-309). See also M. Hooker, “Authority on Her Head: An Examination of I Cor. XI. 10,” *NTS* 10 (1964) 411; E. E. Ellis, “Traditions in 1 Corinthians,” *NTS* 32 (1986) 493; F. F. Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians* (London: Oliphants, 1971) 105; G. Trompf, “On Attitudes Toward Women in Paul and Paulinist Literature: 1 Corinthians 11:3-16 and Its Context,” *CBQ* 42 (1980) 205; and A. Feuillet, “L’Homme ‘Gloire de Dieu’ et la Femme ‘Gloire de l’Homme,’ (1 Cor., XI, 7b),” *RB* 81 (1974) 182.

W. Meeks understands that Paul is here alluding to Gen 1:27 (“The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of a Symbol in Earliest Christianity,” *HR* 13 [1973] 201). See also P. Richardson, *Paul’s Ethic of Freedom* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1979) 64.

Paul’s allusion to the creation story of Genesis 2 is recognized by R. Scroggs, “Paul and the Eschatological Woman,” *JAAR* 40 (1972) 298; J. Murphy-O’Connor, “1 Corinthians 11:2-16 Once Again,” *CBQ* 50 (1988) 270; A. Padgett, “Paul on Women in the Church: The Contradictions of Coiffure in 1 Corinthians 11.2-16,” *JSNT* 20 (1984) 81.

² This passage will be considered as an integral part of the letter. W. O. Walker’s proposal that it is an interpolation (“1 Corinthians 11:2-16 And Paul’s Views Regarding Women,” *JBL* 94 [1975] 94-110) has been effectively countered by J. Murphy-O’Connor (“The Non-Pauline Character of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16?” *JBL* 95 [1976] 615-21). As G. Fee writes, given that interpolation is postulated for this text chiefly on the basis of its “alleged non-Pauline character,” this effectively amounts to “a counsel of despair” (*The First Epistle to the Corinthians* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987] 492 n. 3). Cf. W. A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983) 220 n. 107.

combine the second creation account with the first. In 1 Cor 11:2–16 Paul consciously intertwines and engages two scriptural texts so that, on the basis of a clearer sense of the meaning of these texts, his readers might understand the significance of his practical directives.

I. The Nature of Paul's Intertextuality

Paul's intertextuality has recently been analyzed in Richard Hays's important book *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*.³ Hays, developing the insights of John Hollander,⁴ presents Paul's intertextuality as a type that echoes scripture, either consciously or unconsciously. Furthermore, according to Hays, Paul, who believes that God speaks through him in "a time of God-dominated events,"⁵ uses scripture so that it stands in counterpoint to the word of the gospel.⁶ Paul does not seek to prove that scripture is fulfilled but rather places scripture in dialectical tension with the gospel so that it provides "a mutually interpretive relation."⁷ The apostle's intertextuality is such that the "original meaning of the scriptural text . . . by no means dictates Paul's interpretation."⁸

While noting that the intertextual nature of both rabbinic midrash and of Paul's letters makes them "natural analogues," Hays avoids using the category of "midrash" for Paul's hermeneutic on the basis that (1) previous studies have applied this category in unhelpful and misleading ways and (2) Paul, believing that he stands in a privileged moment in which God is speaking directly, performs a distinctly different type of hermeneutic than the rabbis, whose task was to reinterpret the ancient "deposit" of God's word. For Hays these radically distinct "temporal sensibilities" result in there being a categorical distinction between the hermeneutical approach of Paul and that of the rabbis.⁹

Hays's presentation of the distinction between Paul and the rabbis invites examination, for it has significant consequences concerning our perception of Paul's hermeneutical approach and strategies. In fact, despite the obvious differences between Paul and the rabbis, particularly with respect to their eschatological convictions, they exhibit important and revealing similarities. The areas most relevant to this study in which the rabbis and Paul share evident hermeneutical kinship concern (1) their understanding of the goal of interpretation and (2) the manner in which scriptural texts were treated so as to reveal their meaning.

³ R. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

⁴ J. Hollander, *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).

⁵ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 171.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 177.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 176.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 178.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 14, 10–14, 171.

By presenting scripture's "contrapuntal" role for Paul, Hays acknowledges that Paul accorded scripture the function of providing a framework and challenge for his interpretation of God's present activity. The rabbis' midrashic activity, of course, accorded scripture a similar function.¹⁰

The rabbis, it is true, approached the scriptures with a sense of "temporal gulf" and did not believe as Paul did that the eschatological Spirit was revealing the scriptures' secrets to them. Yet, as the following rabbinic text makes plain, midrash was considered an activity through which God's original meaning in the scriptures came alive in a particular historical moment.

Ben-Azzai was sitting and interpreting (making midrash), and fire was all around him. They went and told Rabbi Aqiba, "Rabbi, Ben-Azzai is sitting and interpreting, and fire is burning all around him." He went to him, "I heard that you were interpreting, and the fire burning all around you." He said, "Indeed." He said, "Perhaps you were engaged in the inner-rooms of the Chariot [theosophical speculation]." He said, "No. I was sitting and stringing the words of Torah [to each other], and the Torah to the Prophets and the Prophets to the Writings, and the words were as radiant/joyful as when they were given from Sinai, and they were as sweet as at their original giving. Were they not originally given in fire, as it is written, 'And the mountain was burning with fire' [Deut 4:11]." (*Song of Songs Rabba* 1:52)¹¹

The hermeneutical practice of the rabbis was a continuation of the interpretative strategies of the biblical writers, that is, the expression of "new teachings by means of strategic revisions of earlier traditions" made in light of "a practical crisis of some sort."¹² While scripture was considered to stand in dialectical tension with the historical moment, this did not exclude the interpreter in this mode from considering that scripture's original meaning had been understood.¹³

¹⁰ As D. Patte notes, midrash took place "in between the two poles 'Scripture' and the 'worshipping community'" (*Early Jewish Hermeneutic in Palestine* [Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1971] 319). Cf. J. A. Sanders, who describes midrash as "the mode whereby . . . one explained the world by received tradition properly brought to bear on the situation for which wisdom was sought. . . . The sense or meaning was sought not as a thing in itself, as biblical criticism insists on doing out of its respect for the text, but rather as illumination on life" (*Canon and Community: A Guide to Canonical Criticism* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984] 26). Also R. LeDéaut, "Apropos a Definition of Midrash," *Int* 25 (1971) 270.

¹¹ Quoted from D. Boyarin, "Old Wine in New Bottles: Intertextuality and Midrash," *Poetics Today* 8 (1988) 547. Boyarin remarks: "The rabbis, as assiduous readers of the Bible, developed an acute awareness of [the] intertextual relations within the holy books, and consequently their own hermeneutic work consisted of a creative process of further combining and recombining biblical verses into new texts. . . . This recreation was experienced as revelation itself, and the biblical past became alive in the midrashic present" (*Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990] 128).

¹² As M. Fishbane describes the inner biblical hermeneutic ("Inner Biblical Exegesis: Types and Strategies of Interpretation in Ancient Israel," in *Midrash and Literature* [ed. G. H. Hartmann and S. Budick; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986] 34).

¹³ Cf. Fishbane's comment on inner-biblical exegesis: "an interpreter may well have often believed that his interpretation was the explicit articulation of the received content of the tradition and [the] individual talent was marked by its ability to perform this feat" ("Inner Biblical Exegesis," 35).

Paul's hermeneutical approach exists on the same continuum as that of the rabbis: scripture illuminates the meaning of the present, and its true meaning may be discerned by him (cf. 2 Cor 3:16).

In order to achieve their understanding, the rabbis, as Daniel Boyarin demonstrates, produced intertextual writings which, through "recombining pieces of the canonized exemplar into a new discourse," allowed the biblical text "to generate its meanings — *its original meanings* — in ever new social and cultural situations."¹⁴ Paul, as will be demonstrated with regard to 1 Cor 11:2–16, took a comparable strategy and approach toward interpretation.

A midrashic intertextual understanding of Paul's hermeneutic is different from Hays's approach to Paul's intertextuality in that it understands Paul as considering that, through recontextualizing scripture, he was interpreting it in accordance with its original meaning.

In 1 Cor 11:2–16 Paul's purpose is to recombine scripture so that its intended meaning might speak directly to the problem at hand.

II. The Subtexts in 1 Cor 11:2–16

As stated above, the creation accounts of Genesis 1 and 2 are subtexts in 1 Cor 11:2–16. The other subtext is Paul's previous preaching concerning the liberty of salvation, which has been misunderstood by the Corinthian spirituals.¹⁵ In v. 11 of this passage Paul reaffirms his original proclamation. This verse shares much in common with Gal 3:28, and so Paul's initial teaching was almost certainly something like the proclamation of Gal 3:28.¹⁶

¹⁴ Boyarin, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash*, 38, 20.

¹⁵ J. C. Hurd proposes that the prehistory of this passage is that when Paul had been present with the Corinthians he had allowed the type of behavior they were now displaying. Paul's previous letter, however, banned this practice. The Corinthians then responded by inquiring about this change of mind, and Paul's response to their query is 1 Cor 11:2–16 (*The Origin of I Corinthians* [Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1983] 185).

It is indeed probable that in this passage Paul is responding to an inquiry from the Corinthians. It is less likely, however, that the query was based on the fact that when he was with them Paul had allowed the practice he now condemns. Such a proposition makes nonsense of vv. 13–16. Hurd explains the discrepancy between Paul's criticism of the present practice and his former acceptance of it by suggesting that even then he "considered it indecent and unnatural" (p. 281). As Gal 2:14 makes clear, however, this would be extremely atypical of Paul's behavior. Rather, the Corinthians' inquiry is based on having developed in their faith along Jewish-Hellenistic lines (as will be argued below). The Corinthians considered that their spirituality had progressed since Paul was with them (see 1 Cor 2:1–2 for an example of Paul's ironic reply to their spiritual hybris) and that their practice was the proper expression of Paul's original proclamation of the liberty of male and female in Christ.

¹⁶ So E. Schüssler Fiorenza, "Rhetorical Situation and Historical Reconstruction in 1 Corinthians," *NTS* 33 (1987) 397; J. Murphy-O'Connor, "Sex and Logic in 1 Corinthians 11:2–16," *CBQ* 42 (1980) 490; G. Theissen, *Psychological Aspects of Pauline Theology* (trans. J. P. Galvin; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987) 166–67; Meeks, "Image of Androgyne," 202; and Hurd, *Origin*, 282.

Given that Paul's original declaration of the unity of man and woman in Christ relied on an exposition of Gen 1:27,¹⁷ when Paul commends his readers for holding onto his traditions (v. 2) he is referring to their appropriation (albeit in a mistaken fashion) of his interpretation of the first Genesis creation story. Paul's corrective strategy is typically midrashic: that is, in order to solve an exegetical and practical difficulty he combines another scriptural text with the one that is at the root of the problem. And so what Paul wants his readers to know (v. 3) is that the second creation account elucidates the real meaning of the first and thereby clarifies what the Corinthians need to understand about the nature of their redemption.

III. The Nature of the Corinthians' Misinterpretation of Paul's Earlier Teaching on Being in Christ

There is broad scholarly consensus that the Corinthian spirituals approached the gospel from a Jewish-Hellenistic wisdom perspective.¹⁸ One of the best analogies for their religious worldview, therefore, is Philo Judaeus.¹⁹ It is, then, worth our while to comment briefly on Philo's understanding of the restoration of the divine image. The premise of this examination is not that the Corinthians read Philo, but that their attitude toward the nature of

¹⁷ Several scholars have recognized that Gen 1:27 is a subtext in Gal 3:28, noting particularly that the *kai* in the male-female pair parallels the LXX of Gen 1:27 and that the words used are "technical terms from Genesis 1:27" (K. Stendahl, *The Bible and the Role of Women* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966] 32). See also Meeks, "Image of the Androgyne," 181; Scroggs, "Paul and the Eschatological Woman," 292 n. 29; and E. Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1983) 211.

¹⁸ See B. A. Pearson, who characterizes the Corinthian spirituals' stance as one of "Hellenistic-Jewish speculative wisdom" (*The Pneumatikos-Psychikos Terminology in 1 Corinthians: A Study in the Theology of the Corinthian Opponents for Paul and Its Relation to Gnosticism* [Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1973] 82). Also H. Koester, "GNOMAI DIAPHOROI: The Origin and Nature of Diversification in the History of Early Christianity," in *Trajectories Through Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971) 149; and Meeks, "Image of the Androgyne," 202.

Fee's rejection of the proposal that the Corinthians took a hellenized Jewish stance on the grounds that (1) the parallels between the sources and the Corinthians' attitude are more in terms of Hellenism than Judaism and (2) the letter is written to Gentiles (*First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 14) erroneously assumes (a) that it is possible to draw a line between Jewish and Hellenistic features in the Wisdom sources and (b) that Paul would not have taught Gentiles about their new Jewish heritage. In fact, it is reasonable to expect that Gentile believers who had been converted by Paul would have become familiar with Jewish ideas. Romans is an example of Paul expecting this of Gentile readers.

¹⁹ So R. A. Horsley: "the principles and ideas of the Corinthians are extensively paralleled in Philo's writings and in Wisdom" ("Spiritual Marriage with Sophia," VC 33 [1979] 48). A. J. M. Wedderburn suggests that Philo "provides *indirect* evidence of the view against which Paul was contending in I Corinthians" ("Philo's Heavenly Man," *NovT* 15 [1973] 306).

the original image restored to them in Christ would have been strongly influenced by such a Jewish-Hellenistic understanding as Philo exemplifies.²⁰

W. Meeks suggests that Philo understood the nature of the original image to be androgynous.²¹ Yet the Philonic original image is less androgynous than it is genderless.²² For Philo there were two original males: the "molded man," which refers to the creation of the male in Gen 2:7, and the man made "after the image," referring to the creation of the male in Gen 1:27 (*Opif. Mundi* 134). According to Philo, the "molded man" has a nature inferior to the man who was made "after the image" (*Leg. All.* 1.31–32, 53–54). The goal of the spiritual

²⁰ The ascetic ideal shared in common by Philo, Wisdom, and the Corinthian spirituals (on the Corinthians' adoption of asceticism see Hurd, *Origin*, 163–69; also Horsley, "Spiritual Marriage with Sophia," 32 n. 7) is further confirmation that Paul's readers approached the gospel from a Jewish-Hellenistic framework such as Philo typifies.

The important role that an understanding of the restoration of the divine image plays in promoting the ascetic ideal in Philo and Wisdom is worthy of note. Horsley relates Philo's "ascetic inclination" to the idea of the spiritual marriage to Sophia ("Spiritual Marriage with Sophia," 38–40). Yet Philo's ascetic leanings are also related to his understanding of woman as "imperfect" (*Quaest. Gen.* 1.25 [all references to Philo's works are to the Loeb Classical Library edition]) and representative of the senses as opposed to the mind (*Opif. Mundi* 165; *Leg. All.* 3.50). The spiritual goal is to get beyond the image of the "molded man" who needs the help of sense perception (and so of woman) to the man beyond gender. In *Wisdom*, as Horsley points out ("Spiritual Marriage with Sophia"), spiritual marriage to Sophia (see Wis 8:2) is clearly the basis for asceticism, yet it is also because the virtuous know that they are made in God's image (Wis 2:23) that it is blessed to be celibate and childless (Wis 3:13–19).

The Corinthians' appropriation of asceticism may well have been based on a Jewish-Hellenistic understanding of salvation as the restoration of the divine image.

²¹ Meeks, "The Image of the Androgyne," 186.

²² As noted by R. A. Baer: "For Philo, God is asexual, i.e. completely beyond or outside of the male-female polarity" (*Philo's Use of the Categories Male and Female* [Leiden: Brill, 1970] 66). Again in Baer's words: "the categories male and female thus apply to man's mortal nature, not to that immortal part of man created after the image of God" (p. 65).

Meeks points to *Quaest. Gen.* 1.25 as indicating that Philo accepted the idea of a "bisexual progenitor of the human race" ("Image of the Androgyne," 186). Yet, although Philo does say here that men and women "being sections of Nature become equal in one harmony of genus, which is called man," he typically considers that the creation of woman was the beginning of man's difficulties (*Opif. Mundi* 151). For woman represents the senses (*Leg. All.* 2.38) and man's goal is to overcome the senses and assume the nature only of mind, which alone has the "divine inbreathing" (*Quaest. Gen.* 1.50). So that, while *Quaest. Gen.* 1.25 might assume an androgynous original image, it is not this image that forms the basis for Philo's religious hope. As we shall see, the Philonic hope is to have the image not of the "molded man" who was fatefully divided into two genders so that he could not yearn solely for God, but the image of the man made "after the image." It is to be stressed that the majority of Philo's references to the genders are not in an empirical but in a symbolic fashion, that is, man = mind and woman = sense perception (see Baer, *Philo's Use*, 34–65; noted also by J. R. Wegner, "The Image of Woman in Philo," *SBL 1982 Seminar Papers* [ed. K. H. Richards; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982] 552–54). So that even when on rare occasions Philo alludes to an androgynous original being (e.g., *Quaest. Gen.* 1.25 and *Opif. Mundi* 151), he primarily means by this "the first man as existing in a state of inner harmony and integrity, sense perception and body not fighting against the sovereign mind, but completely subservient to it" (Baer, *Philo's Use*, 36).

life is to be transformed from the image of the "molded man" into the image of the man made "after the image" through attaining all the ethical and religious conditions. The person who is transformed in this way experiences a "second birth."²³ Thus if the proper ethical and religious conditions are met, a person could again live in the harmony and unity of the original creation (*Opif. Mundi* 81) and bear the divine image.

The man made "in accordance with the image" is "intelligible and incorporeal and a likeness of the archetype . . . a copy of the original seal" (*Quaest. Gen.* 1.4). Despite the fact that Philo refers to God as "father" (e.g., *Opif. Mundi* 74, 84), the divine image after which this man is made is genderless,²⁴ for the man's image was given before God divided humanity into separate genders: "And when Moses had called the genus 'man,' quite admirably did he distinguish its species, adding that it had been created 'male and female,' and this though its individual members had not yet taken shape" (*Opif. Mundi* 7).

In Philo the divine image of the man made "after the image" is, then, essentially genderless. "But man who came into existence after the image of God is what one might call an idea, or a genus, or a seal, an object of thought, incorporeal, neither male nor female, by nature incorruptible" (*Opif. Mundi* 134). The spiritual goal is to be born again into one who corresponds to this image.²⁵

²³ A man like Moses who has had a "second birth" is changed in accordance with the man made "after the image" (*Quaest. Ex.* 2.46). For Philo, Moses is an example—a "sacred guide" (*Somn.* 1.164; cf. B. L. Mack, "Imitatio Mosis: Patterns of Cosmology and Soteriology in the Hellenistic Synagogue," *Studia Philonica* 1 [1972] 27–55). In speaking of Moses, who achieved such perfection, Philo writes; "For when the prophetic mind becomes divinely inspired and filled with God, it becomes like the monad, not being at all mixed with any of those things associated with duality. But he who is resolved into the nature of unity, is said to come near God in a kind of family relation, for having given up and left behind all mortal kinds, he is changed into the divine, so that such men become kin to God and truly divine" (*Quaest. Ex.* 2.29). It is the man made "after the image" who is received by God and becomes the tiller and guardian of the garden (*Gen* 2:15); that is, it is his privilege to practice and remember the virtues (*Leg. All.* 1.53).

²⁴ For neither is God in human form, nor is the human body God-like . . . it is in respect of the Mind, the sovereign element of the soul, that the word 'image' is used" (*Opif. Mundi* 69). It is to be noted that Philo is also concerned to portray Sophia as beyond gender despite the feminine gender of the words used to speak of her. See Horsley, "Spiritual Marriage with Sophia," 35.

R. Melnick's contention ("On the Philonic Conception of the Whole Man," *JSJ* 11 [1980] 1–32) that Philo understood God in gender terms, sometimes as male (p. 27) and sometimes as female (p. 31) is based on seeking to follow Philo's images and descriptions (especially those in Proverbs 8 and Hebrews 8:30; 9:33) further than they were intended to go. Philo's own words are perhaps the best response to Melnick: God "is not apprehensible even by the mind, save in the fact that he is" (*Deus Imm.* 62). As R. Williamson says, for Philo "God is *sui generis*, and men can speak of him, therefore, only by analogy, as, for example, Father or Shepherd or King . . . because he 'belongs to no class or kind'" (*Leg. All.* 1.36)" (*Jews in the Hellenistic World: Philo* [Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200; Cambridge: University Press, 1989] 40).

²⁵ See U. Früchtel, *Die Kosmologischen Vorstellungen bei Philo von Alexandrien: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Genesisexegese* (Leiden: Brill, 1968) 29.

The Corinthian spirituals in all likelihood apprehended Paul's original proclamation of the unity of man and woman in Christ in which he referred to Gen 1:27 in the context of a Jewish-Hellenistic understanding of restoration of the original (genderless) image.²⁶ As the following exegesis will demonstrate, Paul wants to emphasize that God provided a divine image to humanity in the shape of two genders. Accordingly, Paul's practical directives for the appearance of men and women at worship function to admonish them to witness to the God-ordained distinctiveness of the genders (vv. 13–16).²⁷

IV. Paul's Midrashic Intertextual Response to the Problem at Corinth

Paul's Introductory Statement (v. 2)

Verse 2 is Paul's acknowledgment that he carries much of the blame for the practice that he is in the process of rebuking. His converts are holding on to what they have been taught.²⁸ It may also function as a prod to realizing

²⁶ D. Steenburg suggests that Philo's identification of the Logos with the image of God relies on Genesis 1 ("The Worship of Adam and Christ as the Image of God," *JSNT* 39 [1990] 105). This leads him to say that while in Philo the name "Adam" is used for the "molded man," nevertheless there is "Adam speculation . . . woven into Philo's Logos concept" (p. 105). Wedderburn interprets Philo's discussion of Gen 1:26–27 in *De Conf. Ling.* 62–63 to be saying that the first man's divine image was equivalent to the Logos ("Philo's 'Heavenly Man,'" 317; see also p. 309 n. 2, where Wedderburn relates Adam to the "heavenly man").

These observations clarify how a Jewish-Hellenistic (Philonic) perspective might readily appropriate Paul's use of the same scripture. Since the Jewish-Hellenistic mindset regarded Adam as possessing the genderless image of God, Paul's reference to Gen 1:27 along the lines of Gal 3:28 would be understood to be declaring that believers had been granted that same image.

Paul's reiteration of his preaching in 1 Cor 11:11 further demonstrates how easy it would have been to misunderstand his meaning. See J. Kurzinger's argument that the best translation of *χωρίς* is "different from," "of another kind," "unlike," etc. ("Frau und Mann nach 1 Kor 11.11f," *BZ* 22 [1978] 273).

²⁷ Cf. Meeks, who states that this passage is solely concerned with "the *symbols* that distinguish male and female" ("Image of the Androgyne," 201). Also Murphy-O'Connor, who says that Paul was reproving "the Corinthians [who] felt free to blur the distinction between the sexes" ("Sex and Logic," 490). Cf. Fee: "the problem lay ultimately with a breakdown in sexual distinctions" (*First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 512). See also C. L. Thompson: "he clearly wants to mark the distinction between men and women by the contrast of hairstyles" ("Hairstyles and Head-coverings, and St. Paul: Portraits from Roman Corinth," *BA* 51 [1988] 104).

²⁸ Hurd argues that Paul's reference to what he has previously passed on is to his original allowance of the very practice that he is now discouraging (*Origin*, 281; see my criticism of Hurd in n. 15 above). Verse 2 is better understood as Paul's acknowledgment that reports he has heard concerning the Corinthians' behavior at worship (perhaps from Chloe's people [so J. Murphy-O'Connor, *1 Corinthians* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1982) 103–4]) are legitimate manifestations of his original proclamation (based on Gen 1:27) concerning the liberty of the redeemed. Paul recognizes that a misunderstood soteriology is the basis of the Corinthians' practice. In this regard it is interesting to notice that when Paul later uses the same verb, *παρέδωκα*, in 1 Cor 15:3 it refers not to praxis but to theory.

that the scriptural text which he is about to introduce in v. 3 is not entirely new to them. As E. E. Ellis has demonstrated, the Genesis 2 creation story was almost certainly used by Paul in his previous teaching on divorce and the body.²⁹ And earlier in the letter Paul has used the Genesis 2 story as an analogy for being "united with the Lord" (1 Cor 6:17).

The Believers' Understanding of Creation (v. 3)

Paul gets right to the point in v. 3, where he introduces the second creation account.³⁰ The first thing that must be said about this verse is that it has nothing to do with the "order of creation."³¹ Not only is this commonly used phrase (by which the priority of the male is typically implied) an anachronism,³² but, as a phrase signifying the divine warrant for particular gender "roles," it bears no relation to the debate between Paul and his converts. Paul's goal is to correct behavior based on a mistaken soteriology. His concern is to distinguish his previous exposition of Genesis 1, in which he had asserted that in Christ men and women are one, from a Jewish-Hellenistic understanding of salvation as the restoration of a genderless divine image. Paul's appeal to the Genesis 2 creation story is, then, made in accordance with this primary concern.

In two important ways Paul interprets this story as he introduces it: (1) he uses the word *kephalē* and (2) he inserts Christ into the story. Paul uses the word *kephalē* because the practical issue concerns the *kephalē* of men and women, and so in a straightforward manner he relates the text of scripture

See T. Engberg-Pedersen, who recognizes that the most natural way to read v. 2 is as an introduction to vv. 3–16, which makes plain that Paul "is not blaming them for the behavior they have hitherto adopted for the precise reason that in that behavior they have been conforming to something he had himself taught them" (1 Corinthians 11:16 and the Character of Pauline Exhortation," *JBL* 110 [1991] 681). Although not clear on this point Engberg-Pedersen seems to concur with my view that the previous teaching to which Paul refers does not include the specific practice he is now rebuking (p. 687).

²⁹ Ellis, "Traditions in 1 Corinthians," 488.

³⁰ See n. 1 above and also J. A. Fitzmyer, "Another Look at ΚΕΦΑΛΗ in 1 Corinthians 11.3," *NTS* 35 (1989) 511 n. 2.

³¹ The interpretation of Paul's use of the Genesis subtext in v. 3 is generally along two broad lines: either Paul evokes the idea of the "order of creation" so as to affirm or to reject it. For examples of those who fall within the first category, see Fitzmyer, "A Feature of Qumran Angelology and the Angels of 1 Cor 11:10," in *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1974) 188; E. E. Ellis, *Pauline Theology: Ministry and Society* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989) 60–61, 63–64. Others regard Paul as alluding to the second story of creation so as to use it as a foil for his distinctively nonhierarchical understanding of the relationship between the sexes given in vv. 11–12, e.g., Scroggs, "Paul and the Eschatological Woman," 301; Meeks, "Image of the Androgyne," 199; M. Hayter, *The New Eve in Christ: The Use and Abuse of the Bible in the Debate about Women in the Church* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989) 119–27.

³² See Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 206.

to the text of life.³³ That is, by Paul's introduction of *kephalē* into the Genesis 2 creation story he makes it clear that the story has something to say about the matter at hand.³⁴

Kephale here carries the connotation of "source."³⁵ This is clear from the fact that v. 3 shares the same subtext as vv. 7–9, that is, the second creation account. This subtext requires that the idea conveyed by *kephalē* is "source of being."³⁶

Paul's allusion to the Genesis 2 creation story is, of course, from an "in Christ" perspective. From this perspective Christ was present at the original creation.³⁷ So, in contrast to the first human beings who disregarded the truth that God was the creator and they the creatures, the Corinthian believers know that they exist in creaturehood, that is, that the *kephalē* of every male is Christ. By referring to Christ twice in this verse Paul reminds his readers of the nature

³³ Cf. Boyarin, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash*, 122.

³⁴ Ibid., 122, 128–29. Boyarin notes that midrashic intertextuality works by intruding themes or words both "into the world of the text and into the text of the world," thereby revealing meaning both in the text and in the world. We will see that Paul uses the same strategy with the word *doxa* later in this passage.

Paul's use of the word *kephalē* in order to indicate the close relationship between the exegetical and practical issue is noted by others, e.g., R. Oster, "When Men Wore Veils to Worship: The Historical Context of 1 Corinthians 11.4," *NTS* 43 (1988) 504.

³⁵ So S. Bedale, "The Meaning of κεφαλή in the Pauline Epistles," *JTS* 5 (1954) 214; R. Scroggs, "Paul and the Eschatological Woman: Revisited," *JAAR* 42 (1974) 534; Murphy-O'Connor, "1 Corinthians 11:2–16 Once Again," 269; D. Ellul, "'Sois Belle et Tais-Toi!' Est-ce vraiment ce que Paul a dit? A propos de 1 Co 11, 2–16," *Foi et Vie* 88 (1989) 52; and Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 503.

³⁶ As noted by Murphy-O'Connor, "Sex and Logic," 492.

³⁷ Cf. H. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians* (trans. J. W. Leitch; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975) 183; and J. Hering, *The First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians* (trans. A. W. Heathcote and P. J. Allcock; London: Epworth, 1962) 102.

Murphy-O'Connor argues against understanding this as a reference to Christ as the "instrumental cause of the first creation," dismissing the importance of 1 Cor 8:6 as corroborating evidence for such a Pauline view of creation, since the Stoic and Philonic texts usually cited in support of such an interpretation of 8:6 are not really parallel ("Sex and Logic," 493–94). Murphy-O'Connor's view, however, discounts the freedom with which Paul replaces God with Christ in scriptural texts (e.g., Rom 10:13; Phil 2:10–11). Clearly Paul considers that in the "new creation" the promises and intentions of the "first creation" are fulfilled through Christ (cf. 1 Cor 2:6–10; Rom 8:19–21; etc.). It was then consistent for him to regard Christ as present at the original creation. It is unnecessary, as Murphy-O'Connor does, to divide v. 3 into references either to the first or the new creation ("Sex and Logic," 494). For Paul the new creation has instituted an entirely new context for the first creation (Rom 8:28–39), and the hope is for the time when the first creation will realize all the promises of the new creation. The two creations are not distinct but intertwined: "For it is the God who said, 'Let light shine out of darkness,' who has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ" (2 Cor 4:6).

Likewise, there is no need to distinguish here between believers and the rest of humanity. Murphy-O'Connor argues that this verse refers only to believers ("Sex and Logic," 494) as does Fee (*First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 505). But Paul says that, while believers have privileged knowledge (v. 3) and experience (v. 11) concerning the original intention of creation, that intention applies to everyone (v. 12c), even though it may only be appropriated by those in Christ.

of *kephalē*-ness — self-sacrificing love. And by ending the verse with an affirmation of God as *kephalē* Paul interprets the word to convey the sense of one who is self-giving and life-creating.

The horizons within which man is woman's *kephalē* are defined by the fact that Christ is man's *kephalē* and God is Christ's. Man as woman's "source" is an acknowledgment (1) of his creaturehood and (2) that his "source" is the ultimate example of unselfish love (cf. 1 Cor 11:24–25) whose "source" in turn is the one whose purpose for humanity is liberty (Rom 8:1–11; Gal 4:1–9; 5:1) and who calls believers to harmonious living (1 Cor 1:9).

Man as woman's "source" signifies a reaffirmation and restructuring of the two genders. For it reminds the readers of the second story of creation in which the genders were created in distinct ways, and it challenges them to realize the quality of love which God intends there to exist between the genders in light of divine love.

It is to be noted that the relationship between these four beings (Christ, man, woman, and God) is not presented in terms of a chain of command,³⁸ but (with Genesis 2 as the subtext) as a relationship between distinct beings whose difference is one which God intended from the beginning and which is fully appreciated and realized in redemption.

The Practical Issue (vv. 4–6)

In vv. 4–6 Paul makes explicit reference to the issue that concerns him: men and women are praying and prophesying in ways he considers to be shameful. The word *kephalē* in these verses, occurring as it does in the context of v. 3, refers both to the physical heads of the men and women, and to the basis on which Paul gives his directives. Men who pray with their heads covered³⁹ shame their "head," that is, their physical head and Christ. Women who pray and prophesy with their heads uncovered or with their hair unbound⁴⁰ shame their own physical head and men.⁴¹ The shame of one sex

³⁸ As Murphy-O'Connor notes, this is not a "series, whose purpose is to indicate priority" ("1 Corinthians 11:2–16 Once Again," 270).

³⁹ Oster demonstrates that in "Greek literature contemporary with the New Testament . . . κατὰ κεφαλῆς can clearly mean 'on the head'" ("When Men Wore Veils to Worship," 486) and furthermore that men routinely wore veils in Roman worship (pp. 503–4). Later on Paul will further maintain that he also considers long hair to be inappropriate for men (v. 14).

⁴⁰ "The meaning of ἀκατακαλύπτως, as Philo and the LXX use it, is 'with unbound or loosened hair'" (Padgett, "Paul on Women in the Church," 70). As Padgett points out, the word περιβολαίου of v. 15 can be taken to signify the opposite hairstyle, that is, the hair wrapped up in the common Greek fashion (p. 70).

⁴¹ It may need to be stressed that this is not because woman is bound to please or be concerned with man in a manner different from how man is to relate to woman (see 1 Cor 7:33, 34b). Rather, Paul is arguing that men and women were created in distinct ways, with woman's creation being from that of man. The redeemed community knows that the male is woman's *kephalē* — the original source of life and the one whose stance toward her is to be one of

exchanging customary head garb or hairstyles for that of the other sex is such that it disgraces⁴² and disappoints⁴³ the new concord established in Christ.⁴⁴ Paul is saying in vv. 4–6 that, when one is praying and prophesying, gender symbols are significant and should be in accordance with God's gift in Christ of a redeemed, dual-gender humanity.

Paul's Injunction to the Corinthian Men (vv. 7–9)

In vv. 7–10 Paul makes clear that the creation stories are the warrant for his injunctions. The first injunction is to the male (vv. 7–9). The reason Paul gives as to why the male should not *κατακαλύπτεισθαι* his head is a midrashic recombination of the two Genesis creation stories. The introduction of the word *doxa* into the interpretation of the first creation story (v. 7a) is, as many have remarked, a typical Jewish interpretation of what it means that Adam is the image of God.⁴⁵ As noted earlier in relation to the word *kephalē*, the word *doxa* also places the practical situation involving hair (cf. v. 15) into relationship with the text of scripture. Furthermore, the introduction of the word “glory” provides for a midrashic retextualizing of the two creation stories, for it allows Paul to avoid saying that woman is the image of man while pointing to the good and divinely ordained contrast between male and female in the second creation story.⁴⁶

self-sacrificial love. The concern about shame here is, then, of a different order than that of “cultural shame” (contra Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 512). Paul is saying that the particular practice he finds so offensive denies and distorts the truth of what the Corinthian believers know that God has made available in Christ.

⁴² So BAG.

⁴³ Cf. Rom 5:5 and 1 Cor 11:22, where *κατασχύνω* means “to disappoint.”

⁴⁴ It is instructive to note that the same word *κατασχύνω* occurs in a comparable context earlier in the letter. In 1 Cor 1:27–31 God is the one who does the disappointing. In contrast to the world's expectations, God chooses the foolish, weak, and lowly of birth “over against” those in the world who consider themselves worthy (cf. G. R. O'Day, “Jeremiah 9:22–23 and 1 Corinthians 1:26–31: A Study in Intertextuality,” *JBL* 109 [1990] 265). In 1 Cor 11:4–5, on the other hand, it is the believers who are shaming (choosing against) the true structure of existence. Note also that in both passages Paul affirms that believers know that the source of their life is God in Christ (11:3, 12; 1:30). In both contexts, then, the word *κατασχύνω* is used where believers are being reminded of the privilege they have of participating in the new creation.

⁴⁵ So E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1957) 63; Hooker, “Authority on Her Head,” 411; Scroggs, “Paul and the Eschatological Woman,” 299; idem, *The Last Adam: A Study in Pauline Anthropology* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966) 27, 49. Paul applies the complementary terms “glory” and “image” also to Christ (2 Cor 4:4). Cf. a similar description of Sophia in Wis 7:20–26.

⁴⁶ Paul's concern here is to give the men in the Corinthian congregation a theological rationale for why they should wear their hair short and have their heads uncovered. Paul is not denying that woman also is created in God's image (cf. Padgett, “Paul on Women in the Church,” 81). Rather, Paul's point is that man is indeed the image and glory of God, but this does not mean that the believing man, who has been gifted with the ability to become what God always intended, becomes less male. For God created humanity in two genders: male (v. 7a) and female (v. 7b).

When Paul says that woman is the glory of man (v. 7b), he explains this in terms of the second creation account (vv. 8 and 9). While the first story of creation (upon which the Corinthians' practice and attitude are based) may not speak of a differentiation between the genders, through a midrashic recombination of the first story with the second, Paul is able to bring out what he considers to be the meaning of the stories:⁴⁷ men and women are distinct and that distinction is good.⁴⁸

And so, Paul's admonition to the Corinthian men concerning appropriate hair length and head covering is based on his appeal to the creation stories. Believing men should not disregard what Paul considers to be appropriate masculine appearance at worship but rather recognize and give witness to the God-ordained differentiation between the sexes.

Paul's Injunction to the Corinthian Women (v. 10)

Paul's admonition to the Corinthian women is in v. 10. As the opening of his injunction makes clear (*dia touto*), Paul considers that his directive to the women is based on the same rationale as that to the men: God created the genders in separate ways and their distinction must be symbolized when the redeemed worship.

Paul also gives another rationale for his admonition to the women—"because of the angels." Since the subtexts of this passage are the creation stories, the mysterious angels of v. 10 should probably be understood in connection with these stories.⁴⁹

Paul's reference to angels may be to the cherubim who guarded Adam and Eve from approaching the tree of life (Gen 3:24).⁵⁰ Since the angels' former role of separating men and women from the tree of life (Gen 3:24) is abrogated in this time when the end of the ages has come (1 Cor 10:11),⁵¹ they are now present at worship.⁵² Whether or not Paul considered that precisely the same angels who used to guard the tree of life were present at the worship, in light of the Jewish-Hellenistic orientation of his readers, Paul's appeal to the angels is a reminder of God as creator (*Cher.* 27–28) and of God's beneficent and

⁴⁷ Cf. Boyarin, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash*, 39; cf. J. Hollander: intertextuality "distort[s] the original voice in order to interpret it" (*Figure of Echo*, 111).

⁴⁸ Cf. Murphy-O'Connor's observation that Paul is pointing out "the differentiation of sexes based on Gen 1:26–27 and 2:18–22 (vv. 7–9)" ("Sex and Logic," 498).

⁴⁹ Cf. Meeks, "Image of the Androgyne," 201.

⁵⁰ In *Apoc. Mos.* 27:1, 2 the same beings who guarded paradise and are called "cherubim" in Genesis are referred to as "angels."

⁵¹ Cf. *Vita Adae et Evae* 51:2, where Michael is the herald of resurrection, which is the giving of the tree of life (cf. *Apoc. Mos.* 28:1–4).

⁵² That Paul is referring to angels who are present at worship has been suggested by Fitzmyer, "A Feature of Qumran Angelology and the Angels of 1 Cor 11:10"; and H. Schlier, *TDNT* 3, 679–80.

revelatory presence with the worshipers.⁵³ Philo considers that God cannot communicate directly as “friend with friends” with souls who are still in the body and so God gives “Himself the likeness of angels” (*Somn.* 1.232). Paul affirms that angels are present with women who are experiencing their salvation in gifted intimacy with God through prayer and prophecy.⁵⁴

Because women are participating in the pneumatic privilege of believers, they ought to have authority over their heads.⁵⁵ The word ἐξουσία signifies “authority over,” “right,” or “control” (cf. 1 Cor 9:18; 7:4). Since women do not worship God as genderless beings, the authority which they have over their heads appears to be that of garbing their heads in a feminine way.⁵⁶ Verse 10

⁵³ It is unlikely that Paul is referring to evil or lustful angels. As W. House points out, the Jewish speculation on lustful angels “is foreign to the New Testament, for believers are freed from the power of Satan and his angels” (“Should a Woman Prophecy or Preach before Men?” *BSac* [1988] 157 n. 54). Although there are unsympathetic angels in Paul’s cosmology (e.g., 1 Cor 4:9; Rom 8:38), these are not the angels who are present at worship. Theissen’s proposition that the angels of 1 Cor 11:10 are agents of Satan leads him to the curious conclusion that the “veil” functioned “to ward off sexual fantasies” in the women (*Psychological Aspects of Pauline Theology*, 172).

It is also unlikely that Paul considers the angels of v. 10 as guardians of the “old order,” since, as argued above, the creation subtexts of this passage function to remind his readers not of the “order of creation” but rather of the nature of the original image to which they have been restored. Those who interpret the angels of v. 10 as the guardians of the “old order” erroneously understand Paul’s directive to the women to be based on his conviction that even as “new creatures” they need to respond to the ordinances that obtained in the old system. For such scholars Paul is saying that women are constrained, even if only in a symbolic way, either to defer to or to demonstrate their liberty from their “natural” role as the subordinate sex. See A. Thiselton: “In terms of realized eschatology ‘there is neither male nor female’ (Gal. iii. 28). But in xi. 2–16 Paul is concerned with arguments which relate strictly to the order of ‘nature’ . . . and to the order of creation (represented by the angels, v. 10)” (“Realized Eschatology at Corinth,” *NTS* 24 [1978] 521). Cf. Scroggs, who suggests that Paul may be saying that “the angels would be hostile to the radical distinction between the old and the eschatological orders” (“Paul and the Eschatological Woman,” 300 n. 46). See also Hooker, “Authority on Her Head,” 413; G. B. Caird, “Paul and Women’s Liberty,” *BJRL* 54 (1971–72) 278. Even Murphy-O’Connor, who in “Sex and Logic” (p. 498) is clear that Paul’s appeal to the second story of creation in vv. 7–9 functions to emphasize the differentiation (not the hierarchy) of the genders, interprets the angels as guardians who watch for breaches of the Law and so “needed to be shown that things had changed” (p. 497; see also p. 499). It should be noted that in a later article Murphy-O’Connor instead adopts the view of J. B. Lightfoot that here “the angels” refer to human messengers, interpreting this to mean that Paul is concerned about their perception of the Corinthians’ behavior (“1 Corinthians 11:2–16 Once Again,” 271).

⁵⁴ Paul refers in 1 Cor 13:1 to the believers’ experience of speaking with the “tongues of angels,” that is, “communicating in the dialect(s) of heaven” (Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 630). This is corroborating evidence that Paul understood angels as facilitating worship. As Schüssler Fiorenza notes, the angels function to “mediate the words of prophecy” (*In Memory of Her*, 228).

⁵⁵ Caird notes that “if it is said that a woman ought to have authority, it must be hers and not another’s” (“Paul and Women’s Liberty,” 277). Cf. BAG: ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπί means “to have power over” something.

⁵⁶ Murphy-O’Connor states: “new status is accorded to woman, not to an ambiguous being whose ‘unfeminine’ hair-do was an affront to generally accepted conventions. Hence, insofar as

is not, as some have suggested, a response to male chauvinism at Corinth.⁵⁷ For Paul has just dealt with men in a similar fashion. Rather in v. 10, just as in his previous injunction to the men, Paul seeks to correct his readers' conviction that redemption has accorded them an asexual divine image.

*Paul's Reaffirmation of His Teaching
on Being in Christ (vv. 11–12)*

Verse 11 is Paul's reiteration of his previous teaching that in the Lord men and women find harmonious unity. While Paul has had to recast his basic teaching because of his converts' offensive practice of disregarding gender-specific appearance at worship, he nevertheless (πλήν) affirms that teaching.

Paul considers the Corinthians' misinterpretation to be so serious, however, that directly following his reassertion of his original preaching Paul repeats his point concerning male–female distinctiveness. The unity of man and woman in Christ has not obliterated the distinction between the genders (v. 12a, b). The differentiation of the genders established at creation (γυνή ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρός, v. 12a; cf. v. 8) is still clearly seen in the process of reproduction and birth (v. 12b). Paul closes this section of the passage by referring again to God's role as creator of all (v. 12c), thereby reaffirming his statement of v. 3c.

Paul's Final Appeal (vv. 13–16)

In Paul's final address to the problem at Corinth (vv. 13–16) he changes both his manner⁵⁸ and the basis of his appeal, shifting to an appeal to nature and culture⁵⁹ and the practice of other churches. Since he does not continue to rely on the creation subtexts, these verses are not germane to the present discussion. Verses 13–16 contribute to our analysis of this passage only insofar as they confirm that Paul considered his practical directives accorded with gender-appropriate practice.

her way of doing her hair clearly defines her sex, it becomes a symbol of the authority she enjoys" ("Sex and Logic," 498).

⁵⁷ E.g., R. W. Allison, "Let the Women be Silent in the Church, (1 Cor. 14. 33b-36): What Did Paul Really Say, and What Did It Mean?" *JSNT* 32 (1988) 32–34.

⁵⁸ So Engberg-Pedersen, "1 Corinthians 11:16 and the Character of Pauline Exhortation," 687.

⁵⁹ "Nature" and "culture" are not necessarily distinct categories. Paul may be using "nature" "in the Stoic sense, in which 'nature is the origin and guarantor of culture'" (D. Gill, "The Importance of Roman Portraiture for Head Coverings in 1 Corinthians 11:2–16," *TynBul* 41 [1990] 257, referring to D. Jobling, "'And have dominion . . .': The interpretation of Genesis 1, 28 in Philo Judaeus," *JSJ* 8 [1977] 79). Cf. Hays, who considers that Paul's reference to "nature" here is an appeal to convention ("Relations Natural and Unnatural: A Response to John Boswell's Exegesis of Romans 1," *JRE* 14 [1986] 196).

V. Conclusion

In 1 Cor 11:2–16 Paul is concerned to correct the Corinthians' interpretation of his preaching on liberty in Christ and its consequent reprehensible practice. On the basis of their Jewish-Hellenistic approach to Paul's earlier teaching on the unity of man and woman in Christ, the Corinthian spirituals considered that they had been transformed into the image of the one who is beyond gender. Accordingly, they believed that customary gender-specific hairdressing and apparel no longer expressed their new life. Thus in pneumatic worship they disregarded the related cultural norms.

Paul's midrashic intertextual strategy for dealing with the practical issue at Corinth is to retextualize the first account of creation, which had formed the basis of their misunderstanding, with the second. This strategy allowed Paul, through illuminating the original text, to clarify his proclamation and thereby to address the problematic situation. Through a midrashic recombination of the two creation stories Paul interprets their meaning in the context of the situation at Corinth. What he highlights through his midrash is that God intended there to be two distinct genders who would live in harmony in the Lord.⁶⁰

While Paul reaffirms his original proclamation (v. 11), he does not do so until he has clarified the appropriate context in which to understand it.

Paul's goal in 1 Cor 11:2–16 is to correct what he considers to be a fundamentally flawed understanding of the nature and consequences of being in Christ, which has resulted in the Corinthian spirituals' disgraceful behavior. What Paul wants his readers to know is that the unity of man and woman in Christ does not obliterate the diversity of the sexes, but rather establishes it in all of its glory—and believers should not disguise this.⁶¹

⁶⁰ As *Genesis Rabbah* demonstrates, this use of the creation stories to teach about salvation at the end of days was typical also of later midrashic writing (see J. Neusner, *What is Midrash?* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987] 52–59).

⁶¹ While accepting full responsibility for the views of this article I would like gratefully to acknowledge the helpful advice and encouragement I received from Dr. Peter Richardson and Dr. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor.

THE PRAYER OF LEVI

MICHAEL E. STONE
AND JONAS C. GREENFIELD

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Israel

The Prayer of Levi is found in two witnesses. The first is the Aramaic manuscript 4QTLevi^a, and the second is a translation following *Testament of Levi* (TPL) 3:2 in manuscript *e* of the Greek *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. For the Aramaic work we use the title *Aramaic Levi Document* (ALD) since there are no indications in it that it is a testament. Note that citations of ALD by column and line refer to the Qumran fragment, 4QTLevi^a, while references by verse number refer to the sections (§) to be found in the Greek text. In the English translation below, both systems of reference are presented.

The Greek manuscript is Athos, Monastery of Koutlounous, Cod. 39 (catal. no. 3108), of the eleventh century.¹ It contains three passages additional to the text of TPL. The first two are parallel to Aramaic Levi material known from the Geniza and from Qumran. The first of these is the Prayer of Levi, found inserted after TPL 2:3. The second deals with cultic matters and is inserted in the manuscript following TPL 18:2. The third interpolated passage, following TPL 7:2, apparently is of Christian origin and deals with various doctrinal and other matters.²

The Greek and Aramaic texts overlap for the most part, though a few fragmentary lines of Aramaic precede and follow the material parallel to that preserved in Greek. This overlap implies that the Greek text of the prayer found in the Koutlounous manuscript following TPL 3:2 is indeed a translation of part of ALD. Consequently, Charles erred in not including this Greek fragment among the witnesses of *Aramaic Levi Document*, which he printed in an appendix at the end of his edition of the Greek text of *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.³ The Aramaic fragment from 4QTLevi^a was

¹ For further details, see M. de Jonge et al., *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (PVTG 1, 2; Leiden: Brill, 1978) xvii. Bibliography on the manuscript may be found there. M. E. Stone acknowledges the support of the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture in the research for this article.

² See de Jonge et al., *Testaments*, xvii.

³ See R. H. Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908) 245-56. For fuller bibliography, history of the editions of the Geniza texts and corrections of their readings, see M. E. Stone and J. C. Greenfield, "Remarks on the Aramaic Testament of Levi," *RB* 86 (1979) 214-30.

first published by J. T. Milik.⁴ The present writers have now been charged with the final edition of it in *Discoveries in the Judean Desert*.

The text given in this article, then, is made up of a number of different parts. The first part is a few fragmentary lines from the beginning of 4QTL^{vi}a, column 1, to which there is no parallel in the Greek text. The second part is the rest of the surviving text of column 1 of 4QTL^{vi}a, which overlaps with Greek text preserved following Greek *TPL* 2:3 in the Athos MS. The third part of the present document is the Greek text without Aramaic parallel, which continues after the end of the surviving Aramaic text of column 1 of 4QTL^{vi}a and as far as the beginning of the surviving first part of the second column of that fragmentary Aramaic manuscript. The part of the second column of the Aramaic manuscript to which there is parallel text in Greek forms the fourth part of the document. Finally, this is followed by the rest of column 2 of 4QTL^{vi}a.

We have transcribed first the Aramaic text of both columns of the 4QTL^{vi}a fragment. In the course of this transcription, we have made only such reconstructions as we regard to be quite certain. Since a Greek text exists overlapping with part of the Aramaic, however, we have ventured to reconstruct a fuller Aramaic text for this section. This reconstruction, it should be stressed, is only tentative and we have printed it separately following the diplomatic transcription of the surviving fragments. After this, we have reproduced the Greek text drawn from de Jonge's edition. The English translation is based on both versions. Where the Aramaic is extant, the English words corresponding to it have been printed in bold type.⁵

I. Character of the Document

M. de Jonge demonstrated in detail what Milik had already concluded in 1955—that *TPL* used traditions preserved in *ALD*. Moreover, the present fragment is of importance since it contained part of *ALD* previously unknown in Aramaic and it enabled us to recognize that the Greek fragment following *TPL* 2:3 contained a Greek translation of part of *ALD*.⁶ In the context of the relationship of the two writings, de Jonge makes the following observations: (1) 4QTL^{vi}a preserves in Aramaic the continuation of the narrative following the text of the prayer. This is not available in the Greek translation. After his prayer, Levi goes to his father Jacob and then leaves Abel-Mayin and goes elsewhere. There he sees a vision of heaven and a mountain below him

⁴ J. T. Milik, "Le Testament de Lévi en araméen," *RB* 62 (1955) 398–408.

⁵ Milik fixed the number of lines per column at 18 ("Le Testament de Lévi," 399). He has numbered the lines in the fragment accordingly. Here we have preserved his line numbering, but will certainly reassess it in the final publication of the scroll.

⁶ M. de Jonge, "Notes on Testament of Levi II–VII," in *Travels in the World of the Old Testament* (Festschrift M. A. Beek; ed. M. S. H. G. Heerma van Voss et al.; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974) 132–45.

reaching up to heaven. The gates of heaven are opened.⁷ At this point the text, which is in any case fragmentary, breaks off completely. This narrative differs from the order of events in *TPL*, which also omits most of the text of the prayer. All it preserves is *ἡὺξάμην Κυρίῳ ὅπως σωθῶ* (2:4), which at most is a passing allusion to the extensive prayer found in *ALD*:⁸ (2) M. de Jonge considers, however, that there are definite points of contact between *ALD* col. 2:14–18 (the narrative following the prayer) and *TPL*. He points to 2:5 *τότε ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ’ ἐμέ ὕπνος* and *TPL* 5:1 *τὰς πύλας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*. In full, *TPL* 5:1 reads: “The angel opened to me the gates of heaven, and I saw the holy temple and the Most High upon a throne of glory.” De Jonge points out that the words *τὰς πύλας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* are “in any case awkward after the descriptions of several heavens in the previous chapters” of *TPL*, thus strengthening the argument for the dependence of *TPL* 5:1 on *ALD*.⁹ De Jonge’s observation supports the view that *TPL* uses *ALD*, but it does not necessarily imply that in *ALD* the Prayer of Levi occurred at the point at which it does in *TPL*, that is, corresponding to 2:4. Neither, it may be noted by way of corollary, does the shared phrase “gates of heaven” show that the vision which follows the prayer directly in *ALD* was in fact the event alluded to in *TPL* 5:1. Notable is de Jonge’s conclusion that *ALD* “belongs to an earlier stage in the transmission of the document [i.e., than *TPL* (Stone and Greenfield)] to which also the fragments from the Cairo Geniza must have belonged.”¹⁰

The following further observations may be made about the fragment of 4QTL^{Levi}^a and its position within *ALD*.

1. As it stands, it is impossible to identify the broad context in which the prayer is offered since 1:5–7 have no parallel in Greek *TPL*. Presumably the very fragmentary lines 1:6–7 correspond to parts of §§1–2 in the Athos Greek translation of *ALD*. It does seem from §6, however, that Levi is surrounded by his children. This is reminiscent of an *Abschiedsrede* context, which might support the general position implied by the mention of the prayer in *TPL* 2:4.

2. Indeed, it is very possible that Greek §§1–2 are not an integral part of the incident related in §§3ff., but the end of a preceding event. Note that both §§1 and 3 start with *τότε* and nothing in the text indicates a necessary continuity between them. This likelihood is enhanced by the fact, pointed out below, that the laundering of garments and washing of the body, actions

⁷ Ibid., 138.

⁸ M. E. Stone and J. C. Greenfield, “Two Notes on the Aramaic Levi Document,” in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism and Christian Origins* (ed. H. W. Attridge, J. J. Collins, and T. H. Tobin; College Theology Society Resources in Religion 5; Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990) 155. It was this phrase, of course, that provided the occasion for the scribe to introduce the prayer into the Koutlounous manuscript of *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

⁹ Ibid., 138. He argues, persuasively, that all these verses must be integral to *TPL* and that the dependence on *Aramaic Levi* is at the compositional level (p. 139).

¹⁰ Ibid., 142.

typical of levitical purity (see Num 8:21), do not occur anywhere else preceding a prayer or an apocalyptic vision experience, but instead usually follow a cultic, priestly act (see §5). Two possibilities emerge. If the text refers to two different incidents, then this purification is the end of a ceremony. Alternatively, if the same incident is being described, then this passage shows the transfer of levitical purity to the context of prayer. We think that the former alternative is the more probable.

3. According to *ALD*, Levi concludes his prayer, goes to his father Jacob, and then leaves Abel-Mayin and goes somewhere else, where he sees a vision of heaven, a mountain below him reaching up to heaven and the opening of the gates of heaven. This order of events differs from that to be found in *TPL*. Moreover, *TPL* does not have the text of the prayer, simply saying ἡὺξάμην κυρίῳ ὅπως σωθῶ (2:4): see above.

4. The Prayer of Levi was interpolated into *TPL* preceding 2:4, which scholars have assumed to be a reflection of its original position in the full Greek translation of the *ALD*. In that case, it would have preceded the consecration of Levi as high priest in *ALD*. However, in view of the considerations adduced above, its interpolation at *TPL* 2:4 might be seen to be the result of the common element of the vision mentioned in *TPL* 2:5 and in *ALD* as well as of the latter part of *TPL* 2:4 "and I prayed to the Lord that I might be saved." In that case, its position in the Greek manuscript teaches us nothing about its original position in *ALD*.

5. Furthermore, H. W. Hollander and de Jonge point out that the Prayer of Levi, or something very like it, is implied by *TPL* 4:2, which seems to respond to it.¹¹ That verse reads: εἰσήκουσεν οὖν ὁ ὑψίστος τῆς προσευχῆς σου, τοῦ διελεῖν σε ἀπὸ τῆς ἀδικίας καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτῷ υἱὸν καὶ θεράποντα καὶ λειτουργὸν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, "The Most High, therefore, has heard your prayer to separate you from unrighteousness and that you should become to him a son and a servant and a minister of his presence." This verse claims that God has granted three petitions which were made by Levi in his prayer: (a) "to separate you from unrighteousness"; (b) "that you should become to him a son"; (c) "and a servant and minister to his presence." Yet if the prayer itself is examined, only element *a* is to be found. Thus we read: "**Make far from me, O Lord, the unrighteous spirit, and evil thought and fornication, and turn pride away from me**" (§7 = 4QTL^{evi}a 1:13).¹² At first blush, the second and third elements of the prayer to which *TPL* 4:2 refers do not seem to occur in the Aramaic and Greek texts of the Prayer of Levi. While the third element, a reference to the levitical and priestly functions of Levi, seems to

¹¹ H. W. Hollander and M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (SVTP 8; Leiden: Brill, 1985) 134, 141–42. See in further detail Stone and Greenfield, "Two Notes," 156–58.

¹² The translation of *TPL* is that of Hollander and de Jonge. The translation of *ALD* is that of Greenfield and Stone. Words in roman type occur only in the Greek text. Those in bold type occur also in the 4Q fragment.

be a commonplace, the same can scarcely be said of the second element, “that you should become to him a son.”

In fact, as we have suggested elsewhere, both the second and third elements in *TPL* 4:2 derive from *ALD*, but they reflect a misconstrual of its text. In col. 2:10 (§19) of *ALD* we read: לְכַר עֲבָדְךָ מִן קַרְמִיךָ and the Greek text of *ALD* reads here: καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσης τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ παιδός σου ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ αἰῶνος. The words מִן קַרְמִיךָ = ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου of *ALD* are reflected by the words “of his presence” of *TPL* 4:2. Equally, the word עֲבָדְךָ (rendered in the Greek of *ALD* as τοῦ παιδός σου, a common enough translation) stands behind the words θεράποντα καὶ λειτουργόν, “servant and minister,” of *TPL* 4:2. It remains only to suggest that the reworker of the *ALD* materials in *TPL* misconstrued לְכַר as “for a son.” He might have read this word as if there were a final *kap* on it, “for your son,” or read the next word as if a *waw* preceded, “for a son and for.” It is not our claim, of course, that this understanding or interpretation of the Aramaic text is correct; to the contrary.¹³ It serves, however, to clarify how the text of *ALD* might have been utilized by the redactor of the materials in *TPL*.

This observation, of course, adds some support to Hollander and de Jonge’s view that the prayer found in *ALD* is that referred to by *TPL* 4:2. It does not necessarily follow, however, that the order of events in the two documents is the same. The evidence emerging to date is not in favor of *ALD* sharing the order of events in *TPL*. The arguments set forth above, concerning the events preceding the actual prayer, the farewell-address context assumed by the prayer, and the different sequence of events following it, show that the author of *TPL* has changed the original context and sequence of events of *ALD* rather radically.

6. If this hypothesis is correct, it might imply that Levi was already a priest at the time of the incident related in this fragment of *ALD*. In that case, the Prayer of Levi should follow his consecration, which is related in the Geniza fragments. In *TPL* we find the consecration of Levi after 2:3, the point at which the Athos manuscript interpolates the Prayer, and also after *TPL* 4:2, which Hollander and de Jonge claim is dependent on the Prayer. In that case, in *ALD* the material was in a rather different order from that presently found in *TPL*. This is, of course, quite possible.¹⁴

7. Levi then prepares himself psychologically as well for the prayer (v. 3) and takes a particular physical position. In it he stretches out his hands toward “the holy ones” (v. 4),¹⁵ thus taking an *orans* position, often represented

¹³ Compare *ALD* Greek §15: “And turn not your countenance aside from the son of your servant Jacob.”

¹⁴ Another interpretation of the first surviving lines of 4QTL^{Levi}^a, however, would make it clear that Levi washes himself and his garments before praying (see paragraph 2 above). This we have adjudged less probable.

¹⁵ See comments below concerning this expression.

in ancient art. The prayer itself follows. After a brief doxology, interrupted by the parenthetical v. 6, the body of the petition ensues. Levi prays in a contrastive style not unlike that of some Essene documents, to be separated from one series of features and to be made close to another (§§7–8).

Make far from me
the unrighteous spirit
and evil thought
and fornication

and turn pride away from me

Show me

the holy spirit
and counsel
and wisdom and knowledge

and grant me strength to do
that which is pleasing before
you

This is certainly one of the oldest passages in which two spirits are contrasted, and if the view of a third-century BCE date for *ALD* is accepted, then this concept, so characteristic of the Qumran texts, must be put back to that date. The terminology used here, however, is not typical of the sectarian writings from Qumran.¹⁶

8. Levi then proceeds to pray for divine support and protection so that he can minister to God. This protection involves a number of elements: (a) “Let not any Satan have power over me.” This implies a view that demons were a threat. The same view is also implied by §12, calling for the protection of Levi by the “wall of your peace” and his shelter by God’s power from every evil. Considering the early date of this document, this is a significant insight into Jewish demonological ideas.¹⁷ (b) Levi continues to pray for purification (§14) and divine favor (§15). He invokes the blessing of Abraham and Sarah, which probably draws on Gen 18:10 and in §16 refers to a blessing which appears to be that in Gen 22:17–18. (c) The point of the prayer is Levi’s desire to be a “participant in your words” and “to do true judgment for all time” (§18). This seems to be a reference to the Blessing of Moses, where it says of the sons of Levi: “They shall teach Jacob your ordinances and Israel your law” (Deut 33:10). This is a drawing together to Levi of a series of blessings of significant weight in the biblical narrative.

It has been pointed out before, based on other parts of *ALD*, that this document lays a particular emphasis on the sapiential characteristics of the priesthood.¹⁸ In addition to the instructional aspect of the priestly learning

¹⁶ There is an extensive article on the term *πνεῦμα* in all its ramifications in *TDNT* 6. 332–55. On the date of *ALD*, see M. E. Stone, *Essays on the Pseudepigrapha with Special Reference to the Armenian Tradition* (SVTP 9; Leiden: Brill, 1991) 247–48. On this passage, see the commentary below.

¹⁷ A further, detailed discussion of this idea is to be found in the commentary on §10 below.

¹⁸ M. E. Stone, “Ideal Figures and Social Context: Priest and Sage in the Early Second Temple Age,” in *Ancient Israelite Religion: Studies in Honor of F. M. Cross* (ed. P. D. Miller et al.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987) 575–86, esp. 578–81; reprinted in Stone, *Essays*, 258–70.

stressed there, here a participatory aspect of wisdom is prominent. Levi wishes to be protected, pure, and endowed with wisdom so as to be able to participate in divine words and do true judgment for all time. This aspect of the priestly function in the third century BCE has not previously been noted.

9. The continuation of the story has been dealt with above: it is very fragmentary because of the character of the manuscript, to which there is no Greek parallel here in the Athos manuscript.

Thus the Prayer of Levi serves to show that *TPL* is not simply excerpting *ALD* in this section but is reworking and summarizing it, not always smoothly in its own context. Moreover, aspects of the religious worldview are here illustrated that are significant, particularly in its understanding of the levitical line.

It was observed by the writers in 1979 that two peculiarities of *ALD* indicate that it attributes a particularly central status to the figure of Levi and the levitical line. The first of these features was the transferal of Judah's royal blessing to Kohath, the founder of the high priestly line, which is clearly implied in the name midrash connecting Kohath with Gen 49:10, a blessing pronounced upon Judah. The second of these features was the use of the Qumran calendar and the setting of the birth of Levi's children on days and hours of particular significance according to that calendar.¹⁹ In addition, the special tradition of wisdom attributed to Levi was observed (*ALD* 88) which is in accord with the particular teaching role attributed to the priest in *ALD* 83–95 from which *TPL* 13:1–5 was derived.²⁰ "The circles responsible for Aramaic Levi laid a very strong emphasis on the instructional function of the priesthood and this aspect of the priesthood attracted sapiential motifs. This process was fully developed by the third century B.C.E. at the latest. As a result of it the figure of the ideal priest became imbued with features of the sage."²¹

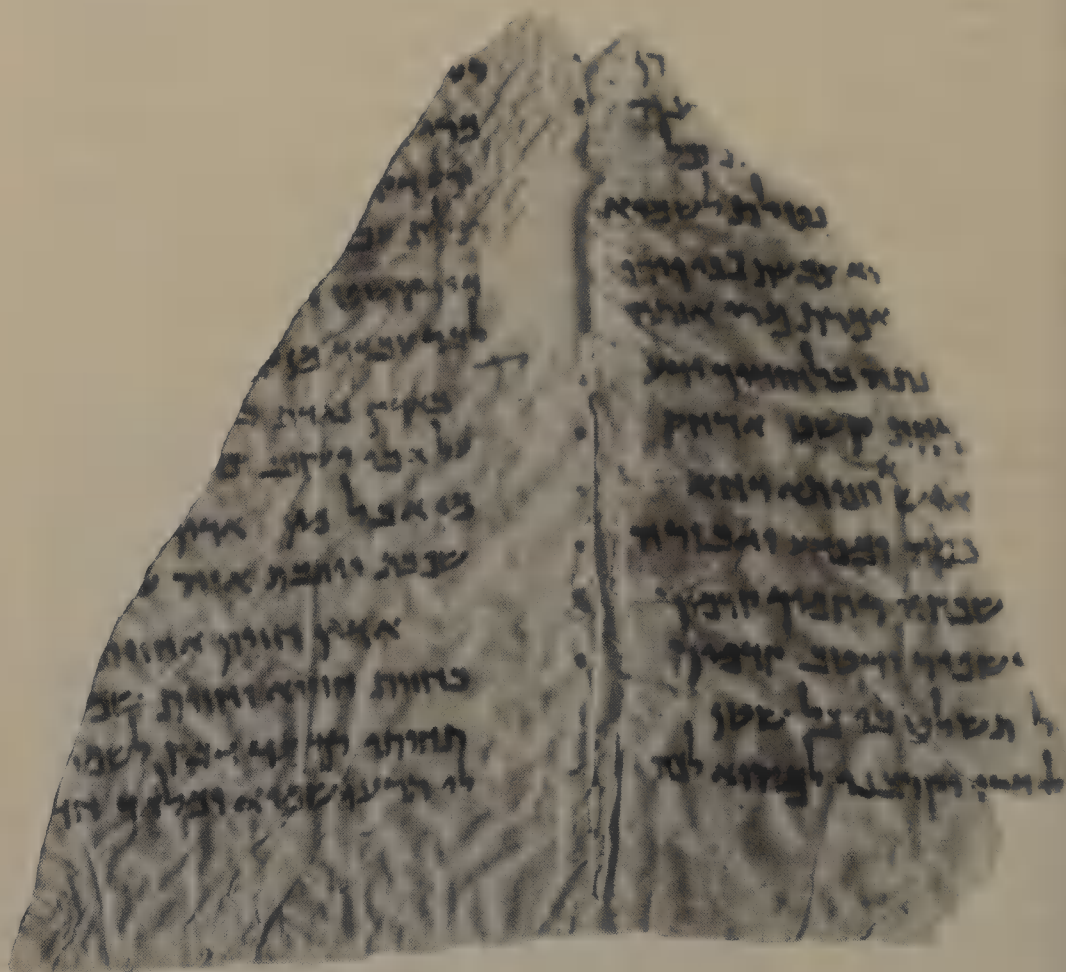
As well as being instructional in character (cf. Deut 33:10), priestly wisdom involved participation, in purity, in the divine words (*Prayer of Levi* 18). Hence we arrive at the idea, implied by the expression in Deuteronomy, that a major function of priestly wisdom is the ability to do true judgment for all time (cf. Solomon's prayer in 1 Kgs 3:7–9).

Certain other features of the levitical role as presented in *ALD* combine with these factors to enhance the importance of the levitical line, to stress its legitimacy, and to expand the areas of life and teaching over which Levi and the Levites have authority. In *ALD*, obviously, Levi is attributed a cultic

¹⁹ See Stone and Greenfield, "Remarks," 224–25; reprinted in Stone, *Essays*, 238–39. These two points were repeated in 1991, without attribution to the present writers, by E. Puech, "Le Testament de Qahat en araméen de la grotte 4 (4QTQah)," *RevQ* 57–58 (1991) 51–52.

²⁰ Stone and Greenfield, "Remarks," 226–27 (Stone, *Essays*, 240–41). The matter was discussed in greater detail by Stone, "Ideal Figures," 575–86 (Stone, *Essays*, 259–70). In particular note pp. 579–82.

²¹ Stone, *Essays*, 263–64.



4QPrayer of Levi
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 (with the permission of the
 Israel Antiquities Authority)

role, yet the stress laid on the transmission of cultic teaching and lore from the antediluvian Book of Noah (*ALD* 57), to Abraham (*ALD* 13, 50, 57) and then to Levi, sets the levitical priesthood in the sacerdotal line reaching back to Adam.²² The issue of the antediluvian priesthood will be discussed elsewhere in detail;²³ it is of significance to our discussion that levitical cultic authority and teaching are anchored in prior tradition and recognition by the patriarchs, and neither in Levi's consecration to the priesthood, which plays such a dominant role in *TPL*, nor in the Mosaic revelation. This concentrates in the levitical line the antique traditions of priesthood.

Thus, this cluster of material picks up biblical themes about Levi and aggrandizes them. Levi is not just dedicated to the cult; his cultic knowledge is of age-old origin; he learns his priestly role from Abraham; and his priestly function is recognized by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. He is not just anointed to priesthood, but has royal characteristics: 1QTLevi frag. 1 reads, alas incompletely, that "[t]he kingdom of priesthood is greater than the kingdom[." The development of Levi's sapiential and even judicial role was expounded in the preceding paragraph. It may be summarized by saying that he does not just "teach Jacob Torah" but becomes a central sapiential figure, instructing, teaching, and participating in divine wisdom. This remarkable concentration of themes in Levi presumably relates to and perhaps reacts against other views of the priestly, royal, and sapiential roles and their players in Judaism of the third century BCE. We lack the information, however, to sketch the social contexts in which such varied views may have been cultivated.

II. The Aramaic Text of The Prayer of Levi

Note that "lines" refers to lines of the 4Q manuscript, while "verses" or "§§" refers to sections according to the Greek text.

The Text of The Prayer of Levi

4QPrayer Column 1	lines
רן[	] 5
אנה[	] 6
אתרחע[ת וכל	] 7
נטלת לשמיה[	] 8

²² This contrasts strikingly with the treatment of the levitical priesthood in Hebrews 7. There the disjunction of the teaching of the levitical and the pre-levitical (Melchizedekian) priesthoods is stressed.

²³ Some aspects of the heavenly or primordial origin of temple and cult are discussed in M. E. Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature," in *Magnalia Dei* (ed. W. Lemke, P. D. Miller, and F. M. Cross; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976) 444-46 (*Essays*, 409-11).

[ואצבעת כפי וירי	] 9
[אמרת מרי אנתה	] 10
א[נתה בלחודיך ירע	] 11
[ארחת קשט ארחק	] 12
ב[אישאיונותא רחא	] 13
ח[כמה ומנדע וגבורה	] 14
לא[שכחה רחמיך קדמיך	] 15
[דשפיר ודטב קדמיך	] 16
ו[אל תשלט בי כל שטן	] 17
ע[לי מרי וקרבני למהוא לכה	] 18

Line 18: Note correction p.m. of the מ of למהוא.

Note that this fragment is made up of parts of two sheets joined by a sewing.

4QPrayer Column 2

lines

לע]	5
מרי ב[ומללת]	6
זרע דק[שט	7
צלות עב[דך למעבר]	8
דין קשט לכ[ל עלם	9
לכר עבדך מן ק[דמיך	10
בארין נגדת ב[	11
על אבי יעקוב וכד[י	12
מן אבל מין אדין]	13
שכבת ויתבת אנה ע[ל	14
אדין חזיון אחזית]	15
בחזית חזויא וחזית שמ[יא	16
תחותי רם עד דבק לשמי[א	17
לי תרעי שמיא ומלאך חד[	18

Line 11: Marginal mark of new section precedes, and the first letter is indented.

Line 12: The ו of וכד[י is rubbed, but can clearly be read.

Line 16: Milik reads חזויא but חזויא seems clear.

Possible Reconstruction of the Prayer of Levi

In the reconstruction, which is in any case speculative, we have omitted the supra-literal markings indicated in the diplomatic edition above.

Column 1	verses
[אדין עיני ואנפין] נטלת לשמיא [יפומי פתחת ומללת].	3
ואצבעת כפי וידי [אושטת בקושטא קדם קדישיא וצלית ו] אמרת.	4
מרי אנתה [ידעת כל לבביא	5
וכל רעיוניא א]נתה בלחודיך [ידע:	
[וכען בני קדמי	6
הב לי כל [ארחת קשט	
ארחק [מני מרי רוח עויה	7
ורעיוני ב]איש[ת]א וזנותא דחא [מני:	
אחזוני מרי רוח קודשא עמה	8
ח]במה ומנדע וגבורה [הב לי	
בה למעבר דשפיר קדמיך	9
[ולא]שכחה רחמי <ן> קדמיך	
וטב קדמיך [לשכחה מלליך עמי מרי]	
[. . .] דשפיר	
ו]אל תשלט בי כל שטן	10
[לאטעני מן ארחך]	
[ורחם ע]לי מרי וקרבני	11
למהוא לכה [עבד:	

Column 2	verses
[אל תפנה אנפין	15
מן בר עבדך יעקב:	
אנתה] מרי ב]רכת לאברהם אבי ולשרה אמי	
ומללת דתיהב להן]	16
זרע דק]שט בריך לעלם:	
ואף שמע לקל] צלות עב]דך לוי	17
למהוא קריב לך	
...	18
למעבד] דין קשט ל]כל עלם	
...	
ואל תעדי]לבר עבדך מן ק]דם אנפך כל ימי עלם.	19
וחשית בבעותי	

Greek Text

1. τότε ἐγὼ ἔπλυνα τὰ ἱμάτιά μου, καὶ καθάρισας αὐτὰ ἐν ὕδατι καθαρῷ
2. καὶ ὅλος ἐλουσάμην ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι· καὶ πάσας τὰς ὁδοὺς μου ἐποίησα εὐθείας.
3. τότε τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου καὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἦρα πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ τὸ στόμα μου ἤνοιξα καὶ ἐλάλησα,
4. καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους τῶν χειρῶν μου καὶ τὰς χεῖράς μου ἀνεπέτασα εἰς ἀλήθειαν κατέναντι τῶν ἁγίων. καὶ ἠϋξάμην καὶ εἶπα·
5. Κύριε, γινώσκεις πάσας τὰς καρδίας, καὶ πάντας τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς ἐννοίων σὺ μόνος ἐπίστασαι.
6. καὶ νῦν τέχνα μου μετ' ἐμοῦ. καὶ δός μοι πάσας ὁδοὺς ἀληθείας·
7. μάκρυνον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, κύριε, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄδικον καὶ διαλογισμὸν τὸν πονηρὸν (manuscript διαλογισμῶν τῶν πονηρῶν) καὶ πορνείαν, καὶ ὕβριν ἀπόστρεφον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.
8. δειχθήτω μοι, δέσποτα, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ βουλὴν καὶ σοφίαν καὶ γνῶσιν καὶ ἰσχὺν δός μοι.
9. ποιῆσαι τὰ (manuscript τό) ἀρέσκοντά σοι καὶ εὐρεῖν χάριν ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ αἰνεῖν τοὺς λόγους σου μετ' ἐμοῦ, κύριε·
10. καὶ μὴ κατισχυάτω με πᾶς σατανᾶς πλανῆσαί με ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ σου.
11. καὶ ἐλέησόν με καὶ προσάγαγέ με εἰναί σου δοῦλος καὶ λατρεῦσαί σοι καλῶς.
12. τεῖχος εἰρήνης σου γένεσθαι κύκλῳ μου, καὶ σκέπη σου τῆς δυναστείας σκεπασάτω με ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ.
13. παραδοὺς διὸ δὴ καὶ τὴν ἀνομίαν ἐξάλειψον ὑποκάτωθεν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ συντελέσαι τὴν ἀνομίαν ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς.
14. καθάρισον τὴν καρδίαν μου, δέσποτα, ἀπὸ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας, καὶ προσάρωμαί πρὸς σε αὐτός.
15. καὶ μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ παιδός σου Ἰακώβ. σὺ, κύριε, εὐλόγησας τὸν Ἀβραάμ πατέρα μου καὶ Σάρραν μητέρα μου,
16. καὶ εἶπας δοῦναι αὐτοῖς σπέρμα δίκαιον εὐλογημένον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
17. εἰσάκουσον δὲ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ παιδός σου Λευὶ γενέσθαι σοι ἐγγύς,
18. καὶ μέτοχον ποιήσον τοῖς λόγοις σου ποιεῖν κρίσιν ἀληθινὴν εἰς πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα, ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱούς μου εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τῶν αἰώνων·
19. καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσῃς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ παιδός σου ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ αἰῶνος. καὶ ἐσιώπα ἔτι δεόμενος.

Translation

lines

4QTLevi^a Column 1

4

5

]this

6

]I

Greek and 4QTL^{evia}4QTL^{evia} Column 1

<i>verses</i>		<i>lines</i>
*1	Then I laundered my garments and having purified them with pure water,	6
*2	I also [washed] my whole self in living water, and I made all my paths upright.	7
*3	Then I lifted up my eyes and my countenance to heaven, and I opened my mouth and spoke.	8
*4	And I stretched out the fingers of my hands and my hands [] for truth over against (toward) the holy ones, And I prayed and said	9 10
*5	O Lord, you know all hearts, And you alone understand all the thoughts of minds.	11
*6	And now my children are with me, And grant me all the paths of truth.	12
*7	Make far from me, O Lord, the unrighteous spirit, and evil thought and fornication, and turn pride away from me.	13
*8	Let there be shown to me, O Lord, the holy spirit, and counsel, and wisdom and knowledge and grant me strength,	14
*9	in order to do that which is pleasing to you and find favor before you, and to praise your words with me, O Lord. ... And that which is pleasant and good before you.	15 16
*10	And let not any satan have power over me, to make me stray from your path.	17
*11	And have mercy upon me and bring me forward, to be your servant and to minister well to you.	18
*12	so that wall of your peace is around me, and let the shelter of your power shelter me from every evil.	
*13.	Wherefore, giving over even lawlessness, wipe it out from under the heaven, and end lawlessness from the face of the earth.	
*14	Purify my heart, Lord, from all impurity, and let me, myself, be raised to you.	

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------|
| *15 | And turn not your countenance aside
from the son of your servant Jacob. | column 2 |
| | [|] 5 |
| | You, O Lord , blessed Abraham my father
and Sarah my mother. | 6 |
| *16 | And you said (that you would) give them a
righteous seed
blessed for ever. | 7 |
| *17 | Hearken also to the voice of your servant
Levi to be close to you, | 8 |
| *18 | And make (me) a participant in your words,
to do true judgment for all time ,
me and my children
for all the generations of the ages. | 9 |
| *19 | And do not remove the son of your servant
from your countenance all the days of the world.
And I became silent still continuing to pray. | 10 |

4QTLevi^a column 2 (continued)

lines

- 11 Then I continued on[
12 to my father Jacob and . . . [
13 from Abel-Mayin. Then[
14 I lay down and I remained[
14 Then I was shown visions[
16 In the vision of a vision and I saw the heaven[s
17 beneath me, high until it reached to the heaven[s
18 to me the gates of heaven, and an angel[

Commentary

Greek §2

Levi here washes his clothes ἐν ὕδατι καθαρῶ and himself ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι. In *TPL* 8:5 he is washed ὕδατι καθαρῶ. Philo says that the high priest is washed ὕδατι πηγῆς καθαρωτάτῳ καὶ ζωτικωτάτῳ (*Vita Mosis* 2.143). The expression מים טהורים occurs only in Ezek 36:25, in a context that is not directly cultic.

Greek §3

The word ἐλάλησα, "and spoke," seems superfluous in view of the phrase ἡῤῥάμην καὶ εἶπα, "I prayed and said," at the end of §4.

4QTLevi^a col. 1 line 9 (= §4)

כפי. Aramaic, literally, "my palms." There seems to be a doubling of the idea of lifting up the hands in prayer in the forms of text preserved in both

Aramaic and Greek. In the translation we show our assumption that, as is evident from the poetic structure, a verb has been lost from the first colon and the remaining words run together. In the LXX, Greek χεῖρ sometimes renders Hebrew כַּף, the cognate of the Aramaic here. In 11QPs^a 24:3–7 = Syriac Psalm 3:3–4 we read: למעון קדשכה פרשתי כפי, “I spread out my palms toward your holy dwelling.” This might be taken to imply that τῶν ἁγίων here derives from a Semitic like קדשין or קדושין.²⁴ Nonetheless, the exact sense of “holy ones” or “holy things” remains enigmatic.

4QTL^{Levi}^a col. 1 line 10 (= §5 reconstruction)

רעיוניא. See the Theodotion text of Daniel 2:29, 30; 4:16 etc. However, the Greek here is εὐωσων and the reconstruction of this word must be regarded as completely speculative.

4QTL^{Levi}^a col. 1 line 12 (= §6)

ארחת. It is not certain from the form whether this word is singular or plural. Note the use of “ways” or “paths,” which, combined with the two spirits ideas in this passage, might provide a background upon which the *duo viae* ideas developed. The terminology of “ways” recurs in §10.

4QTL^{Levi}^a col. 1 line 12 (= §7)

קדמי. The original here is doubtful. Observe that the Aramaic manuscript has nothing corresponding to Greek ὕβρις, “pride,” and we have omitted it in our reconstruction. Note somewhat similar phraseology in *Testament of Dan* 5:6.

4QTL^{Levi}^a col. 1 line 14 (= §8)

אחויני in the reconstruction seems plausible on the grounds of the Aramaic, even though the Greek has a third person singular passive imperative δεῖχθήτω, “let there be shown to me.”

ח.כמה ומנרע וגבורה. These terms are presumably derived from Isa 11:2, which reads “רוח ה' רוח חכמה וכינה רוח עצה וגבורה רוח דעת ויראת ה'.” The expression τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ σοφὸν corresponds to “רוח ה'.” In Isa 11:2 all the positive terms found here are listed, and some further ones, and a similar accumulation of positive language may be observed in 1QS 4:3–4. The negative language here differs from that in 1QS and no clear instance showing this type of contrasting language was found elsewhere. Compare Dan 5:14 and P. A. Munch in *Or* 13 (1935) 234–53. This section, some aspects of which are discussed above in the introductory remarks, is composed in balanced prose like parts of 1QS, such as the Discourse on the Two Spirits (1QS 3:13–4:26).

4QTL^{Levi}^a col. 1 line 15 (= §9)

רחמי >ן. The text of the Qumran fragment, רחמיך here is emended according to the Greek.

²⁴ Note that the Syriac of this Psalm reads *lmedyārē dqudsāk*, “to your holy habitations,” which might point to a reading like קדשין.

§9

The phrase καὶ αἰνεῖν τοὺς λόγους σου μετ' ἐμοῦ, κύριε is not preserved in Aramaic. It can be compared with 11QPs^a Plea for Deliverance 19:16–17, where, following a passage on the two spirits, we read: כי אתה ה' שכחי. The expression μετ' ἐμοῦ is a little difficult here.

4QTL^{Levi} col. 1 line 16 (= §9)

Since the parallel material in §9 of the Greek shows nothing corresponding to the words רשפיר וטב קרמיך, it seems likely that a whole stich has fallen out by homoeoteleuton either at the level of the Aramaic *Vorlage* of the Greek or in the Greek itself (קרמיך – קרמיך or Greek ἐνώπιόν σου – ἐνώπιόν σου). Alternatively, considering the similarity of these two Aramaic phrases, a doublet may have arisen in the *Vorlage* of the Aramaic text preserved at Qumran.

4QTL^{Levi} col. 1 line 17 (= §10)

“let not any satan have power over me.” This implies the idea that demons were a threat. The same view is implied also, it seems, by §12, “let the wall of your peace be around me, and let the shelter of your power shelter me from every evil,” with which compare the prayer for protection in 11QPs^a 24:12 (Syriac Psalm 3). There is a close parallel between the Aramaic expression in §10 and the Hebrew 11QPlea for Deliverance, lines 15–16: אל תשלט בי שטן, “Let not Satan (a satan) have power over me.” Here, apparently, שטן is the name of a type or class of evil spirit, and not of Satan. While 11QPlea of Deliverance might be taken to be ambiguous in this respect, *ALD* seems unambiguous.²⁵ The expression כל שטן, “any satan,” would be impossible if שטן were a proper noun. This view is strengthened by other similar expressions in Qumran texts such as 1QH frag. 4: תנער ככול שטן משחית, “you will rebuke every destructive satan,” and 1QH frag. 45: ים כול שטן ומשחית, “. . . every satan and destructive (i.e. spirit).”²⁶ It follows from the usage in 1QH and in *ALD* that the use of “satan” with the distributive implies more than one, meaning that “satan” is a category of evil spirit and not a proper name.²⁷ The expression “wall of peace” in §12 should be compared with 1QH

²⁵ The reverse of the concept in *ALD* may be observed in *TPDan* 5:6: “For I have read in the book of Enoch, the righteous one, that your prince is Satan and that all the spirits of impurity and arrogance will obey Levi to attend upon the sons of Levi to make them sin before the Lord.” Clearly the attitude to Levi is quite different in this document.

²⁶ It is likely that the same usage is to be found in the fragmentary text in 1QSb line 8: כל שטן]. D. Flusser suggests that this is based on Zech 3:2 (D. Flusser, “Qumrân and Jewish ‘Apotropaic’ Prayers,” *IEJ* 16.3 [1966], 194–205, esp. p. 197 [reprinted in his *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988) 194–203]). The root נער seems to have a technical use in this context; cf. already Zech 3:2.

²⁷ In light of these considerations, the usage in 11QPlea of Deliverance, which reads in full as follows, should be taken as referring to a satan as a class of evil spirit: אל תשלט בי שטן ורוח, “Let not a satan rule over me, nor an unclean spirit; neither let pain nor an evil inclination take possession of my bones.” Observe that J. A. Sanders translates

9:33 משמר שלומך, “your guarding of peace.” A similar combination of expressions occurs in the Jewish evening prayer השכיבנו, from which we cite a number of phrases: ופרש עלינו סכת שלומך, “and spread over us the tabernacle of your peace”; והגן בעדנו והסר מעלינו אויב . . . והסר שטן מלפנינו ומאחרינו, “and protect us and remove from us enemies . . . and remove satan from before us and from after us.”

The similarity between 11QPlea for Deliverance and *ALD* at this point was already pointed out by D. Flusser in 1966.²⁸ He regards both *ALD* and 11QPlea for Deliverance as reflecting a common interpretation of Ps 119:133b ואל תשלט בי כל און, “Let no iniquity rule over me” in which “satan” is substituted for “iniquity.” He notes similar expressions in the Jewish liturgy, ואל תשלט בנו יצר הרע, “let the evil inclination not rule over us” (morning service); וישלט בי יצר טוב ואל ישלט בי יצר הרע, “and let the good inclination rule over me, and let the evil inclination not rule over me” (prayer before retiring at night); . . . שתצילני מפגע רע מיצר רע ומשטן המשחית, “deliver me . . . from mishap and from the evil inclination and from the destructive Satan” (Rabbi Judah’s prayer). The similarity with the Qumran expressions is striking.

T. H. Gaster maintains that “the name [i.e., Satan] is applied in three [biblical] passages (all post-exilic) to a super-human being, but in each case it is simply an appellative, not a proper name—i.e. it merely defines the role which the being in question happens to play in a particular situation.”²⁹ The passages he refers to are Job 1–2; Zech 3:1–2; and 1 Chr 21:1. It is notable that while in Job and Zechariah reference is made to השטן, “the accuser,” indicating that a role is implied, in 1 Chr 21:1, שטן without the definite article is to be found. This word corresponds to אף ה’ in the parallel passage in 2 Sam 24:1 and, as Gaster remarks, the term “is simply a common noun (i.e., “a satan”) denoting a spirit . . . who happened on that particular occasion to act with untoward effect.”³⁰ The same usage of satan is to be observed in 1 *Enoch* 65:6: “for they have learnt all the secrets of the angels, and all the wrongdoing of the satans, and all their secret power”³¹ and a similar usage is also to be observed in 1 *Enoch* 40:7. The use of “satan” as a class of demon

“Satan” (*The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave II* [DJD 4; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965] 78). For this verse, see J. C. Greenfield, “Two Notes on the Apocryphal Psalms,” in “*Sha’arei Talmon*” *Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. M. Fishbane et al.; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992) 309–14. The use of “satan” in the specific sense may be observed in *TPDan* 5:6, referring to Satan as the prince of the tribe of Dan; see n. 25 above.

²⁸ Flusser, “Qumrân and Jewish ‘Apotropaic’ Prayers,” 194–204. In addition to the point about the satans, made on pp. 196–99, he discusses the petition for the spirit, on pp. 195–96.

²⁹ T. H. Gaster, s.v. “Satan” in *The Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible* (Nashville and New York: Abingdon, 1962) 4. 224.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 225.

³¹ Cited from M. A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978) 2. 154.

is also to be observed on a Syriac magical bowl, published by S. Shaked and J. Naveh, which refers to "all the mighty Satans, all the mighty Liliths."³²

It would seem, therefore, that this is the earliest occurrence of this meaning of the word "satan," which is already foreshadowed in 2 Chr 21:1. Moreover, the formulas remarked upon here clearly stand toward the head of the line of development of Jewish apotropaic prayers.

4QTL^{Levi} col. 1 line 18 (= §11)

The word מרי is not found in Greek. The word לכה is a Hebraism.

Greek only §12

The lines in this verse seem excessively long in view of the parallel structure of the rest of this prayer.

Greek only §12

σαεπασάτω. This is perhaps a corruption in Semitic יסוכני/יסוכבני.

Greek only §15

The expression perhaps comes from 2 Chr 30:19, יסיר פנים, which in Greek is almost identical with here αὐτὸ ἀποστρέψει τὸν πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ.

4QTL^{Levi} col. 2 line 5 (= §15)

The surviving letters לען do not seem to correspond to anything in Greek. J. A. Fitzmyer reconstructs as לעיניך but the basis for this is unclear. The surviving Aramaic letters, although they cannot be translated, indicate that at least one hemistich was lost from the Greek text here.

4QTL^{Levi} col. 2 line 8 (= §17)

The Greek has here τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ παίδος σου, where the Aramaic has צלות עבךך. Since φωνή does not usually translate צלות on its own, perhaps we should reconstruct here קל צלות in the original.

4QTL^{Levi} col. 2 line 9 (= §18)

The Greek εἰς πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα has been rendered by Aramaic לכל עלם, but that is an unusual expression.

Greek only §19

καὶ ἐσιώπησα ἔτι δεόμενος. Compare with *Genesis Apocryphon* 20:16, where, of Abraham after prayer, it says, בכית וחשית. Presumably Levi continues in silent prayer: contrast Dan 9:20–21, where emphasis is put upon speech in prayer. A silent prayer is also described in 1 Sam 1:13. Our Aramaic reconstruction should be regarded as indicative only, attempting to capture the aspectual dimension of the Greek verbs.

³² We have followed their translation in capitalizing the word "Satans," though clearly a small letter would be preferable. See J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magical Bowls* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1985) 125. In Syriac incantation texts *sātānē* ("satans") is used together with other terms for various sorts of demons while in Mandaic texts *saṭania biṣia* ("wicked satans") is common.

4QTL^{Levi}a col. 2 line 10 (= §19)

De Jonge points out that *TPL* 4:2 refers to prayer. See the full discussion of this in the introductory remarks above.

4QTL^{Levi}a col. 2 line 11

From this point on, the text of the Qumran fragment has no parallel in Greek. There are no accepted verse numbers for this part of the prayer.

4QTL^{Levi}a col. 2 line 13

In *TPL* 3:5 the place Abel Maul is mentioned, at which place Levi received a vision and offered a prayer. Abel Maul (i.e., אַבֶּל מַחוּלָה) is a known biblical site; see Judg 7:22; 1 Kgs 4:12; 19:16. It is in the mountains of Ephraim. Here Abel Mayin = Abel Mayim = Abel Beth Maacah is referred to; see 1 Kgs 15:26; 2 Chr 16:4.³³

4QLevi^a col. 2 line 14

יָהּ. The sense could be “sat up,” that is, after vision, or alternatively “remained” or “settled.” Lacking context a determination is difficult.

4QTL^{Levi}a col. 2 line 15

אָחִיית probably should be taken as a passive 'aphel form of the root חָיָה.

4QTL^{Levi}a col. 2 line 16

Milik reconstitutes lines 16–18 as:

... וְחִיית שְׁמַיָּא פְּתִיחִין וְחִיית טוֹרָא
תְּחִיתִי רֵם עַד דְּבַק לְשְׁמַיָּא וְחִיית כְּהָ וְאַתְּפַתְחוּ
לִי תְּרַעֵי שְׁמַיָּא מְלַאךְ חַד] אָמַר לִי ...

This is of course highly speculative and is chiefly based on an extrapolation from the text of *TPL* 2:4–5. In Hollander and de Jonge's translation that passage reads:

And I felt grief for the race of the sons of men
and I prayed to the Lord that I might be saved.
Then a sleep fell upon me
and I beheld a high mountain
(that was the mountain of the shield in Abelmaul).

The relationship between the texts seems to us to be too complex for an exact reconstruction to be ventured, although the general character of the contents is clear. It should be observed that, as far as can be discerned from the Aramaic fragments, the identification of the mountain as “Aspis” = “shield” (= “Sirion” by popular etymology) is missing. This reading is also missing from the so-called “non-α” Greek manuscripts, which is taken by Milik as a sign of their priority in this respect.³⁴

³³ See G. W. E. Nickelsburg, “Enoch, Levi and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee,” *JBL* 100 (1981) 575–600; de Jonge, *Studies*, 247–60; Milik, “Testament de Lévi,” 403–5; idem, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976) 196 in reconstructed text.

³⁴ Milik, “Testament de Lévi,” 404. Compare the comments of de Jonge, “Notes,” 135–36.

4QTLevi^a col. 2 line 17

רם. Is this a verb or an adjective?

4QTLevi^a col. 2 line 18

For the expression "gates of heavens," compare *TPL* 5:1.

The *Testament of Levi* has been a prime matter of scholarly interest to the writers for quite a few years. We have prepared an edition of the Aramaic texts from the Cairo Geniza and a study of its contents, but hesitated to publish it without having access to the Qumran texts. Now that we have been entrusted with the edition of the Qumran materials we will be able to complete our study of the Geniza material in the near future. The proposed book will appear in the series *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha*. We hope to publish the Qumran fragments in a series of articles, to appear finally in the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* series.

MISHNA AND MESSIAH "IN CONTEXT": SOME COMMENTS ON JACOB NEUSNER'S PROPOSALS

CRAIG A. EVANS

Trinity Western University, 7600 Glover Rd., Langley, BC, Canada V3A 6H4

In recent studies Jacob Neusner has argued that the Mishna should be understood as philosophy.¹ This understanding is of interest for the present essay because of its implication for understanding the place and function of the messiah concept in early Judaism and, by virtue of kinship, in early Christianity. The essay will begin with a brief review of the form and function of the Mishna. The balance of the discussion will then be given over to an assessment of Neusner's recent conclusions regarding Jewish messianic ideas.

I. The Mishna: What Is It, Who Wrote It, and Why?

The Mishna is a compilation of rabbinic laws from the tannaitic period (roughly the first two centuries CE). The themes of the Mishna are organized into six major divisions (i.e., *sēdārîm*, "orders"), each containing several tractates (*massektôt*). Rabbi Aqiba and his pupils were the most influential contributors to the mishnaic corpus, especially at Usha (ca. 150 CE), in the aftermath of the defeat of Bar Kokhba in 135 CE, apparently the year that Aqiba was martyred. The Mishna was edited and published under the direction of Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi (ca. 200-220 CE). The Tosepta, something of a supplement to the Mishna, was probably published a generation or two later. The Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds are made up of Mishna (and Tosepta) plus interpretive expansions called Gemara (from the Hebrew word *gāmar*, "to complete"). The Palestinian Talmud was completed ca. 400-425 CE and the Babylonian ca. 500-550 CE.

Everyone, of course, knows these things.² But what interpretation has Jacob Neusner given to them? He regards the Mishna (and the Tosepta, Mishna's

¹ E.g., J. Neusner, *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishnah* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1981). See also Neusner's *Judaism as Philosophy: The Method and Message of the Mishnah* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991).

² See the essays by A. Goldberg and M. B. Lerner in *The Literature of the Sages. First Part: Oral Tora, Halakha, Mishna, Tosefta, Talmud, External Tractates* (ed. S. Safrai; CRINT 2.3; Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987) 211-409. Neusner himself dates the Tosepta and the Babylonian Talmud a bit later.

extension) as the "foundational document" of Judaism.³ He believes that this foundational document constitutes a philosophy⁴ and complete worldview: "The people who have given us this document clearly propose to tell us about their view of the world as they see it or as they want to see it."⁵ He accordingly refers to Mishna's contributors as "philosophers," "lawyer-philosophers," "philosopher-lawyers," or "philosophical jurists."⁶ Because there is little historical content in the Mishna, Neusner concludes that its philosophical outlook is ahistorical, even antihistorical. Because there is little prophetic and apocalyptic content, he concludes that the worldview of the philosophers of the Mishna, perhaps in reaction to the Bar Kokhba catastrophe, held little interest in eschatology or messianology. The philosophy of the Mishna represents a worldview that is different from, perhaps even opposed to, the more popular worldview as expressed in works such as 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch.⁷

A few perceptive reviewers have detected a number of serious problems in Neusner's interpretation. For our purposes the two most significant problems concern genre and the argument from silence. Let us consider them.

Genre. In a recent publication E. P. Sanders offers trenchant criticism of Neusner's proposal that the Mishna is a *philosophy* and as such represents a complete system.⁸ He rightly points out, contrary to Neusner, that the Mishna is a "collection of legal debates and opinions";⁹ it is not a worldview, a philosophy of history, or an apocalypse. The frequency of the present tense, which Neusner finds remarkable,¹⁰ says nothing about a worldview that is not interested in the past or the future; it is simply the tense normally used in legal material.¹¹ Since Mishna's concern is primarily legal (i.e., how to obey the commandments of Torah), one should expect to find in it little historical narrative and little eschatology.

³ J. Neusner, *Messiah in Context: Israel's History and Destiny in Formative Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) 23: "... the Mishnah constitutes the foundation document of Judaism." Neusner calls *Pirke 'Abot* and the Tosepta, in relation to the Mishna, "documents of succession" (*Messiah*, 42-74).

⁴ Neusner, *Evidence of the Mishnah*, 44.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 15, 24, 230, 237; see also J. Neusner, *The Oral Torah: The Sacred Books of Judaism* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1986) 21: "... the Mishnah consists of a coherent worldview and comprehensive way of living."

⁶ Neusner, *Messiah*, 16, 18, 41, 75. On pp. 30 and 32 (and a few times elsewhere) Neusner calls Mishna's framers "lawyers" and "jurisprudents." Of all the epithets, these are the most accurate.

⁷ Neusner, *Evidence of the Mishnah*, 25-44; *Messiah*, 231: "The Mishnah, then, proposed to build an Israelite worldview and way of life that ignored the immediate apocalyptic and historical tenors of the age."

⁸ E. P. Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah* (London: SCM; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990) 309-31.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 314.

¹⁰ Neusner, *Evidence of the Mishnah*, 236: "There is room only for a description of how things are: the present tense, the sequence of completed statements and static problems."

¹¹ Sanders, *Jewish Law*, 315; D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (London: Athlone, 1956) 90-97 (cited by Sanders).

Argument from Silence. The mistake regarding the genre of the Mishna leads to a series of errors, mostly revolving around an improper use of the argument from silence. In essence, Neusner thinks that because the Mishna is a philosophy, a worldview—and a complete one at that—what is not in it was not of importance to its “philosophers.” In fact, what is not in the Mishna is as revealing as what is.¹²

The inferences that are made from silence are curious indeed—all the more so, since the Mishna is not in fact silent about many of the things about which Neusner says it is silent. There are at least four such inferences that are worthy of comment:

(1) *History.* According to Neusner, “The Mishnah’s framers’ deepest yearning is not for historical change but for ahistorical stasis.”¹³ The framers of the Mishna not only do not want historical change; they are not even interested in history. Indeed, the philosophers of Mishna deliberately ignored history. “Their judgment was that nothing of worth had happened from the time of Moses to their own day.”¹⁴ Neusner gives us a pretty good idea of what he thinks the Mishna is: “. . . a vast and influential document [which] presented a kind of Judaism in which history did not define the main framework by which the issue of teleology took a form other than the familiar eschatological one and in which historical events were absorbed . . . into an ahistorical system.”¹⁵ Not surprisingly, then, Neusner finds that the Mishna has neglected the whole corpus of the historical writings of scripture.¹⁶

How one can legitimately infer what the “deepest yearning” of Mishna’s framers was, whether for ahistorical stasis or something else, Neusner does not explain. Because the historical writings have been neglected, he thinks that history held no interest for these people. But has the Mishna neglected the historical writings? It does not appear so. In the Mishna the historical writings are cited some three dozen times. In the Tosepta—Mishna’s extension—the historical writings are cited nearly two hundred times. Although most of these citations serve to clarify this legal opinion or that, a few seem to be genuinely concerned with historical matters. Often the framers of the Mishna draw moral lessons from history: poor ones in the cases of Samson and Absalom (*m. Soṭa* 1:8; cf. *Judg* 16:21; *2 Sam* 18:15); good ones in the cases of Miriam and Joseph (*m. Soṭa* 1:9; cf. *Num* 12:15; *Gen* 50:7, 9). The virtue of Moses

¹² Neusner, *Evidence of the Mishnah*, 37: “. . . how remarkable is the Mishna’s utter silence on those tremendous issues of suffering and atonement, catastrophe and apocalypse, expressed [in writings like *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*].”

¹³ *Ibid.*, 27; cf. 136, 144.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 170. See also Neusner, *The Oral Torah*, 28: “. . . the Mishnah refers to nothing prior to itself . . . from the Mishnah back to the revelation of God to Moses at Sinai, in the view of the Mishnah, there lies a vast desert.”

¹⁵ Neusner, *Messiah*, 18.

¹⁶ Neusner, *Evidence of the Mishnah*, 169.

led many to virtue (*m. 'Abot* 5:18; cf. Deut 33:21), while the sin of Jeroboam led many to sin (*m. 'Abot* 5:18; cf. 1 Kgs 15:30). Neusner, of course, is well aware of these examples. On occasion he is willing to admit that there is present in the Mishna "a subtle and reflective doctrine of history."¹⁷ Given the fact that the Mishna is really a collection of legal opinions and not a philosophical worldview, I should think that the presence of any doctrine of history, however subtle and reflective, is more than what one has a right to expect.

But where in the Mishna is this doctrine of history found? It is found, according to Neusner, in only one place, in a statement attributed to Pinhas ben Yair:

Heedfulness leads to [hygienic] cleanliness, [hygienic] cleanliness leads to [cultic] cleanness, [cultic] cleanness leads to abstinence, abstinence leads to holiness, holiness leads to piety, piety leads to the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit leads to the resurrection of the dead, and the resurrection of the dead comes through Elijah, blessed be his memory. Amen.¹⁸

This statement comes at the conclusion of *m. Soṭa* 9:9–15, a passage which Neusner quotes at length and discusses.¹⁹ According to Neusner, "If the Mishnah's pages contain a view of history . . . , it is in this brief statement of Pinhas, and here alone."²⁰ I find it interesting that Neusner thinks that it is in this statement that we find a "view of history." On the contrary, it reads more like a view of personal sanctification that will result in salvation. In my judgment, the view of history is found mostly in what precedes Pinhas's pious confession. *Soṭa* 9:9–15 offers an interpretive, even homiletical, description of a dismal history of decline and cultic disintegration. Five times reference is made to the destruction of the Herodian Temple. Reference is made to the cessation of the Sanhedrin and various other rituals and celebrations because of the two wars with Rome. Reference is made to the deaths of some of early Judaism's greatest sages and holy men. The decline seems to reach its nadir with reference to the disintegration of the family, which is a sign of the approach of the Messiah.

In light of this grim and depressing picture, what are the faithful to do? They are to rely on their "Father in heaven" (*m. Soṭa* 9:15). They are also, as Pinhas ben Yair enjoins, to remain faithful and pious. Pinhas ben Yair's injunction is not in itself a doctrine of history but a pious response in the light of history. *Soṭa* 9:9–15 is not a denial of history, but an interpretation of and response to it. (More will be said on this passage below.)

¹⁷ Neusner, *Messiah*, 41.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 26–31; Neusner, "Mishnah and Messiah," in *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (ed. J. Neusner et al.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 265–82, esp. 270–75.

²⁰ Neusner, *Messiah*, 29–30.

Even more revealing is Tosepta's supplement, which runs from *t. Soṭa* 10:1 to 15:15 (from 13:2 on, Tosepta overlaps with Mishna). The framers of the Tosepta have expanded the century or so of history recounted in the Mishna. Tosepta's version begins with Noah, the Bible's first truly righteous man (*t. Soṭa* 10:2). It goes on to speak of Methuselah (10:3), Abraham (10:5–6), Isaac (10:6), Jacob (10:7), Joseph (10:8–10), Miriam (11:1, 8), Aaron (11:1, 8), Moses (11:2–8), Joshua (11:7, 10), Samuel (11:11–12), and David (11:14–15), all righteous persons after whose deaths, in some cases, certain benefits ceased. The survey continues with the kings of the divided kingdom (12:1–4), with Elijah and Elisha, with whom the Holy Spirit was present (12:5–6). The next section speaks of the first Temple, its utensils, and contents (13:1). (From here on, the survey begins to take on the negative air that we find in Mishna's version.) When this "first Temple was destroyed, the kingship was removed from the House of David" (13:2). When Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi died, "the Holy Spirit came to an end in Israel" (13:3). Following the deaths of various great rabbis (such as Hillel the Elder, Samuel the Small, Simeon the Righteous) woes are pronounced, including a grim prophecy of death, captivity, and "great disaster" (13:3–4). During righteous Simeon's life good things happened, such as the death of Caligula and the annulment of his decree to place his image in the Temple (13:6). But after his death the "Western lamp" went out, the flame of the altar grew weak, the Show Bread was no longer blessed, and the people were no longer blessed with the pronouncement of the Divine Name (13:7–8). From here on, cultic practices were confused, profaned, and discontinued. Although Tosepta's description parallels that found in the Mishna, it is more critical of the priesthood. It speaks of unfair judgment (14:4, 7), bribery (14:5), and theft of tithes [by the ruling priests] (14:6). Most of the remainder of the passage parallels what is found in the Mishna.

Twice the framers of the Tosepta quite appropriately add the comment: "And the whole kingdom went rotten, declining more and more" (14:7). (That the "whole kingdom" refers to Israel, rather than to Rome, is seen by the quotations of Judg 17:6 and Deut 15:9, passages that speak of Israelites treating Israelites unjustly.) This comment succinctly summarizes the whole of the historical survey. Since the glorious days of the patriarchs and the united kingdom under David and his son Solomon, "the whole kingdom went rotten, declining more and more." Surely we have here a "doctrine of history."

Tosepta's conclusion is not identical to that of the Mishna. Whereas the latter concluded with Pinhas ben Yair's admonition to faith and piety, in hope of the resurrection, the Tosepta, perhaps reflecting the perspective of its framers who were another two or more generations removed from the disasters of the first and second centuries, permits Israel to enjoy life, but not to forget Jerusalem (15:6–15). Although "to mourn too much is not possible" (15:12) and calamities must result in the annulment of "some form of rejoicing" (15:6), the celebrations and joys of life may continue, as long as there are tokens in memory of Jerusalem (15:12–14). But in the final analysis, Tosepta's conclusion

is not significantly different from Mishna's: The person who remembers and mourns for Jerusalem "in this world will rejoice with her in the world to come" (15:15). This is Tosepta's response to a dismal history of decline and disaster.

Neusner cites and discusses part of this passage from the Tosepta.²¹ He finds in it further proof that the framers of the Mishna and the Tosepta "did not write history" because "they did not think history was important."²² The protasis is certainly correct; the Mishna and the Tosepta are compendia of legal opinions, not histories. The apodosis, however, reflects an improper use of the argument from silence. The framers of these documents do not tell us whether or not they think history is important, at least not explicitly. Their surveys of biblical and postbiblical history reviewed above seem to imply that the framers *did* think history was important, at least, if for no other reason, because of the lessons that might be inferred from it. They apparently also felt it necessary to respond to this history in a way that would encourage Jews to keep the faith and remain Torah-observant Israelites.²³

(2) *Political Freedom*. In the aftermath of the wars with Rome there came, Neusner believes, "a moment of utter despair about things which, from the perspective of the philosophers of the Mishnah, might as well have taken place on yet another planet."²⁴ Therefore, the world of these "philosophers" had no place for Bar Kokhba's hope for "the freedom of Israel" (as had been minted on the coins of revolutionary Israel).²⁵ The framers of the Mishna should be understood, therefore, as having a fundamentally different worldview from that of the earlier generations who had supported the revolts against Rome. According to Neusner, it comes then as no surprise that, with the exception of a single play on words (cf. 'Abot 6:2), the word "freedom" (חֵירוּת) never occurs in the Mishna.²⁶ Now if this were literally true (and it is not), what would it prove? Would the absence in the Mishna of the word that Bar Kokhba's followers rallied around support the claim that the framers of Mishna had no desire for Israel's freedom? But we need not ponder long this question, for the word "freedom" does in fact occur in the Mishna, and in an important context (*m. Pesah.* 10:5):

In every generation a man must so regard himself as if he came forth himself out of Egypt Therefore are we bound to give thanks . . . and to bless

²¹ Ibid., 63–72.

²² Ibid., 71. Neusner also states: "The Philosopher-lawyers exhibited no theory of history" (p. 75); "The Tosefta, in line with the Mishnah, allowed no glimpse at a doctrine of Israel's history and destiny because the framers had nothing to show" (p. 77).

²³ Neusner expresses amazement that *Pirke 'Abot*, the other "document of succession" to the Mishna, like the Mishna and the Tosepta, attached no importance to history (*Messiah*, 43). I am not sure why we should have expected it to, since its genre is a mix of wisdom sayings and legal opinions.

²⁴ Neusner, *Evidence of the Mishnah*, 121.

²⁵ Ibid., 27. During the Bar Kokhba revolt coins were minted with the inscription: "The Freedom of Israel Year I," etc.

²⁶ Neusner, *Evidence of the Mishnah*, 27.

him who wrought all these wonders for our fathers and for us. He brought us out from bondage to *freedom*, from sorrow to gladness, and from mourning to a Festival-day, and from darkness to great light, and from servitude to redemption.²⁷

What we have here are the words that the observant are to say at the celebration of Passover. Every generation must identify with the generation that God brought forth out of Egypt. The "philosophers" of the Mishna felt that it was appropriate to retain this tradition, a tradition rooted in history. The effect is that now every generation is given a sense of continuity with Israel's past. Does then Mishna's use of the word "freedom" require us to draw an essential difference between the framers of the Mishna and the Jewish people who supported Bar Kokhba?²⁸ No, it does not (but, on the other hand, neither does its use require us to conclude that the perspective of the framers of Mishna was no different from that of the generations that supported the wars of liberty).²⁹

(3) *Prophecy*. Neusner believes that "the philosophers of the Mishnah chose to relate to Scripture" by neglecting "the whole corpus of prophecy."³⁰ Again, the apparent neglect of prophecy in the Mishna is problematic only when the Mishna's genre has been misunderstood. Why should one expect the prophetic corpus to occupy a prominent place in a compendium of law? One would expect the framers of Mishna to interact with *legal* scripture, not *prophetic* scripture (or *historical* scripture, for that matter). But have the framers of the Mishna neglected the prophetic writings? No, they have not. The latter prophets are cited some sixty times. Of these the three major prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel) and eight of the twelve Minor Prophets are cited. Given the legal concerns and priorities of the Mishna, which are such that one would not expect much interaction with prophetic expressions (remembering that it is a collection of legal opinions and not a philosophy), I do not think that it is fair to say that its framers have neglected the corpus of prophecy. But more importantly, the Mishna does not merely cite the prophetic corpus from time to time; it testifies to some of the major themes of the prophets.

An important example of one of the most common prophetic themes finds expression in the Mishna. Consider the following tradition that is concerned with times of drought:

They used to bring out the Ark into the open space in the town and put wood-ashes on the Ark and on the heads of the President and the Father of the court; and every one took [of the ashes] and put them on his head.

²⁷ H. Danby, *The Mishnah* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933) 151.

²⁸ See J. J. Petuchowski's review of Neusner, *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishnah*, in *RelSRev* 9 (1983) 108-13, esp. 110.

²⁹ See also the extended midrash in *m. Sotā* 8:1-7 that concerns holy war legislation.

³⁰ Neusner, *Evidence of the Mishnah*, 169.

The eldest among them uttered before the words of admonition: "Brethren, it is not written of the men of Nineveh that 'God saw their sackcloth and their fasting,' but 'And God saw their works that they turned from their evil way, [Jonah 3:10]; and in [his] protest [the prophet] says, 'Rend your heart and not your garment' [Joel 2:13]."³¹ (*m. Ta'an. 2:1*)

This passage, pointed out by J. J. Petuchowski, is very much in keeping with the prophetic call to repentance.³² Petuchowski also rightly draws our attention to the function of Isa 2:4 in *m. Šabb. 6:4*, where the sages argue against Eliezer: A man should not be adorned with weapons, since the prophet Isaiah calls for weapons to be beaten into tools of peace.³³

Neusner also claims that the framers of the Mishna and the Tosepta had no interest in eschatology. Several citations of the prophets, however, contradict this claim. What constitutes wailing at a funeral is clarified by an appeal to Jer 9:20 ("Teach to your daughters a lament, and each to her neighbor a wailing"). The sorrow of Jeremiah's passage, however, will give way to the joy expressed in Isa 25:8, a joy that anticipates immortality in the time to come: "But for a time that is to come, it says, 'He will swallow up death for ever, and the Lord God will wipe away tears from all faces, and the reproach of his people he will take away from all the earth; for the Lord has spoken'" (*m. Mo'ed Qat. 3:9*). Isaiah is invoked again as a witness of eschatological hope: "All Israelites have a share in the world to come, for it is written, 'Thy people also shall be all righteous, they shall inherit the land for ever; the branch of my planting, the work of my hands that I may be glorified' [Isa 60:21]" (*m. Sanh. 10:1*).³⁴

(4) *Messiah*. Neusner notes that the word "messiah" normally is used in reference to the high priest, who is anointed for cultic service (e.g., *m. Mak. 2:6*; *m. Meg. 1:9*; *m. Hor. 2:2, 3, 7; 3:4, 5*). Sometimes it is used in reference to the anointed priest who leads Israel in war (e.g., *m. Soṭa 7:2; 8:1; m. Mak. 2:6*).³⁵ To be sure, the word "messiah" is used in reference to the eschatological Messiah, but only twice. The first reference is in *m. Ber. 1:5*: "It is written, 'that all the days of your life you may remember the day when you came out of the land of Egypt' [Deut 16:3]. . . . The Sages say: 'The days of your life' [refers to] this world only, but 'all the days of your life' is [said] to include the days of the Messiah."³⁶ The second reference is found in *m. Soṭa 9:15*, where we

³¹ Danby, *Mishnah*, 195.

³² Petuchowski, review, *RelSRev* 9 (1983) 110.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ See the use of Isa 2:2–3 and Jer 31:6 in *t. Menah. 13:23*; Isa 27:13 in *t. Sanh. 13:12*; Isa 43:19 in *t. Ber. 1:11*; Isa 49:23 in *t. Soṭa 4:2*; and Isa 66:10–11 in *t. Ta'an. 3:14* (cf. *t. Soṭa 15:15*).

³⁵ Neusner, *Messiah*, 25.

³⁶ Neusner has a frustrating habit of contradicting himself. In one place (*Messiah*, 19) he tells us that "the Messiah as an eschatological figure makes no appearance in the system of the Mishnah." Later (*Messiah*, 25–26) he cites the passages in the Mishna where reference is made to the Messiah and explains that, in contrast to the anointed priests mentioned elsewhere, the Messiah who is "the anointed savior of Israel" appears "in the setting of the end of time and the age to come."

are told of the dismal conditions that attend the coming of the Messiah. This passage will be treated in greater detail below.

Since the eschatological Messiah is referred to only twice in the Mishna and apparently without special interest in the Tosepta, Neusner concludes that the framers of Israel's foundation document were not interested in the Messiah idea:

The figure of a Messiah at the end of time, coming to save Israel from whatever Israel needs to be saved, plays a negligible role in the Mishnah's discourse. . . . In all, the Messiah in the Mishnah does not stand at the forefront of the framers' consciousness. The issues encapsulated in the myth and person of the Messiah are scarcely addressed. The framers of the Mishnah do not resort to speculation about the Messiah as a historical-supernatural figure.³⁷

Indeed, "what is distinctive to the Mishnah" is its "unfriendly neglect of the Messiah myth."³⁸

Again, these are inferences based on an improper use of the argument from silence. How does Neusner know that the messianic idea did not "stand at the forefront of the framers' consciousness"? What makes Neusner think that the Mishna's "neglect" of the Messiah idea is "unfriendly"? Given the genre and purpose of the Mishna and the Tosepta, is it appropriate to speak of "neglect" in any sense? All we know is that the messianic idea plays a minor role in the Mishna, a work that is primarily a collection of legal opinions. What role it played in the consciousness of its framers cannot be determined. We could have a better idea of what role the messianic idea played in the thinking and writing of the rabbis who contributed to the Mishna, if we were permitted to look outside of the Mishna (e.g., the baraitot, the midrashim, and the targumim). But Neusner will not allow this.³⁹ These writings and the opinions contained within them fall outside of the "foundation document."⁴⁰ Messianic expressions in these writings may not authentically represent the thinking of that unique generation which rejected history and apocalypticism.⁴¹

Neusner comes to the same conclusion with reference to the Tosepta: "We find in the Tosefta no tendency to introduce, into mishnaic contexts in which they otherwise are absent, the issues of the Messiah and the meaning

The first statement must mean that the eschatological Messiah plays no role in what Neusner imagines to be the Mishna's "philosophy," since eschatology (as well as history) falls outside of this worldview.

³⁷ Neusner, *Messiah*, 30.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 226–27.

³⁹ Neusner hopes to portray "the Judaism for which the Mishnah is the whole evidence" (*Evidence of the Mishnah*, 237).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 3–4; Neusner, *Messiah*, 6–7.

⁴¹ Neusner, *Messiah*, 18, 231; see esp. p. 23: "What is assigned or attributed to [the philosophers of the Mishna] in later documents testifies only to what the framers of those documents thought their predecessors had stated long ago. Whether or not the Mishna's authorities had actually made such statements we do not know."

and end of history.”⁴² “‘The Messiah’ to the authors of the Tosefta is only a high priest who is consecrated for his office by being anointed in oil” (Neusner’s emphasis).⁴³

I think that Neusner has understated the evidence of the Tosefta, and the Mishna as well, as we shall see. It is certainly true that the Tosefta does not contain a major doctrine of the eschatological Messiah, but it does insert the messianic idea in various places, with significant meaning in some cases. For example, the Tosefta adds the following to *m. Ber.* 1:5 (quoted above) where Deut 16:3 had been quoted and commented upon:

Ben Zoma said to them: “But does one mention the exodus from Egypt in the messianic age? For has it not already been said, ‘Therefore, behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, when men shall no longer say “As the Lord lives who brought up the people of Israel out of the land of Egypt,” but, “As the Lord lives who brought up and led the descendants of the house of Israel out of the north country [and out of all the countries where he had driven them]” [Jer 23:7–8].’” (*t. Ber.* 1:10)⁴⁴

This supplement expresses the hope that in the messianic age Israel’s exiles will be gathered, which is probably the implication of the sages’ interpretation of Deut 16:3 in *m. Ber.* 1:5. In Tosefta’s addition we have three important features that cohere with messianic ideas expressed more explicitly elsewhere. First, Jer 23:1–8, of which the last two verses are quoted in *t. Ber.* 1:10, is interpreted messianically in the Jeremiah Targum. The Aramaic paraphrase promises the advent of the Messiah, the restoration of Israel, and the gathering of the exiles.⁴⁵ At least two rabbinic writings (cf. *b. B. Bat.* 75b; *Lam. Rab.* 1:16 §51) also interpret Jer 23:6 messianically.

Second, the gathering of the exiles of Israel is, according to several of the targumim, either the task of the Messiah or an event that will take place when he appears (cf. *Tg. Isa* 6:13; 42:1–7; 53:8; *Tg. Hos* 14:8).⁴⁶ Elsewhere in the targumim the Messiah is portrayed as one who will defeat the Gentiles, liberate Israel, and gather the exiles (*Tg. Isa* 10:27; 11:11–12, 16; 14:29; 16:1; *Tg. Jer* 30:8–11; 33:26; *Tg. Hos* 2:2; 3:3–5; *Tg. Mic* 5:3; 7:12; *Tg. Hab* 3:18; *Tg. Ps* 18:28–29; 45:15; *Tg. Song* 1:8; 7:12–14; 8:4; *Tg. Lam* 4:22). These ideas also appear in the writings of the rabbis (*Sipre Deut.* §1 [on 1:1]; *Gen. Rab.* 98.9

⁴² Ibid., 54.

⁴³ Ibid.; see also p. 55; and Neusner, “Mishnah and Messiah,” 270.

⁴⁴ T. Zahavy, “Berakhot,” in *The Tosefta* (ed. J. Neusner; 6 vols.; New York: Ktav, 1977–86) 1. 4.

⁴⁵ S. H. Levey, *The Messiah: An Aramaic Interpretation: The Messianic Exegesis of the Targum* (Monographs of the Hebrew Union College 2; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College; New York: Jewish Institute of Religion, 1974) 68–69; cf. R. Hayward, *The Targum of Jeremiah* (ArBib 12; Wilmington, DE: Glazier, 1987) 111.

⁴⁶ B. D. Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum*, 104. The Isaiah Targum makes explicit reference to “the Messiah” in 52:13; 53:10. On the antiquity of this messianic tradition in the Isaiah Targum, see Chilton, *The Glory of Israel: The Theology and Provenience of the Isaiah Targum* (JSOTSup 23; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982) 86–96. Chilton believes that the essential elements of *Tg. Isa* 52:13–53:12 derive from the period between the wars of liberation (i.e., 70 CE–135 CE).

[on 49:10]; *Song Rab.* 2:7 §1; *b. Sanh.* 91b; *b. Šabb.* 63a, 151b; *b. Pesah.* 68a). But these ideas are not necessarily of late origin, for they have their roots in the pre-Christian period. One is reminded of the hopes expressed in the *Psalms of Solomon* 17–18: The Messiah will “purge Jerusalem from gentiles He will gather a holy people. . . . He will distribute them upon the land according to their tribes” (17:22, 26, 28).⁴⁷ The Messiah described in the *Psalms of Solomon* (first century BCE) resembles the Messiah of the targumim at many points. The bit of tradition preserved in *m. Ber.* 1:5, which is later expanded in *t. Ber.* 1:10, appears to be part of this messianic tradition, a tradition with which the framers of the Mishna and the framers of the Tosepta in all likelihood would have been familiar. There is no evidence that the framers of the Mishna and the Tosepta were correcting or debunking this tradition.

Third, the linkage or comparison of the messianic deliverance to the exodus event is another eschatological theme that finds expression in the targumim. Sometimes the two events of salvation are themselves compared; sometimes the two redeemers Moses and Messiah are compared (*Frag. Tg. Exod* 12:42; *Tg. Song* 4:5; *Tg. Lam* 2:22). Comparisons between Moses and the Messiah are also found in the rabbinic writings (*Sipre Deut.* §130 [on 16:3]; *Eccl. Rab.* 1:9 §1; *Pesiq. R.* 1:7; 15:10; *Midr. Ps* 90.17 [on 90:15]). Moses as a model for an eschatological agent of salvation, if not of the Messiah himself, has early roots. The eschatological expressions found in *T. Dan* 5:10 and *T. Gad* 8:1 (second century BCE), where the agent of salvation is from the tribes of Judah and Levi, probably represent attempts at combining David and Moses typologies. The author of Luke-Acts interpreted Jesus “the Christ” (Luke 2:11, 26) in terms of David (Acts 2:25–31; cf. Ps 16:8–11; and Acts 4:24–28; cf. Ps 2:1–2) and Moses (Acts 3:22–23; 7:37; cf. Deut 18:15–19) typologies.

Elsewhere in the Tosepta reference is made to the “days [or time] of the Messiah” (*t. Ta’an.* 2:13; *t. ‘Arak.* 2:7). A passage overlooked by Neusner is *t. Soṭa* 12:2: “But at the end [the kings of Aram] are destined to fall by the hand of the son of David.” “(Son of) David,” of course, is a common epithet for the Messiah in the rabbinic writings (e.g., *b. Sukk.* 52a; *b. Meg.* 17b; *b. Sanh.* 96b–98b). These passages, along with *t. Ber.* 1:10, certainly do not indicate a significant level of interest in messianic ideas in the Tosepta (which, as has been stated already, one should not expect, given the genre of the Tosepta). But neither is there any indication that the framers of the Tosepta opposed messianic ideas or held to messianic ideas that were to any measurable extent different from those found in earlier sources or in contemporary and later rabbinic sources.

In short, I think that it is his skewed view of the genre of the Mishna that has led Neusner not only to marvel at the relative infrequency of citation of and interaction with the prophetic and historical writings in the Mishna and the Tosepta, but even to deny or ignore what contribution these writings

⁴⁷ R. B. Wright, “Psalms of Solomon,” in *OTP* 2. 667.

have made. Neusner does this, and here I am in complete agreement with Sanders's assessment, because he wants the Mishna to be something that it is not.⁴⁸ Since he believes that the Mishna expresses a philosophical worldview, he finds it truly significant that the Messiah idea plays such a minor role. His misunderstanding of the messianic hope, in the context of the Mishna and in Judaism of this period, is addressed in the next section.

II. Messiah in Context

Scholarly response to Neusner's *Messiah in Context* has been disappointing.⁴⁹ Few have offered it the vigorous critique that it deserves. At least two reviewers have responded to it quite favorably, though neither seems to be aware of the major flaws in its assumptions and methods.⁵⁰ The book did not get past Sanders's critical eye, however. He rightly comments that this work is marred by the same mistakes and points of confusion that originated from Neusner's analysis of the Mishna.⁵¹ But Sanders does not pursue this question, since it does not relate to the concerns of his study. It will now be pursued.

Neusner's interpretation of the Messiah in the context of Judaism is flawed at several points. The *first* error, as already mentioned, arises from an improper use of the argument from silence. Because the Messiah is rarely referred to, Neusner assumes that the framers of the Mishna had little or no interest in the subject: "the fundamental issues addressed by mishnaic 'Judaism' are simply not messianic."⁵² That the Mishna, as a compendium of law, should *not* be expected to deal extensively with an eschatological subject apparently has not occurred to Neusner.

A *second* and I think more serious error is the conclusion that the framers of the Mishna represent a distinct group within Judaism, somehow set apart from the Jews who are part of the "other Judaisms." According to Neusner, "the use and neglect of the Messiah myth point to a single conclusion. The philosophers of the Mishnah chose to talk about other things. Hence they were addressing people other than those eager to learn about the Messiah, about when he would come, and what he would do."⁵³ In effect Neusner builds a fence around the "philosophers" of the Mishna. They were "addressing people other than those eager to learn about the Messiah." How does he know this?

⁴⁸ Sanders, *Jewish Law*, 317: "It is evident that Neusner wants the Mishnah to be more profound than it is"; from the Mishna Neusner "tries to derive metaphysics."

⁴⁹ This work is cited in n. 3 above. For an abridgment of *Messiah in Context*, see J. Neusner, "One Theme, Two Settings: The Messiah in the Literature of the Synagogue and in the Rabbis' Canon of Late Antiquity," *BTB* 14 (1984) 110-21.

⁵⁰ A. T. Hanson, *ExpTim* 96 (1985) 150; G.E. Howard, *Int* 40 (1986) 203-4. On p. 204 Howard describes Neusner as "cautious in his approach, and sound in his methodology"! For a better critical review, see D. A. Hagner, in *Trinity Journal* 7 (1986) 96-99.

⁵¹ Sanders, *Jewish Law*, 325.

⁵² Neusner, *Messiah*, 53.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 222.

Is Neusner assuming here that Jews who were interested in the Messiah had no interest in keeping the Law, and hence would have had no interest in the Mishna? Conversely, is he assuming that Jews interested in the legal details of the Mishna would have had no interest in the Messiah, his coming, and his activities? Would it not be more logical to assume that there were Jews who were interested in *both* Mishna *and* the Messiah? Why must we think that there is something mutually exclusive or antithetical about Mishna and Messiah?

I find Neusner's thinking at this point very problematic. The figure of Rabbi Aqiba illustrates the problem well. As is well known, he was one of Mishna's most significant contributors. Yet Rabbi Aqiba concerned himself with messianic haggadah and was one of Bar Kokhba's supporters (*y. Ta'an.* 4:5 [cf. *Lam. Rab.* 2:2 §4]; *b. Hag.* 14a; *b. Sanh.* 38b; *Midr. Tanhuma*, *Ekeb* §7; *Pesiq. R.* 1:7).⁵⁴ He seems to be a prime example of a Jewish scholar who, on the one hand, was acutely concerned with the legal details of the stuff that came to make up the Mishna and, on the other, was at the same time very interested in the Messiah. Neusner would probably object that since this haggadic material is preserved in sources somewhat later than the Mishna, it is unreliable and does not offer an adequate foundation for determining what Aqiba might have or might not have thought about the Messiah. But I cannot help but wonder if Neusner's skepticism, at least at this point, is due to a prior commitment to his singular notion that the Mishna reflects an ahistorical, non-messianic worldview. If that notion is dropped, as it should be for many good reasons, there is nothing that compels us to believe that the messianic haggadah attributed to Aqiba is unreliable or pseudonymous.

The *third* error is closely related to the second. Neusner's assumption that the framers of the Mishna formed a distinct Judaism leads him to categorize the rest of the writings of Judaism as the expressions of various other "Judaisms."⁵⁵ The apocalypses and rewritten accounts of biblical history (such as *Jubilees* [which is concerned with Jewish law] or Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities*) have no bearing on what the framers of the Mishna were thinking. Theirs were different Judaisms. Because the targumim were produced in the synagogues, and not the rabbinic academies, they too represent Judaisms different from the one that lies behind the Mishna. Neusner regards the liturgies similarly. Accordingly, the targumim and the liturgies should be regarded as outside of the "Rabbis' Canon."⁵⁶ The problem with this thinking is that the rabbis who contributed to the form and content of the Mishna also participated in the synagogue. Indeed, one should think that as a rule they

⁵⁴ See the discussion of the "Christology" of Rabbi Aqiba in C. A. Evans, "In What Sense 'Blasphemy'? Jesus before Caiaphas in Mark 14:61-64," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1991 Seminar Papers* (ed. D. Lull; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991) 215-34, esp. 222-27.

⁵⁵ Neusner, *Evidence of the Mishnah*, 3-4, 37.

⁵⁶ Neusner, *Messiah*, 233.

played prominent roles in the synagogue. In the synagogue setting the rabbis of the Mishna, along with everybody else, prayed the prayers and read and heard the scriptures, including the Aramaic paraphrases that eventually formed the targumim. Why should we assume otherwise? Since some of the prayers and most of the Aramaic paraphrases contain messianic content,⁵⁷ is it not reasonable to assume that the rabbis who framed the Mishna and participated in the synagogue, shared in much, if not most, of these messianic beliefs?⁵⁸ Should we not assume that they probably directly contributed to the ideas expressed in the prayers and the Aramaic paraphrases?⁵⁹

A *fourth* error results when Neusner is forced to explain why the two Talmuds, which are based on the ahistorical, nonmessianic Mishna, contain so much messianic material.⁶⁰ According to Neusner, the Mishna, on the one hand, and the Talmuds, on the other, presuppose two very different worldviews: "The Talmuds' reading of the Mishnah consequently produced something quite different from what the framers of the Mishnah had anticipated. The talmudic system rested on foundations in the Mishnah, but proved to be radically asymmetrical to the Mishnah's own foundation."⁶¹ What exactly makes the talmudic system "asymmetrical," I am not sure.⁶² But apparently this asymmetry did not result from misunderstanding or simplicity. On the contrary,

⁵⁷ For a convenient assemblage of the pertinent passages, see Neusner, *Messiah*, 233–47; and Levey, *The Messiah*.

⁵⁸ See Sanders, *Jewish Law*, 326–27.

⁵⁹ Neusner's discussion of the rabbis' relationship to the Siddur, Qaddish, and Amidah (see *Messiah*, 234–38) is particularly odd. On the one hand, he admits that "rabbis legislated the conduct of the prayer service," since "the Mishnah's laws and the Talmud's exegesis and expansion of them prove it" (p. 235). On the other hand, because the messianism in the liturgy and prayers is "not totally symmetrical with the rabbis' system" (which, as Neusner thinks, is ahistorical and nonmessianic), "we cannot be certain that rabbis framed and stood behind" their original expressions (p. 235). Further, although Neusner must acknowledge that "the liturgy of the synagogue constitutes a protracted plea for the coming of the Messiah" (p. 237), he cannot discern "a trace of evidence" that would lead to the conclusion that "the liturgy contains marks of the rabbis' intervention" (p. 237). What we have here is a classic case of special pleading: Admittedly all of the evidence that can be recovered suggests that the rabbis had much to do with the regulation and standardization of the synagogue's (messianic) liturgy and prayers, but because the rabbis spell out no doctrine of history or messianology in the Mishna (their compendium of laws), the worldview found in the liturgy and the prayers must not reflect their thinking! Logic suggests exactly the reverse: The doctrine of history and messianology that is only hinted at and alluded to in the Mishna, comes to fuller and more dramatic expression in the liturgy and the prayers, where such expressions have their natural place.

⁶⁰ Neusner, *Messiah*, 229.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 22. Elsewhere Neusner (*Messiah*, 85) explains: "... in the third and fourth centuries, rabbis took into their system the figure of the Messiah and the hopes associated with his coming. In this way they reconstructed the system of the Mishnah into something strikingly new and far more pertinent than anything the Mishnah's authors had imagined."

⁶² By "symmetry" I think that Neusner means things that fit together consistently or share a common worldview. If a document is asymmetrical, it presupposes a worldview different from that of the Mishna.

Neusner believes that the Amoraim were remarkably subtle exegetes who sought to make the unrealistic worldview of the Mishna, in stark contrast to the second-century Tannaim, relevant to Jews living in the real world.⁶³ "The contrast to the character of discourse in the Mishnah, the Tosefta, and Abot is stunning."⁶⁴

Why did the framers of the two Talmuds depart from the perspective of the framers of the Mishna? Neusner is not sure how to answer this question. He can only guess. He suspects that it was because (1) an eschatological element is present in scripture and (2) the desperate condition of the people of Israel "called into question the credibility of the ahistorical construction of the Mishnah."⁶⁵ Only because of the eschatological elements of scripture and popular dissatisfaction with Mishna's ahistorical view of reality, claims Neusner, did the later Amoraim give much greater prominence to messianism and eschatology.⁶⁶ The Talmuds, then, represent a merging of the Mishna's ahistoricism and other Judaisms' interests in history, eschatology, and messianic ideas. This merger, of course, results in "asymmetry."

Neusner's first guess is quite correct: scripture is itself eschatological. Therefore, we should expect this fact to give rise to interest in things eschatological. His second guess, however, is not helpful, since it presupposes his skewed view of the genre of the Mishna. As to symmetry or lack of it, I do not think that this has anything to do with the similarities and differences between the Mishna and the two Talmuds. There is no objective evidence that the worldviews of the framers of the Mishna and the framers of the Talmuds were in any significant way different. The Amoraim, like the Tannaim before them, passed on and interpreted the various legal opinions, as well as the various messianic traditions, as they existed in the "foundation document" and in other traditions deriving from the tannaitic period (such as the antecedents of the midrashim and targumim). The problem of conflicting worldviews exists only if one grants Neusner's peculiar form-critical assessment of the Mishna in the first place. When the Mishna's genre is correctly understood, there is no asymmetry between it and the Talmuds that elaborated on it.

Moreover, I do not think that Mishna's ahistoricism had anything to do with the prominence that the Talmuds gave to messianism and eschatology. The difference between the Mishna and the Talmuds is not as complex as Neusner would have us believe. The former contains halakah almost exclusively, while the latter contain large amounts of haggadah. One sixth of the Palestinian Talmud is haggadah, while one third of the Babylonian Talmud is haggadah. It is within the haggadic traditions that we encounter the messianic components. The Talmuds do not represent a fundamental shift in thinking,

⁶³ Neusner (*Messiah*, 78) refers to the Amoraim as "exegetes of a remarkably subtle capacity."

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 94.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 229.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 229–30.

a yielding to pressures to allow the eschatological scripture to speak and to offer some sort of historical and eschatological comfort to a beleaguered and discouraged people. The Talmuds represent an encyclopedic widening of focus, a widening from an almost exclusive concern with law to an inclusive interest in everything Jewish—law, lore, eschatology, and all.

In short, Neusner has minimized and misunderstood the significance of the messianic idea in early Judaism. While it may be true that scholars have in the past created synthetic constructs of “the Messiah” that may not reflect ideas that anyone at any time ever held—and Neusner’s criticism at this point is on target⁶⁷—his conclusion that the messianic idea played an unimportant role in formative Judaism cannot be sustained. Neusner has not studied the messiah idea “in context,” as the title of his book claims. Until he has taken more seriously into account the numerous apocryphal, pseudepigraphal, Qumranic, and early Christian writings, Neusner has not treated the eschatological Messiah in the context of early Judaism. The third part of this essay will attempt such a contextual interpretation.

III. Micah 7:6 and the “Footsteps of the Messiah”

The Mishna’s most important messianic passage is *m. Soṭa* 9:9–15, which Neusner translates, outlines, and interprets.⁶⁸ (To simplify discussion I shall follow his outline and the letters of the alphabet that he has assigned to the various components.) He finds that in this passage the Messiah “occurs rather incidentally and tangentially.” “The important statement” is the one attributed to Pinhas ben Yair (cited above).⁶⁹ From this Neusner concludes that the messianic idea was relatively unimportant for the framers of the Mishna. In place of messianic hope is one’s timeless faith in “our Father in heaven,” a refrain that is heard three times in 9:15, and the “personal virtues” articulated by Pinhas ben Yair.

In my judgment Neusner’s formal analysis is faulty, which contributes to his erroneous conclusion. A second (and much greater) problem with his interpretation is his failure to flesh out the interpretive traditions to which the components of *m. Soṭa* 9:9–15 allude. We shall turn to this problem shortly. First, let us consider the formal structure of the passage.

Structure. According to Neusner the reference to the Messiah in *m. Soṭa* 9:15w is an isolated element that contributes little to the theme, contents, and structure of the passage as a whole. A more accurate assessment of the formal structure of 9:9–15 suggests otherwise.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 227. See also Neusner, et al., eds., *Judaisms and Their Messiahs*.

⁶⁸ Neusner, *Messiah*, 26–29.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 29.

9:9-13		"When murderers became many"—When murderers and adulterers multiplied, when two major authorities died, when the Sanhedrin was cancelled, when the former prophets died out, and when the Temple was destroyed, various cultic rites and various virtues came to an end.
9:14		"In the war"—In the wars against Rome decrees were issued against various customs.
9:15A-N		"When Rabbi died"—Following the deaths of thirteen famous rabbis various virtues vanished.
9:15O	[1]	"When the Temple was destroyed" various devout groups became ashamed.
9:15P	[2]	"And violent men and big talkers grew strong."
9:15Q	[3]	"And none expounds and none seeks [learning] and none asks."
9:15R	[4]	"Upon whom shall we depend? Upon our Father in heaven."
9:15S	[1']	"From the day when the Temple was destroyed" various groups waned.
9:15T	[2']	"Ordinary folk have become feeble."
9:15U	[3']	"And none seeks."
9:15V	[4']	"Upon whom shall we depend? Upon our Father in heaven."
9:15W	[1'']	"With the footsteps of the Messiah" presumption and dearth increase.
9:15X-KK	[2'']	Wine is expensive; children treat their parents and elders with disrespect.
9:15Z	[3'']	"There is no reproof." There is no wisdom (EE); truth is locked away (GG).
9:15LL	[4'']	"Upon whom shall we depend? Upon our Father in heaven."
9:15MM		"Rabbi Pinhas ben Yair. . ."

From 9:9 to 9:15N I am in essential agreement with Neusner. These components speak of the gradual cessation of various rites and of the overall social and spiritual decline of Israel. From this point on, however, my analysis of the passage differs from Neusner's at key points. The refrain "Upon whom shall we depend?" demarcates three roughly parallel sections. In assigning to them the Roman numerals I-III, it appears that Neusner understands them this way as well. But this refrain does not *introduce* the sections, as Neusner proposes; it *closes* them.⁷⁰ Neusner's outline simply does not fit the contents.

The three parallel sections are made up of four principal components: (1) Each section begins with an important *temporal notation*: the destruction of the Temple (9:15O), the destruction of the Temple (9:15S), and the advent of the Messiah (9:15W). (2) Each section describes social and moral *deterioration*, each section worse than the preceding (9:15P; 9:15T; 9:15X-KK). (3) Each section notes that there is *no one who will teach and no one willing to study*. The first section (9:15Q) spells this out with three participles: There is no one

⁷⁰ See the paragraphing in Danby, *Mishnah*, 306.

who expounds (lit., “does midrash”), no one who seeks (learning), and no one who asks (how to obey Torah). The second section (9:15U) abbreviates this lament by repeating only one of the participles: There is no one who seeks (learning). The third section illustrates this lament by citing several examples of the failure of those who should teach and those who should learn: There is no reproof (or rebuke) (9:15Z). The wisdom of the scribes will become vapid (lit., “will stink”) (9:15EE). As a consequence, “truth will be locked away” (9:15GG). In short, learning will simply come to an end. (4) Each section then concludes with the refrain, “*Upon whom shall we depend? Upon our Father in heaven*” (9:15R; 9:15V; 9:15LL).

The saying attributed to Pinhas ben Yair concludes the entire passage (9:9–15). In other words, although things seem to be growing steadily more dismal, faithfulness will ultimately result in the resurrection.

How should the reference to the coming of the Messiah be interpreted in the context of this structure? Let us look at the components that make up the third section (again following Neusner’s enumeration):⁷¹

- W. With the “footsteps of the Messiah”: presumption increases, and dearth increases.
- X. The vine gives its fruit and wine at great cost.
- Y. And the government turns to heresy.
- Z. And there is no reproof.
- AA. The gathering place will be for prostitution.
- BB. And Galilee will be laid waste.
- CC. And the Galban will be made desolate.
- DD. And the men of the frontier will go about from town to town, and none will take pity on them.
- EE. And the wisdom of the scribes will putrefy.
- FF. And those who fear sin will be rejected.
- GG. And the truth will be locked away.
- HH. Children will shame elders, and elders will stand up before children.
- II. “For the son dishonors the father and the daughter rises up against her mother, the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; a man’s enemies are the men of his own house” [Mic 7:6].
- JJ. The face of the generation [is] like the face of a dog.
- KK. A son is not ashamed before his father.
- LL. Upon whom shall we depend? Upon our Father in heaven.

The passage seems to be saying that when the Messiah appears, Israel’s social and spiritual condition will have reached its nadir.⁷² When this section is compared to the two preceding parallel sections other inferences may be drawn. First, the advent of the Messiah is of great moment, on the level of the destruction of the Temple. The loss of the Temple marked the beginning

⁷¹ Neusner, *Messiah*, 28–29.

⁷² Neusner (*Messiah*, 151) does not think that the items described in 9:15X–LL have anything to do with the Messiah myth. This point will be addressed below.

of Israel's steep decline; the Messiah will appear when the decline has reached its lowest point. Second, this decline will be characterized by an increasing disregard for Israel's biblical and spiritual heritage. Fewer and fewer people will be interested in studying Torah. Eventually what the teachers themselves have to offer will be worthless. Third, social proprieties will erode. The first parallel section predicts the appearance of violent men and loudmouths. The second parallel section predicts a decline in the status of teachers and religious authorities. The third parallel section predicts disrespect and shameful behavior on an unprecedented level. Fourth, all three sections conclude with the confession that one must depend on Israel's heavenly Father.

This formal analysis of the structure suggests that *m. Soṭa* 9:15W–LL makes up a literary and thematic unit. The increase of presumption and dearth (9:15W) is illustrated by the lines that follow. Moreover, this section's parallels with the two preceding sections (9:15O–R and 9:15S–V), where each begins with a reference to the destruction of the Temple, suggests that the Messiah's advent is in some sense a counterpart to this tragic event. It seems, therefore, that the reference to the Messiah is neither isolated nor tangential. The various details describing decline and disaster are associated with the "footsteps of the Messiah."

Tradition. Consideration of the tradition, both subsequent and antecedent, confirms the formal assessment. Not only were all of the various elements that make up *m. Soṭa* 9:15W–LL understood as messianic in the subsequent interpretation, expansion, and embellishment of this mishnaic passage, but most of these elements were understood in a messianic sense *before* the formation of the passage. We begin with the *Nachleben*.

Portions of *m. Soṭa* 9:15W–LL appear in later rabbinical writings compiled from 500 to 650 CE. The Palestinian Talmud contains little gemara to this part of the Mishna (cf. *y. Soṭa* 9:16). According to Neusner, this gemara contains nothing messianic.⁷³ That is probably not correct, however. The first part of the gemara (following the quotation of *m. Soṭa* 9:15 and related sayings from *t. Soṭa* 15:3–5) records a saying attributed to Yohanan ben Zakkai: "When Rabban ben Zakkai lay dying, he commanded, saying, 'Clear the courtyard . . . and prepare a throne for Hezekiah, king of Judah.'"⁷⁴ "Hezekiah" probably should be understood as a reference to the son of David (cf. *y. Ber.* 2:4: "' . . . today the Messiah-King was born.' 'What is his name?' 'Menahem [son of] Hezekiah'"; *b. Sanh.* 98b: " . . . there will be no Messiah for Israel, since they have already enjoyed him during the reign of Hezekiah").⁷⁵

⁷³ Neusner, *Messiah*, 86.

⁷⁴ Trans. based on J. Neusner, *The Talmud of the Land of Israel*, vol. 27 (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1984) 269.

⁷⁵ Neusner, *Messiah*, 93, 173. The similar saying about preparing a throne for Jehoshaphat, king of Judah (cf. *y. Soṭa* 9:16), should probably be understood in the same way.

Parallels to *m. Soṭa* 9:15W, HH-JJ, w-z, are found in *b. Sanh.* 97a and are attributed to two second-century Tannaim, Nehorai and Nehemiah. To the former are attributed the sayings about disrespect and the quotation of Mic 7:6. To the latter are attributed the sayings about wine, heresy, none to rebuke. Some related material is added. Preceding the paralleled material is speculation that the coming of the Messiah will be indicated by "sounds" and "wars." Following the paralleled material Deut 32:36 is cited, and its clause "their power is gone" is interpreted variously: "until scholars are few," "until the last *pěrûṭâ* has gone from the purse," "until redemption is despaired of."⁷⁶ Speculations about the time of the Messiah's appearance follow.

In a running commentary on Song 2:12-13 *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 5.9 presents the same material (cf. *Pesiq. R.* 15.14/15; *Song Rab.* 2:13 §4). There will be famine, "sounds" (Braude and Kapstein suspect this means "rumors [of war]") and "wars." The section concludes with a significant saying and quotation attributed to Rabbi Levi, an early fourth century Palestinian Amora: "'When you see generation after generation revile God, look for the feet of the king Messiah.' By what verse did he justify his comment? By the verse, 'When thy enemies taunt, O Lord, when they have reviled Thee — [then are] the footsteps of Thine Messiah' [Ps 89:52 (51E)]."⁷⁷

The quotation of Ps 89:52 is significant. The final two words in the Hebrew are identical to the words found in *m. Soṭa* 9:15: עֲקֵבוֹת מְשִׁיחָךְ (excepting that the Mishna has omitted the pronominal suffix ך and added the prefix כ). That is, the phrase "in the footsteps of the Messiah" likely derives from Psalm 89. This suggestion gains a measure of support when it is also observed that Psalm 89 is understood messianically in the Targum.⁷⁸ References to insult and mockery in this Psalm (which are heightened in the Aramaic) cohere with the context in *m. Soṭa* 9:15, in which the phrase "footsteps of the Messiah" occurs. Thus, it seems probable that Yannai's exegesis may in fact reflect a much older tannaitic interpretation of Psalm 89.⁷⁹

Neusner rightly recognizes that virtually all of the material surveyed above is based on the components found in *m. Soṭa* 9:15W-LL. But he believes that the mishnaic material has undergone "messianization": "That is, we see here the introduction of the explicit Messiah myth into a passage in which it was formerly absent."⁸⁰ The messianic complexion of this material has been heightened, to be sure, but are messianic implications *absent* from the mishnaic components? The antecedents of these mishnaic components suggest otherwise.

⁷⁶ H. Freedman, "Sanhedrin [VII-XI]," in *The Babylonian Talmud* (ed. I. Epstein; 18 vols.; London: Soncino, 1978) 12. 656-57.

⁷⁷ W. G. Braude and I. J. Kapstein, *Pesikta De-Rab Kahana* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1975) 109-11.

⁷⁸ See Levey, *The Messiah*, 121. The verse is not interpreted messianically in *Midr. Ps* 89.4 (on 89:52), but the second "amen" is said to refer to the world to come.

⁷⁹ Much of this material also appears in *Pirke Derek Eres* §15 (cf. *Derek Eres Zuta* §10).

⁸⁰ Neusner, *Messiah*, 151.

Some of the most important parallels are to the NT Gospels:

Famine. According to *m. Soṭa* 9:15x wine will be expensive. This is an example of the dearth which 9:15w predicted will increase. The saying in 9:15DD about men going from town to town is probably another illustration of the anticipated dearth, that is, people scavenging for food. In the Synoptic eschatological discourse famine is predicted as one of the calamities that precede the advent of the Messiah (Mark 13:8 par). The Synoptic discourse, of course, concerns the end of the age and the appearance of the Son of Man (Mark 13:26), who in the Gospels is understood to be the Messiah (Mark 8:29–31; cf. 13:21).

Wars. According to *m. Soṭa* 9:15BB–CC “Galilee will be laid waste [חרב]” and “the Gablan will be made desolate [שמם].” The threat of being laid waste and desolate is common prophetic language: “And the inhabited cities shall be laid waste [חרב], and the land shall become a desolation [שממה]” (Ezek 12:20). There is a saying attributed to Jesus that warned Jerusalem of her impending desolation: “When you see Jerusalem surrounded by armies, then know that her desolation [ἐρημωσις] has come near” (Luke 21:20). Desolation and waste, of course, are the results of war. An interesting feature of the post-mishnaic elaboration of *m. Soṭa* 9:15 is reference to “rumors (of war)” and “wars” (cf. *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 5.9; *Pesiq. R.* 15.14/15; *Song Rab.* 2:13 §4). According to the Synoptic eschatological discourse, “wars and rumors of wars” will be heard prior to the appearance of the Messiah (Mark 13:7 par).⁸¹

Inhumanity. According to *m. Soṭa* 9:15DD people “will go from town to town, and none will take pity on them.” The context suggests that these people are refugees, people who have become homeless and who are desperately searching for food and shelter. Despite their sore need, no one will show them mercy. According to the Synoptic eschatological discourse, “because lawlessness will increase, the love of many will grow cold” (Matt 24:12). Both parts of the Matthean tradition (i.e., lawlessness and indifference) cohere with the mishnaic material.

Disrespect and social disintegration. According to *m. Soṭa* 9:15HH–KK children and youths will treat their parents and elders with shameful disrespect. This is the only place in the mishnaic passage in which scripture is quoted (Mic 7:6). Micah 7:6 is alluded to in the Synoptic eschatological discourse: “Brother will deliver up brother to death, and the father his child, and children will rise against parents and have them put to death” (Mark 13:12). An actual paraphrase of Mic 7:6 appears in Q: “I have come to set a man against his father, and a daughter against her mother, and a daughter-in-law against her

⁸¹ Braude and Kapstein (*Pesikta De-Rab Kahana*, 110 n. 80) and W. G. Braude (*Pesikta Rabbati* [Yale Judaica 18; New Haven/London: Yale University, 1968] 327 n. 87) translate “rumors [of war]” and “wars” and rightly draw attention to Mark 13:7 par.

mother-in-law; and a man's enemies will be those of his own house" (Matt 10:35–36; cf. Luke 12:53). The tradition in Mark and Q is both eschatological and messianic.⁸² The passage from Micah may lie behind similar eschatological expectations of family violence that came to expression in several of the pseudepigraphal writings (cf. *Jub.* 23:19; *1 Enoch* 100:2; 4 Ezra 6:24),⁸³ and possibly in Josephus (*J.W.* 6.2.1 §109). All of these expressions antedate and closely parallel *m. Soṭa* 9:15. This creates a strong presumption that Mishna's use of Mic 7:6 was messianic and was understood as part of the woes that accompany the "footsteps of the Messiah."

Some of the other statements in *m. Soṭa* 9:15W–LL cohere with NT eschatology: The anticipation of heresy (מִיָּנִית) in 9:15Y⁸⁴ (cf. 1 Tim 4:1; 2 Tim 4:3–4; Mark 13:21–22 par); the "locking away" of the truth in 9:15GG (cf. 2 Thess 2:10–12). The NT also teaches that the coming of the Messiah cannot be predicted: "But of that day or that hour no one knows" (Mark 13:32–33 par; cf. Acts 1:6–7; 2 Thess 2:1–3). Although this feature does not appear in *m. Soṭa* 9:15, it does in the later rabbinic writings that elaborate on this mishnaic passage: "Three come unawares: Messiah, a found article and a scorpion" (*b. Sanh.* 97a); "Blasted be the bones of those who calculate the end" (*b. Sanh.* 97b).⁸⁵

All of these traditions precede what is found in *m. Soṭa* 9:15. It is likely, then, that some of the postmishnaic expansion and embellishments, which are overtly messianic, accurately reflect the ideas behind the material that appears in the Mishna. It is very unlikely that the contents of 9:15X–LL were understood by the framers of the Mishna to have nothing to do with the Messiah. It is more likely, in view of the messianic interpretation given these components in antecedent and subsequent traditions, that this mishnaic material was understood in a messianic sense from the beginning.

When the genre of the Mishna and the structure and traditions of *m. Soṭa* 9:15 are correctly understood, Neusner's interpretation of the function of the

⁸² In the Targum, Mic 7:6 is not messianic, but it is eschatological: "For in that time son shall spurn father," etc. The addition of "in that time" aligns the verse with the eschatological orientation of the verses that follow. Israel is for now downtrodden by Rome, but "in that time" Israel's congregations will be rebuilt and its exiles regathered (vv. 11–12).

⁸³ Mic 7:6 is alluded to in *Sib. Or.* 8:84, but the passage is likely dependent on the Gospels. This oracle probably dates from 175 CE. The allusion to Mic 7:6 in 3 *Apoc. Bar.* 4:17 is also likely influenced by the Gospels and probably derives from the second century.

⁸⁴ Freedman ("Sanhedrin," 656 n. 4) thinks that this is a "remarkable forecast" of the "conversion of Rome to Christianity under Constantine the Great in 313." This is doubtful (see R. T. Herford, *Christianity in the Talmud and Midrash* [London: Williams & Norgate, 1903; repr. New York: Ktav, 1975] 207–9). It is not likely that as early as the second century the rabbis would have thought that Christianity, which in the tannaitic period was all but ignored, would sweep the Roman Empire. The prediction of heresy is in step with the other dismal predictions and so assumes that heresy—as opposed to Jewish "orthodoxy"—will spread throughout the empire.

⁸⁵ Freedman, "Sanhedrin," 657, 659.

Messiah concept in the Judaism that produced the Mishna cannot be sustained. Although synthetic portraits of "the Messiah" and assumptions that a normative messianology was widely held among Jews of the early Christian period are misguided,⁸⁶ Neusner's hypothesis that messianology was of little interest to the framers of the Mishna is equally wrongheaded. It is more likely that the messianic views of the framers of the Mishna were pretty much in line with the views attributed to them in the tannaitic midrashim and with the views expressed in early targumic and liturgic traditions and in the talmudic and midrashic writings of the Amoraim. There is simply no objective evidence that compels us to understand the worldview of the framers of the Mishna as unusual or distinctive in comparison to other generations of tannaitic or amoraic rabbis.

⁸⁶ See the helpful essay by W. S. Green, "Introduction: Messiah in Judaism: Rethinking the Question," in *Judaisms and Their Messiahs*, ed. Neusner et al., 1-13.



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THE MISHNA IN PHILOSOPHICAL CONTEXT AND OUT OF CANONICAL BOUNDS

JACOB NEUSNER

University of South Florida, Tampa, FL 33620-5550

My genuine thanks to Professor Evans for setting forth in a civil and thorough way the grounds for his rejection of important propositions of mine. He makes possible a sustained debate on fundamental issues of method, so that colleagues may make up their own minds on what we know about Judaism in late antiquity, and how we know it. I state at the outset that if I held his premises, I probably would also reach his conclusions. My principle is: If you cannot show it, you do not know it. And I do not see that Professor Evans has demonstrated the facticity, for the first-century Land of Israel, of most of the premises of his propositions; and I do not see that he has adhered to the critical agenda in the reading of the literary evidence under discussion. Further, I cannot help but regret that he criticizes much but has read only little. That makes the criticism a bit awry. It is difficult to sort out criticism of only part of a proposal and the evidence and argumentation adduced therefor. Nonetheless, he appears to have wanted to debate one fundamental point, which is the importance of the messiah theme in the Judaism of the dual Torah, a theological fact that is represented in a single, unitary form (he thinks) throughout its history and its canon.¹ I gladly address his main allegations as to my "errors" and how he thinks I should correct them.

¹ I should have been glad for his response to the other papers, besides mine, in the work edited by William Scott Green and me, *Judaisms and their Messiahs in the beginning of Christianity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), to which he does allude. He seems not to take account of the views of a variety of others, including such distinguished NT scholars as Howard Clark Kee and the late George MacRae, who have been thinking along the same lines. Evans conceives of a single Judaism with one messianic doctrine, attested hither and yon. But if there were multiple Judaic systems, or Judaism, each attested by its own canonical evidence (whatever it may have been, however much of it we may have), then we cannot form all data into a single doctrine. Not only so, but we have then to read each corpus of cogent writings on its own. When we read, for example, Philo's writings, or the library of writings found at the Dead Sea, in their own terms, then the messiah theme appears variously, serving systemic purposes here, utterly ignored or trivialized somewhere else. That is the burden of *Judaisms and their Messiahs*, in which a number of specialists in various bodies of writings participated, each asking the same question: How does the messiah theme occur in the writings on which I work, and what purpose does it serve in those writings? This other way of reading the data accounts for the differences between Evans's and my readings of matters and explains, once more, why I say: if I adopted his premises, I'd reach his conclusions.

I. Reading the Mishna in Philosophical Context

That Professor Evans can find little in *Judaism as Philosophy* that he did not read in *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishnah* is curious and suggests that either I can't write or he can't read.² A simple statement of the main thesis of the latter work will settle the question: he simply hasn't read. *Nothing* in the new work goes over anything in the old, and nothing in the old is found in the new. All they have in common is that in both books I classify the Mishna as a (rather odd) philosophical writing.³ But what is alleged in generic terms in 1981 is spelled out in particulars in 1991; Evans does not grasp that fact, so let us review the new work and see whether, in his representation of it, he has given in any detail at all any element of the proposition, arguments, and evidence thereof. I don't think he has. He invokes the discredited charge that I have repeated myself, when, in fact, I have done nothing of the sort.

In *Judaism as Philosophy* I try to demonstrate that the Mishna, the first canonical writing of the Judaism of the dual Torah after the Hebrew Scriptures of ancient Israel ("the Old Testament") in important ways is to be read as philosophy in accord with the generally accepted understanding of philosophy in its time and place. I therefore mean to propose a new way of reading the Mishna and its Judaism, specifically, a philosophical way. By philosophy I mean not what is generically philosophical, but, rather, specifically the philosophical tradition of the Greco-Roman world, in particular, as I explain at length in that book, the method of Aristotle and the proposition important to Middle Platonism. While given in the form of a law code, the Mishna sets forth a Judaic system of the social order that employs (1) a method that in its context was distinctively philosophical to reach (2) a conclusion that in its time was particularly philosophical. The proposition of this book, accordingly, is that philosophy, not only law, defines the correct setting in which to interpret the Mishna—and, therefore, the initial document of Judaism. The specific basis for my proposed reading of the Mishna as philosophy is simple.

The Mishna's main principles of method are the same as the method of natural philosophy through classification presented by Aristotle. Its principal proposition, demonstrated through the systematic and orderly hierarchical classification of the things of nature—whether persons or objects or actions

² J. Neusner, *Judaism as Philosophy* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991); idem, *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishnah* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

³ In pursuing the same matter for my *Judaism States its Theology: The Talmud's Re-presentation* (in press for 1993) I came to the realization that, even in *Judaism as Philosophy*, I claimed for the philosophical substrate of the Mishna not too much but far too little. The issue of the potential and the actual, which I treated only casually, turns out to be phrased in precisely the terms worked out in debates on causation between Aristotle and his opponents; the issue of causation and blame, worked out at Mishna tractate Baba Qamma chaps. 1–4, for another example, follows precisely the category formation set forth in behalf of Aristotle in Richard Sorabji, *Necessity, Cause and Blame: Perspectives on Aristotle's Theory* (London: Duckworth, 1980).

or matters of status—is the same as one proposition of fundamental importance to Middle and Neo-Platonism and, later on (long after the closure of the Mishna) to Plotinus, namely, the ultimate unity of all being in a hierarchical sequence culminating in, or emanating from, the One on high. I should be glad if Professor Evans can point in *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishna* to a single line in which I make these points; I thought I discovered them in the late 1980s. Not only so, but in a variety of intervening works, I did the philosophical homework needed to compare the Mishna's economics to the economics of Aristotle, and its politics to the politics of Aristotle.⁴ Of none of this is he aware.

Now, in his opening paragraphs, in which Evans seems to have in mind a response to *Judaism as Philosophy*, I look in vain for a single reference to a concrete passage that I allege addresses a philosophical issue, and that he maintains does not. Undergraduates at University of South Florida invoke probability theory in reading passages of Mishna tractate Meilah, with no prompting from me. I would have been glad to hear from Evans how he thinks a philosophical decoding of the document is wrong in one or another passage or throughout, and his allegation that it's all just a load of rules is sound. All of this work he seems not to know at all. *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishnah* defines the arena of argument, and ten years of sustained work that followed that book and refined many of its conclusions have somehow failed to capture his attention. The appearance of the new work simply provides for Evans an occasion once more to go over some fairly familiar—and long-since discredited—criticism of the old.

II. "Everyone, of Course, Knows These Things"

"It ain't necessarily so." Everyone does not know these things, because they are not facts to be known. Evans would do better to say, "Some people suppose these things. . . ." But let me repeat some fairly familiar criticism of mine, which I address to the corpus of historical writings using rabbinic texts prior to or different from my own that claim to know "these things."⁵ Evans's description of the Mishna, concluding that these are things "everyone knows,"

⁴ Neusner, *The Economics of the Mishnah* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); idem, *Rabbinic Political Theory: Religion and Politics in the Mishnah* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). An important preliminary inquiry led me to review every pericope of the Mishna from the perspective of generic issues of philosophy, in the four-volume work, which Evans appears not to know, *The Philosophical Mishnah*, Volume 1, *The Initial Probe*; Volume 2, *The Tractates' Agenda: From Abodah Zarah to Moed Qatan*; Volume 3, *The Tractates' Agenda: From Nazir to Zebahim*; and Volume 4, *The Repertoire* (BJS; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989). These were the preparatory experiments that led to *Judaism as Philosophy*.

⁵ And now, no longer particular to me; the points that follow will be found in every current critical account of the rabbinic corpus, for instance, G. Stemberger's update of Strack's introduction to rabbinic literature (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) treats as routine and commonplace the entire critical program that I have devised.

takes for granted as facts what are only paraphrases of a literature's own mythic history. If we did not take for granted in advance that all the stories are true, all the attributions reliable, all the documents the work of those to whom they are attributed, then what he says would be so. But a vast critical literature, beginning with Y. N. Epstein's *Introduction to the Text of the Mishnah* (in Hebrew, 1954), has called into question the certainties that Evans announces, beginning with the very conception of a text tradition itself.⁶ And in work of mine from the early 1970s forward, I took full account of the critical issues commonplace in biblical and other historical studies and reshaped the program of learning to accommodate them. We simply cannot ask the same old questions, if we do not make the same assumptions on the character of the texts—for example, that they are pretty much inerrant reports of things really said and done (except in the episodes in which we decide they're erroneous). We have to frame new questions, in which a consistent program of critical judgment tells us what is so, and what is not, not episodically but in a coherent and cogent way.⁷

In regard to the "genre" of the Mishna, Evans rehearses E. P. Sanders's repeated allegation that the Mishna is "a collection of legal debates and opinions." That represents a profound mis-reading and mis-construction of the document.⁸ Evans's characterization of Sanders suggests that the latter sees the sum of the superficial literary traits but does not formulate a hermeneutic that permits him to make sense of them, so is left to paraphrase what he sees, rather than interpret it in any manner whatsoever. My reading is in *Judaism as Philosophy*, and in the forthcoming *Judaism States its Theology: The Talmudic Re-Presentation*, and Sanders's is in his *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah*. But while in *Judaism: Practice & Belief* Sanders says that he thinks he has solved

⁶ With my graduate students of that period, I systematically read all of the important historical work on the Mishna and Talmuds, publishing the results in *The Formation of the Babylonian Talmud: Studies on the Achievements of Late Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Historical and Literary-Critical Research* (Leiden: Brill, 1970) and *The Modern Study of the Mishnah* (Leiden: Brill, 1973). In book reviews and articles since that time I have conducted ongoing and systematic debates with contemporaries, such as David W. Halivni, Shamma Friedman, Louis Jacobs, Adin Stein-saltz, Saul Lieberman, Solomon Zeitlin, Louis Finkelstein, David Kraemer, Richard Kalmin, and many others; all concur on the critical agenda, and it should be clear that Evans has not understood the vast range of concurrence characteristic of scholarship on these documents. No one in the academic world of Judaic studies reads them as credulously as he does.

⁷ Certainly the best example of how to use the Mishna as a handbook for how things really were two or three centuries prior to its closure is E. P. Sanders's *Judaism: Practice and Belief 63 BCE–66 CE* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992), but that is only one instance in which NT specialists abandon their critical principles when, in telling us about "Judaism" in the first century, they turn to the utilization of rabbinic sources, edited sometime between two hundred and a thousand years later than the times of which they speak.

⁸ As to its "genre," who ever heard of a genre comprised of a single book? But it is not clear to me that "genre criticism" has identified another "collection of legal debates and opinions" that may be plausibly compared in any detail at all to this particular one; here again, we find people confusing allegation with proof.

all his problems in his *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah*, in fact, in the latter book what he does is mostly criticize⁹ my *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishnah*, rather than setting forth his own sustained, systematic, and informed account of matters.¹⁰ So at this moment, no one knows how (if he has studied them at all) Sanders reads the many hundreds of texts I cite in my work on

⁹ Sometimes in an intemperate manner, as the reviews have noted.

¹⁰ At the request of the editors of *SJT*, I replied to part of his critique in my "Mr. Sanders' Pharisees and Mine: A Response to E. P. Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah*," *SJT* 44 (1991) 73–95. I did not deal with his allegations as to the character of the Mishna because I found his presentation episodic and difficult to follow. He does not describe the document as a whole, in all its rich detail, as I did in my forty-three volume translation of and commentary on the Mishna and the Tosepta, along with my students' work on another dozen tractates. Giving opinions with illustrations is not the same thing as working the whole through in a systematic way. When he writes his book on the Mishna, I shall gladly study and review it. There is no point debating details of his ad hoc criticism of my account, which may be addressed entirely within the framework of my system of reading and interpretation, since these form details of a coherent account. Since Sanders has not yet set forth his contrary picture of the whole, it is not clear how argument is possible on details, or whether his picture is so flawed at its foundations that the details make no difference. He says he thinks all my work has to be done all over again; in his framework we of course concur. For until we see how in detail and systematically how he imagines we are supposed to read the document, no one can tell how and why he thinks I have erred. General arguments—for example, the accusation of my "argument from silence"—do not define the parameters of a plausible debate, for reasons that will emerge later in this paper. Still, my sense has been, and remains, confirmed in light of his picture of how he understands *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah* (as though there were only one "Jewish law"!) that Sanders's grasp of the Mishna's legal details is somewhat infirm. He claims to know much more than he has shown that he understands; and it would be easy to write a long review listing all his mistakes. But in any event I see no point listing all his mistakes; lists of mistakes prove nothing beyond themselves, however decorated with colorful expletives and vivid adjectives, and my respect for Sanders's enterprise is such that I would not wish to try to discredit his ideas merely because of some minor lapse in learning—or even a great many of them. Sanders deserves respect, not out-of-hand dismissal, because of his worthy motives. Let us not forget that Sanders is constructing a vast apologia for rabbinic Judaism in the framework of Protestant Evangelical theology. His is a major contribution to the defense and rehabilitation of Judaism in contemporary Christian theology, and I think massive goodwill informs his work; and a widespread desire on the part of Protestant theologians to form a constructive Protestant theology of Judaism accounts for much of the positive reception that he has received. I know as fact that, in some circles in Germany, opposition to that same noble intention of Sanders derives from the same concern, in negative terms. In my *Telling Tales: Making Sense of Christian and Judaic Nonsense. The Urgency and Basis for Judaeo-Christian Dialogue* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1993), I outline the history of the Judaic and Christian accounts of one another, and in that context, Sanders rightly takes up an honorable position alongside George F. Moore and others. But good theology does not excuse flawed scholarship, and on the Mishna, we have yet to see a solid constructive statement based on detailed and firm knowledge of the whole. But that is what is required. As to Sanders's most recent statement of his opinions, *Judaism: Practice & Belief*, his use of the Mishna as a handbook of facts on how things really were in the first centuries BCE and CE is of course indefensible. He picks and chooses what is historical and what is not, as though he were a firsthand witness. I deal with this book (among several of its kind) in *What We Cannot Show, We Do Not Know: Rabbinic Literature and the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1993). But merely reviewing it is hopeless; the entire work has to be redone on solid, critical bases.

the politics, economics, and philosophy set forth in the legal disputes and rules of the Mishna. His reading is selective, episodic, and unsystematic; when he has written his forty-three volume commentary on the Mishna, we shall have a clearer account of how everything holds together. For, as matters now stand, everything he has done has to be redone. It suffices to say that, at this moment, what Evans thinks everybody knows just isn't so. And most scholarship on these subjects published in the past twenty years in Europe and the United States concurs with my view of matters. Evans now stands with a diminishing minority. No serious argument there.

III. The Mishna out of Canonical Bounds

Evans makes much of Sanders's allegations, in connection with my *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishnah*, that mine is an argument from silence. Only because he does not know my methodological writings can he imagine that mine is an argument from silence.¹¹ For it is, of course, no "argument from silence," but a systematic, complete, close, detailed, and accurate characterization of a document. I say what I find in that document. That is not an argument from silence. It is an argument resting on sixty-three tractates of the Mishna, set forth in my forty-three volumes of translation and commentary. I do not think anyone has ever accused me of "silence," before, and on the Mishna there is the opposite of an "argument from silence." But here too the issue is not fact but premise. When I describe the Mishna's Judaism, I describe that religious system. I do not claim to know what other people thought, besides these writers; I don't even know what else these people thought, besides what they write down here. To say what they thought on the basis of what they wrote hardly violates any canons of critical reading or writing.¹²

¹¹ Evans does not seem to realize that in vast detail and through a variety of documents, I spell out the methodological bases for *Messiah in Context* in *Making the Classics in Judaism: The Three Stages of Literary Formation* (BJS; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), and I conduct a set of experiments in that framework in *The Canonical History of Ideas: The Place of the So-called Tannaite Midrashim, Mekhilta Attributed to R. Ishmael, Sifra, Sifré to Numbers, and Sifré to Deuteronomy* (Atlanta: Scholars Press for South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism, 1990).

¹² I do think Sanders is completely correct in insisting that, if we wish to describe "Judaism" in general (whatever that may have been, or whatever we may imagine we are describing), we do have to make reference to premises of diverse documents and construct a picture of the religious (including theological) matrix in which various documents took shape. Not only so, but I think he is right in maintaining that what authors say in a given work is not everything they think; there are premises that have to be identified and dealt with. That is why I have called my books in the model of the first of this kind, *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishnah*. That is not the same thing as "Judaism" in general, only a careful and accurate account of what, about the "Judaism" we learn from this document. To characterize that as "an argument from silence" is unwarranted and false. I first had to characterize each document in its own terms. That work is now complete for the Mishna, Talmuds, and all the midrash compilations of late antiquity that belong to the rabbis. Now I turn to the problem of "the Judaism behind the texts," meaning what each of these documents tells us about the Judaism that its authorship takes for granted. This will require a

Not only so, but I proceeded from the Mishna to put the same questions, in the same systematic way, following the same sustained exercise of form-analytical translation, to the Palestinian Talmud, to all of the midrash compilations of ancient times, and to the Babylonian Talmud. So I speak of "the Judaism of the Mishna," that is to say, the religious system to be discerned in that document, without the allegation that that is "Judaism." The definition of "Judaism" or of various Judaisms proceeds apace. *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishnah* responded to George Foot Moore's *Judaism: The Age of the Tannaim*, and in the contrasting titles a considerable shift in thinking is to be discerned. Of this, Professor Evans seems to me to have grasped nothing. He is still thinking about Judaism, one Judaism, everywhere authoritative, attested by all kinds of evidence that pertains (but not the evidence that doesn't pertain). This picture of a single, unitary, harmonious, incremental Judaism pleases those modern Orthodox Jews who care about both critical history and the Torah.¹³ That process of synthesis commences with a theological affirmation; my process of analysis aims at the conclusion to reach a theological description: if all of these writings cohere, then what statement do they make? But I still stand some distance from completing that task.

Here is the point at which Professor Evans and I simply part company. The reason is that his premises as to the character of the evidence in my judgment lead him to the conclusions that he reaches, and my premises lead me to my conclusions, and these premises scarcely intersect. Let me spell out what I think separates us. First, he takes for granted that rabbinic writings are to be read all together, all at once, each one telling us what everyone everywhere was thinking, that is to say, a reading that is theological and in canonical context. That explains why he wants us to read the Tosepta as evidence for the character of the Mishna.

And at later points in his paper, as we shall note, he also wants to read all the documents — early, late, and even medieval — as evidence for what a given authority (here: Aqiba) was thinking in the second century. By contrast, in my representation of matters, I have read the Mishna in its own terms, as a statement in behalf of the textual community that produced it. Other people at the same time had other ideas, I am sure, but these have no bearing on

multivolumed work, document by document read as evidence for the Judaism beyond itself. I wish matters were so simple and readily settled as Evans and Sanders conceive that they are; but it does take work, and not all work can be done in a single day or through a single "case."

¹³ That is the explicit position (never defined or spelled out) of Lawrence H. Schiffman in *From Text to Tradition: A History of Second Temple and Rabbinic Judaism* (Hoboken: Ktav, 1992), who states: "Judaism is not a monolithic phenomenon. Rather, it encompasses many different historical moments as well as many different approaches to the questions of God, man, and the world. All these 'Judaisms' are tied together by the common thread of the continuity of tradition and by the collective historical destiny of the Jewish People." This "continuity of tradition" (what continues being left undefined, since "we all know what we mean") stands precisely for what has yet to be demonstrated but has been subjected to formidable doubt.

the reading of this document in its own terms. We do not know the state of public opinion overall; we do not have access to a vast variety of writings of the period of the Mishna.

But I do not see the Mishna only out of canonical context. In fact, as I just said, I have undertaken a reading of every writing of the Judaism of the dual Torah, from the Mishna through the Bavli, having translated all of them. This has involved, first, a translation of every line of each of the documents of ancient rabbinic Judaism. Second, I have written a systematic, phenomenological introduction to each of the documents, one by one. Third, I have shown how sets of documents relate to one another—for example, the midrash compilations associated with the Mishna, such as Sipra and the two Sipres (I find myself ever more persuaded by B. Z. Wacholder's view that Mekilta attributed to R. Ishmael is medieval); and then, too, the midrash compilations of the period in which the Talmud of the Land of Israel took shape in relationship to the Talmud of the Land of Israel, and so on. Fourth, I am now engaged in the process of studying the Judaism beyond the texts—but still, text by text.

Evans's criticism should be addressed to each of the books I have written by way of introduction to the documents of this Judaism. In these systematic introductions I have asked in each case three questions, concerning rhetoric, logic of cogent discourse, and topic or proposition, differentiating one writing from the other. I have further worked on the interrelationships among these writings, from the Mishna through the two Talmuds and all of the midrashim of late antiquity. My scheme involves three dimensions: autonomy, a document seen in its own terms; connection, a document seen in relationship to others of its class (if there is such a demonstrable relationship, shown out of concrete internal evidence, not merely allegations that are external and post facto); and continuity, a document seen in its larger canonical context. Evans seems to think that we have to read everything in light of everything else, all the time and everywhere; no wonder he reaches the conclusions that he does. If I held his premises, I would also reach something very like his conclusions.

Second, in so many words he takes for granted that all the writing we have from Jews speaks for one and the same Judaism, and I do not. In this way Evans introduces into historical scholarship the theological convictions of modern Orthodox Judaism, which affirm historical learning while insisting on the unity of the Torah, through all times and ages: "tradition." Historical study has led nearly everybody to the contrary view, and only if we carefully refrain from what we mean by "tradition" are we able to entertain that category at all. I find it difficult to explain why Christian scholars express opinions on Judaic theological propositions; it is as though I took a position on a moot point of Christology or proposed as fact that Peter really did found the Church of Rome. But, for his part, Evans says in so many words that it is an error to maintain that there were various Judaisms, or that the Mishna stands for one (only one) Judaism (among however many), or that there were other Judaisms as well. That explains why he can invoke the targumim in the context of his

argument with me about *Messiah in Context*, on the one side, and the character of the Mishna, on the other.

Evans does not seem to me to have paid much attention to the diverse scholars who have recognized the diversity of Judaism. Gershom G. Scholem, Saul Lieberman, Morton Smith, and, above all, Erwin R. Goodenough, produced results that have long since called into question the conception of a single, unitary, orthodox Judaism. That there was more than one Judaism, the one represented by (some) written evidence, was announced as early as 1963 by Morton Smith, when he wrote:

It is amazing how the evidence from quite diverse bodies of materials, studied independently by scholars of quite different backgrounds and temperaments, yields uniform conclusions which agree with the plain sense of these discredited passages. Scholem's study of the materials in the hekhalot tradition, for instance, has just led us to conclusions amazingly close to those reached by Goodenough from his study of archaeological remains: to wit, the Hellenistic period saw the development of a Judaism profoundly shaped by Greco-Oriental thought, in which mystical and magical . . . elements were very important. . . .¹⁴

Here Smith recognizes multiple Judaism; and much has happened in the past three decades to move beyond that simple recognition.

Outside of diminishing circles in Jerusalem, no academic scholarship maintains that there was a single Judaism, to which all evidence attests (except for heretical evidence, which is to be ignored). And any retrojection of contemporary Orthodox Judaism (of whichever definition among many!) to ancient times has long since lost all hearing in the academy. I regret Evans does not understand why that has been the case or grasp the implications of work, long prior to mine, of Scholem, Lieberman, Smith, Goodenough, and many others. On this matter he gives me more credit than I should claim in my own behalf.

What about writings outside of the rabbinic canon? In the case of "the targumim," apart from *Targum Onqelos*, we have no compelling reason to adduce in evidence for the proposition that the targumim (or the Siddur, or the Mahzor, or any of the other surviving writings of Judaism of ancient times) portray for us one and the same Judaism. That "the targumim" form a single cogent corpus of evidence (whether rabbinic or otherwise) is assumed but never demonstrated; we have not got the simplest form-analytical studies of "the targumim," to tell us whether they constitute a coherent canon or discrete writings, each to be read in its own context. And then comes the question of "the dating" of "the targumim." Evans tells us about how the targumim tell us about ideas that are "not of late origin." Certainly well-dated writings, such

¹⁴ Morton Smith, "Observations on Hekhalot Rabbati," in *Biblical and Other Studies* (ed. Alexander Altmann; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963) 153–54. Smith of course exaggerates at every point and recasts matters in a somewhat awkward set of categories; but the main point stands.

as the Gospels, can tell us that myths or topics were in circulation long before they surface, much later on, in rabbinic writings. But if they were early, then they cannot have been “rabbinic” in any sense that we can find meaningful now, since there is not a shred of evidence that the vast corpus of theology and law characteristic of rabbinic writings in the Talmud of Babylonia characterized (a) Judaism in the first century. So if a sherd—a story, a motif, a rule—is “early,” that means that, in that early context, it was not rabbinic, and if it is characteristically, definitively rabbinic, by the definition of the Bavli, it cannot have been “early.”

More to the point (since the formulation just now offered takes as a premise what is really not determinative), we have to realize that a given idea or myth takes on importance within a Judaic system only in the context of that system; it is inert until it becomes active and critical.¹⁵ There is no doubt that the idea of the messiah circulated hither and yon; no one doubts it. But at what point does the messiah theme become systemically important? Certainly in the rabbinic writings, it is in the Talmud of the Land of Israel, in the fourth century, and not in the Mishna or the Tosepta or Sipra, generally supposed to have come to closure before the fourth century. To the system of the Mishna, the messiah theme is inert, indeed, useless. To the system adumbrated in the Talmud of the Land of Israel, it is critical and definitive. So the issue is not “early” or “late,” but systemic: what difference did it make? Why this, not that? So what? These form the hermeneutically active questions.

Evans does not explain why I should assume that what I find in “the targumim” are ideas that were held by rabbinic Judaism in general, or by the authors of the Mishna in particular; he does not even tell us what they would have meant by such ideas or what place in their system such ideas are supposed to have taken for themselves. Not grasping the implications of the now-widely-recognized fact that in ancient times there was no Judaism but only Judaisms,¹⁶ not understanding that documents adumbrate religious systems,

¹⁵ That principle of systemic analysis is purely commonsensical. There are things we affirm that make a great difference, and others that are true but systemically inert. In the former category is the belief in the dual Torah, oral and written; in the latter, the belief in one God. We certainly can identify common denominators of all Judaisms, and a great many at that—for example, the unity of God, that the Torah was given by God (but what constitutes the Torah will not evoke unanimous concurrence!), and the like. A first-rate account of the common denominators is in James Dunn, *The Partings of the Ways Between Christianity and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1991). But once we take up the writings of a distinct Judaism—for example, the library discovered at the Dead Sea, or the Gospel of Matthew, or Philo’s corpus—the common denominators of a single Judaism characteristic of all Judaisms prove, if not trivial, then, as I said, not very indicative and not very important. Nor should we ignore the archaeological evidence, which cannot be squared with much of the literary evidence, as I show in *Symbol and Theology in Early Judaism* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991).

¹⁶ This characterization requires modification in its own framework, as the excellent work of James Dunn (*Partings of the Ways*) shows. I find myself persuaded by his definitions. They leave certain problems, best discussed in their own framework; but we do make progress.

each with its worldview, way of life, and account of the social entity, "Israel," Evans does not offer an argument that meets the methodological requirements of the data. Once more, I observe, with his premises, I should come to his conclusions.

The reason that Evans has problems with my reading therefore is that he raises a set of questions that occupy him but do not seem to me susceptible of a critical reply. Specifically, he thinks that documents tell us not only about their authors but also about people "out there," reading them. But our evidence simply does not tell us what people in general were thinking; we have no public opinion polls. Such evidence that archaeology has provided (most of it pertinent to later centuries to be sure) calls into question the proposition that the rabbinic writings describe the state of opinion of broad circles of Jews, let alone of all the Jews everywhere. Would that we knew who read rabbinic writings and how they responded to them. I do not doubt that there were Jews interested in both the Mishna and the messiah; on the contrary, in the two Talmuds there is ample evidence that such Jews stood well within the circles of those who received the Mishna in the two Talmuds. Not only so, but Evans really thinks there is one, single "Judaism," to which all writings attest equally and all at once. I think that remains to be proved. In order to address that question, I invented the categories of autonomy, connection, and continuity, as these pertain to the documents of the Judaism of the dual Torah. Showing on the basis of internal evidence how these writings relate is a problem Evans must solve if he is to demonstrate his conviction that there was such a single Judaism, to which all Judaic evidences testify, and which all (kosher) Jews believed and practiced.

Let me then spell out how I think the canonical context has to be defined and analyzed, for not only the Mishna, but every other writing received as Torah by the Judaism of the dual Torah. Each of the score of documents that make up the canon of Judaism in late antiquity exhibits distinctive traits in logic, rhetoric, and topic, so that we may identify the purposes and traits of form and intellect of the authorship of that document. It follows that documents possess integrity and are not merely scrapbooks, compilations made with no clear purpose or aesthetic plan. On that basis I describe the documents, one by one, beginning with the Mishna.

But, as is well known, some completed units of thought—propositional arguments, sayings, and stories, for instance—travel from one document to another. It follows that the several documents intersect through shared materials. Furthermore, writings that peregrinate by definition do not carry out the rhetorical, logical, and topical program of a particular document. In framing a theory to accommodate the facts that documents are autonomous but also connected through such shared materials, therefore, we must account for the history of not only the documents in hand but also the completed pieces of writing that move from here to there. We have at present no theory of the formation of the various documents of the rabbinic literature that derives from

an inductive sifting of the evidence. Nor do we have even a theory as to the correct method for the framing of a hypothesis for testing against the evidence.

My theory on the literary history of the rabbinic canon posits three stages in the formation of writing. Moving from the latest to the earliest, one stage is marked by the definition of a document, its topical program, its rhetorical medium, its logical message. The document as we know it in its basic structure and main lines therefore comes at the end. It follows that writings that clearly serve the program of that document and carry out the purposes of its authorship were made up in connection with the formation of *that* document. Another, and I think, prior stage is marked by the preparation of writings that do not serve the needs of a particular document now in our hands, but can have carried out the purposes of an authorship working on a document of a *type* we now have. The existing documents then form a model for defining other kinds of writings worked out to meet the program of a documentary authorship.

But there are other types of writings that in no way serve the needs or plans of any document we now have, and that, furthermore, also cannot find a place in any document of a type that we now have. These writings, as a matter of fact, very commonly prove peripatetic, traveling from one writing to another, equally at home in, or alien to, the program of the documents in which they end up. These writings therefore were carried out without regard to a documentary program of any kind exemplified by the canonical books of the Judaism of the dual Torah. They form what I conceive to be the earliest in the three stages of the writing of the units of completed thought that in the aggregate form the canonical literature of the Judaism of the dual Torah of late antiquity.

As a matter of fact, therefore, a given canonical document of the Judaism of the dual Torah draws upon three classes of materials, and these were framed in temporal order. Last comes the final class, the one that the redactors themselves defined and wrote; prior is the penultimate class that can have served other redactors but did not serve these in particular; and earliest of all in the order of composition (at least, from the perspective of the ultimate redaction of the documents we now have) is the writing that circulated autonomously and served no redactional purpose we can now identify within the canonical documents.

IV. Reading and Believing

If I could have invented a critic to underline issues as I want them framed, I could not have fabricated a better one than Evans. He believes a great deal that he reads, though, admittedly, on an ad hoc and episodic basis, he disbelieves things too. For my part, I don't accept as a fact the allegations of a document or a composition within a document—for example, a story or a saying, unless I can show on sound critical grounds that what I am reading attests to how things were, not when the document in which those words occur was

completed and closed, but in the time to which those words refer. All evidence is sound and historical: it tells us what someone thought. But whether evidence tells us that what someone thought was so really took place remains to be demonstrated. More to the point, to what evidence attests—a theoretical system or an actual, social fact—has to be determined, not just dictated by fiat.

So how can we argue? Do I exaggerate? To show that, if anything, I understate, I invite attention to the facts that he adduces about Aqiba, citing a variety of writings, all of them edited centuries after the death of Aqiba.¹⁷ He knows all about Aqiba's opinions on the messiah because of what he finds in these writings. I wonder whether Evans would tell us all about what Jesus said on the strength of the apocryphal gospels, written far closer to the life and times of Jesus than any of the documents that he cites here, some of them even medieval? Evans will find himself in distinguished company in my *Reading and Believing: Ancient Judaism and Contemporary Gullibility*,¹⁸ where I show how a variety of otherwise critical scholars, Jewish and Christian, New Testament specialists and rabbinic specialists alike, believe pretty much whatever they want, except when they choose not to. My skepticism rests on a prior commitment—indeed—to the simple proposition: what you cannot show, you do not know.

V. My "Fourth Error"

It remains to respond to a final point. Evans wants to know how I account for the two Talmuds reading of the messiah theme and much else. For an answer in the setting of the Talmud of the Land of Israel and related midrash compilations, I invite his attention to my *Transformation of Judaism: From Philosophy to Religion*.¹⁹ There he will find my systematic answer to his

¹⁷ I wish Evans had taken more seriously the important researches of Peter Schäfer on the Bar Kokhba stories and the Aqiba stories ("legends"). It is difficult to see how ordinary critical considerations enter into his picture of how things were in the second century. See in particular Peter Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand: Studien zum zweiten jüdischen Krieg gegen Rom* (Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 1; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1981), which is to appear in Hebrew; his "R. Aqiba and Bar Kokhba," in *Approaches Ancient Judaism* (ed. W. S. Green; BJS 9; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980) 2. 113–30; and his "The Causes of the Bar Kokhba Revolt," in *Studies in Aggadah, Targum, and Jewish Liturgy in Memory of Joseph Heinemann* (ed. J. J. Petuchowski and E. Fleischer; Jerusalem, 1981) 74–94. None of these items appears in Evans's reading of the problem.

¹⁸ Neusner, *Reading and Believing: Ancient Judaism and Contemporary Gullibility* (BJS; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986). To his credit, E. P. Sanders, in *Judaism: Practice & Belief* alleges, "In this study, I shall take a minimalist view of rabbinic evidence, making use only of material that can be confidently assigned to the early period." Unfortunately, for reasons set forth above, he is confident about a variety of passages that a more critical eye finds dubious.

¹⁹ Neusner, *Transformation of Judaism: From Philosophy to Religion* (Champaign-Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

question.²⁰ But in a variety of other writings on the fourth century in particular, I set forth what I maintain are important considerations in explaining the paramount position of the messiah theme in the two Talmuds.²¹ I regard the construction of Augustine's *City of God* as a phenomenon comparable to the recasting of matters by the rabbis of the Talmud of the Land of Israel and associated midrash compilations.²²

As to the other, and authoritative Talmud, I do not think we can differentiate on any important categorical questions the second Talmud from the first. The category formation of the latter is identical to that of the former, so it now appears. The Talmud of Babylonia made its contribution by reasserting the modes of thought of philosophy in restating the conclusion of religion, that is, responding to the thesis of the Mishna, the anti-thesis of the Talmud of the Land of Israel, with a synthesis that, in method, we may call theology.²³ The history of the formation of Judaism—the Judaism of the dual Torah—as portrayed by its canonical writings yields the picture of the transformation of Judaism: from religion to theology. None of this has any bearing on the character of Judaisms in the first century, nor should it.²⁴ The canonical writings of the Judaism of the dual Torah—the Mishna, Tosepta, midrash compilations, and two Talmuds—tell us about that Judaism as represented by, and in the time of, those documents—and that alone.

²⁰ But even before, he could have found his answer to what makes the talmudic system "asymmetrical," in my *The Talmud of the Land of Israel: A Preliminary Translation and Explanation*, Volume 35, *Introduction. Taxonomy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983). I address that question in precisely the terms that Evans defines, but he does not appear to have opened the book.

²² Neusner, *Judaism and Christianity in the Age of Constantine: Issues of the Initial Confrontation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

²² An idea I owe to William Scott Green.

²³ I have shown that fact in the seven-volume monograph *The Bavli's Unique Voice: A Systematic Comparison of the Talmud of Babylonia and the Talmud of the Land of Israel* (Atlanta: Scholars Press for South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism, 1993) then spelled out the implications for the history of the theology of (that) Judaism in *Judaism States its Theology* (cited above).

²⁴ That is the argument of *What We Cannot Show, We Do Not Know* (cited earlier).

CRITICAL NOTES

A NOTE ON THE SOCIAL TYPE AND POLITICAL IDEOLOGY OF THE HASMONEAN FAMILY

The First Book of Maccabees has seduced almost every scholar who has worked on the book or the history of the Hasmonean revolt. And this is not entirely inappropriate: the bristling and fearsome defenders of the “laws and holy things” of Israel may never have existed precisely as described, but this resonant and perversely attractive image of the Hasmonean family *can* be safely assumed to correspond to one aspect, at any rate, of the family’s self-presentation. Still, it is important to recognize that 1 Maccabees has reasons apart from devotion to historical accuracy for portraying the Hasmoneans as it does and furthermore that it does not even provide a full repertoire of Hasmonean propaganda.¹ One way to demonstrate this is to pose the question, Who were the Hasmoneans?

1 Maccabees’ answer to this question is straightforward:² they were Jerusalem priests of the order of Joarib who went to Modein in 168 or 167 (1 Macc 2:1); they were heirs to the zeal of Phinehas b. Eleazar when he rose up from the congregation (2:15–28; 2:54); they were latter-day Joshuas, judges, and King Davids, who mercilessly chastised Israel’s enemies (especially 2:55–57);³ and they were the family to whom God entrusted the salvation of Israel (5:62), and who had given their lives for the laws and the holy things.⁴

Now, Deuteronomic judgeship or kingship—the image that 1 Maccabees labors to evoke—is a literary fiction; it is very unlikely to correspond to any social reality even in Israel’s remote past, and certainly the model cannot be properly applied to anyone in Hellenistic Palestine—as appealing as the assimilation of the Hasmoneans to this type certainly was in some circles. Nor is it possible to imagine the Hasmoneans as a band of armed pietists, as 2 Maccabees more or less does—a social type that actually did exist in Hellenistic Palestine and could be found, briefly, among the early partisans of the Hasmoneans.

I wish to argue that the Hasmoneans should be understood as representatives of a very different class, moderately well attested in the immediate environment of the family. V. Tcherikover, in his survey of papyri concerning Palestine from the Zenon archive, observed that Zenon and his friends, traveling through Palestine as private

¹ For detailed discussion, see S. Schwartz, “Israel and the Nations Roundabout,” *JJS* 52 (1991) 16–38.

² Of the other sources, only Josephus is interested; his account in *Antiquities* is dependent on 1 Maccabees and his account in *Jewish War* (source unknown) is hopelessly garbled. It is of some interest though that in *J.W.* 1 §36 Mattathias is called τῶν ἱερέων ἀπὸ κώμης Μοδεῖν.

³ This is of course an important theme of the work.

⁴ See Simon’s programmatic speech in 13:3–7.

agents of the *dioikētēs* Apollonios in 259 and 258 BCE,⁵ occasionally encountered what one might call “village strongmen”—that is, well-to-do landowners, living in areas relatively remote from centers of government authority, who were influential enough locally and zealous enough of their own prerogatives to resist successfully official interference in their villages or farms.⁶

CPJ 1.6, dated April 258, reports how Zenon's agent and the agent of a local official (probably in southern Judea or Idumea) attempted to collect money which a certain Ieddous owed Zenon;⁷ when they appeared with a letter authorizing collection, Ieddous . . . αὐτοῖς δὲ [χεῖρας] προσενεγκεῖν καὶ ἐγβαλεῖν[ν] ἐκ τῆς κώμης (“ . . . laid hands on them and threw them out of the city”). Tcherikover's interpretation of this incident (mentioned above) is convincing: an average private citizen of no standing is (1) unlikely to have borrowed money from Zenon; (2) would not have been willing or able to “throw the officials out of the village.” Ieddous was probably Jewish—his name has priestly associations⁸—though we should not be as certain of his Jewishness as Tcherikover was. He could have been Idumean.⁹ In any case, a similar situation is likely to be behind the letters Zenon sent (from Alexandria?) to his representatives in the vicinity of Marisa, drafts of which are published as *P.Cair.Zen.* 1.59015.¹⁰

Though the existence of such people presumably upset the Ptolemies' aspirations to control fully the political and economic life of Palestine and Phoenicia,¹¹ Tcherikover was probably right to suppose that they were fairly numerous. The geography of (and probable absence of roads in) the interior of Palestine certainly favored them, because it meant that landowners in areas remote from Jerusalem, Marisa, and other administrative centers could generally expect to be left alone. But we know too little about the economic and social history of late Persian and early Hellenistic Palestine to understand why the phenomenon developed.

Tcherikover considered the Ammanite Toubias mentioned in the Zenon papyri the most successful of the “village strongmen”—wealthy and influential enough to have his position, and his private army, recognized by the Ptolemies and incorporated into the administration of the province of *Syria-kai-Phoinike*. The history of Toubias's family is well known, so it need not be repeated here. It must be emphasized, though, that government recognition of their position in Ammanitis was not the only mark of their success. They also had an interest in Jerusalem; the factual basis of the so-called Tobiad Romance in Josephus, *Ant.* 12 §§160–236 may be that Toubias's son Joseph exploited a political blunder of the high priest Onias II to acquire some sort of authority over

⁵ On Zenon et al. as private agents of Apollonios, see R. Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions Outside Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 1976) 18.

⁶ See V. Tcherikover, “Palestine under the Ptolemies,” *Mizraim* 4/5 (1937) 48–51.

⁷ See V. Tcherikover and A. Fuks, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957).

⁸ Neh 10:22 (priest or levite); 12:11 (high priest); Josephus, *Ant.* 11 §302ff.

⁹ Ieddous (ידיע) is a hypocoristic of the same type as זכור, שלום, or ברוך; but it could just as easily abbreviate a name like the Idumean קיסריע or the ethnically neutral אלירע as the Judean יהודיע or ידעיהו.

¹⁰ See C. C. Edgar, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Zenon Papyri*, vol. 1 (Hildesheim: Olms, 1971).

¹¹ See Bagnall, *Administration*, 9–24.

tax collection at least in Judea and perhaps elsewhere in Palestine.¹² These later Tobiads are portrayed by Josephus as ardent Jewish “nationalists” whose activities—mostly the plundering of Greek cities along the coast (12 §§180–185)—had somehow “brought the *laos* of the *Ioudaioi* from beggary and weak government to more resplendent opportunities of life” (12 §224). Their religious observance is another matter: everyone knows about Toubias’s casual and utterly gratuitous mention of “the gods” in his letter to Apollonios;¹³ Joseph and Hyrcanus are both described as dining with Ptolemy: no kosher caterer is mentioned (12 §§173, 187, 210–214). Some Jews, at least, like the author of Daniel 1 (perhaps their contemporary), would have disapproved.

The Hasmoneans fit best in this company. Despite the statement in 1 Macc 2:1 that Mattathias came from Jerusalem and settled in Modein only at the time of the persecution, it is obvious that Modein was in fact their home. This village was in the foothills on the far northwestern fringe of Judea, or perhaps more likely on the far southwestern fringe of Samaritis.¹⁴ At any rate, it was certainly remote from any administrative center or military outpost (Gezer, which was nearby, was fortified only around 160 [1 Macc 9:52]). It is generally agreed that the Hasmoneans were well-to-do landowners and influential in their village. Such a sentiment is put into the mouth of the Seleucid official in 2:17 (Mattathias is ἄρχων καὶ ἐνδοξος καὶ μέγας . . . ἐν πόλει ταύτῃ) and is confirmed by the course of events early in the uprising.

The family’s activities conform closely to the patterns typical of their class. They were zealous of their local prerogatives: their failure to react to the reform of the Jerusalem cult was a source of embarrassment to some of their later supporters; this explains the moving lamentation for Jerusalem which 1 Maccabees puts into Mattathias’s mouth, and also Josephus’s statement in *J.W.* 1 §§35–36—perhaps derived from folk recollection—that the Hasmoneans’ first act of resistance occurred in Jerusalem. It is therefore likely to be a fact, as 1 Maccabees says, that Mattathias and his group first rose when the royal officials appeared in his village¹⁵—an event reminiscent of Ieddous’s reaction to the arrival of Zenon’s agents.

Subsequently, the family displayed a measure of political ambition and flexibility inconsistent with the common images of them as zealous biblical heroes or religious extremists. Down to 164 they apparently remained especially active in the far north of Judea,¹⁶ yet even there their supporters belonged to very diverse groups, of which

¹² The thoroughgoing skepticism expressed by D. Gera is perhaps excessive (“On the Credibility of the History of the Tobiads,” in *Greece and Rome in Eretz Israel* [ed. A. Kasher, U. Rappaport, and G. Fuks; Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi, 1990] 21–38).

¹³ See *CPJ* 1.4; C. Orrieux points out that it was *not* customary to mention the gods in the greeting of a private letter, yet he paradoxically minimizes the importance of the mention in Toubias’s letter (“Les papyrus de Zénon et la préhistoire du mouvement maccabéen,” in *Hellenica et Judaica: Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowetzky Z’L* [ed. A. Caquot, M. Hadas-Lebel, J. Riaud; Louvain/Paris: Peeters, 1986] 329–33).

¹⁴ See J. Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and Their Supporters From Mattathias to the Death of John Hyrcanus I* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990) 27 n. 1. However, J. Schwartz argues that Modein was in Judea (*Lod (Lydda), Israel From its Origins through the Byzantine Period* [BAR International Series 571; Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1991] 49).

¹⁵ See Sievers, *Hasmoneans*, 29–36. The details of the account are intended to evoke the zeal of Phinehas and thereby legitimate the Hasmoneans’ high priesthood; they should be disregarded (so Sievers); but that some such event occurred is quite likely.

¹⁶ See J. Schwartz and J. Spanier, “On Mattathias and the Desert of Samaria,” *RB* 98 (1991) 252–71.

1 Maccabees mentions only two, both of them some type of pietists (the Asidaioi and the "Sabbath Observers," 2:29–38, 42). But there must have been others, too:¹⁷ (1) landowners like the Hasmoneans, some of them possibly moderately hellenized. Such people may have feared that the transformation of Judea into a normal oriental Greek state would result in the subjection of the countryside to the city; this would have involved the loss of the political and civil status which these landowners had had as prominent members of the *ethnos* of the *Ioudaioi*—in which the Jerusalemites had enjoyed no special advantages over the country people;¹⁸ (2) bands of the socially and economically marginal—brigands, impoverished peasants, and so on—always present in the fragile economy of central Palestine; (3) common pious priests from Jerusalem and points north; (4) Samaritans angry at the reform of the Gerizim cult;¹⁹ (5) apathetic peasants pressured into rebellion by the Hasmoneans' rampages in the north Judean countryside (1 Macc 2:45–48);²⁰ (6) either at this point or sometime in 164/3, the Hasmoneans created an alliance with some group of Tobiads;²¹ (7) most likely in 164, they won the support of some of the more hellenized, probably priestly, members of the Jerusalem aristocracy—for example, Eupolemus b. John and Jason b. Eleazar (1 Macc 8:17). That Judas retained these partisans after the appointment of Alcimus is unlikely, but later some of these groups do show up in the party of Jonathan and Simon.

Now, in all likelihood, the Hasmoneans' control over the revolt in its early stages was looser than 1 and 2 Maccabees admit. Nevertheless, they *are* overwhelmingly likely to have been the revolt's leaders (at least in the north): no source provides even a hint that there was serious competition for this position. If so, then the fact that they held their supporters together demonstrates an ability to mediate, compromise, and appeal to diverse interests, which nothing in 1 Maccabees' account of the family's early history would lead us to expect.

The Hasmoneans notoriously continued fighting after the restoration of the *status quo ante* had cost them the support of much of their faction. Why? Probably not for

¹⁷ The following list extends that provided by Sievers (*Hasmoneans*, 37).

¹⁸ Except a few short-term privileges granted by Antiochus III; see Josephus, *Ant.* 12 §§143–144.

¹⁹ I will discuss this issue in "John Hyrcanus I's Destruction of the Gerizim Temple and Judaeo-Samaritan Relations," *Jewish History* 7 (1993) 9–25.

²⁰ Sievers argues that the destruction of altars and forcible circumcision of children in the Judean countryside are here attributed to Mattathias to provide a legal precedent for John Hyrcanus's treatment of the Idumeans (*Hasmoneans*, 35). That John actually treated the Idumeans in this way, however, is unlikely: see S. Cohen, "Religion, Ethnicity and Hellenism in the Emergence of Jewish Identity," in *Religion and Religious Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom* (ed. P. Bilde, T. Engberg-Pedersen, L. Hannestad, and J. Zahle; Århus: Århus University Press, 1990) 215–16. More likely, 1 Maccabees' statement reflects actual early Hasmonean practice, undertaken either to "purify the land" or to force peasants who had complied with government demands into outlawry and revolt—a common technique among revolutionary and terrorist groups.

²¹ Judas and Jonathan depended on Tobiad troops in their Galaadite "campaign"—a fact suppressed by 1 Maccabees (2 Macc 12:17ff.); such an alliance also explains the peculiar by-name Hyrcanus, of the ethnarch John b. Simon, born sometime in the 160s. Though such an explanation seems obvious, it is rarely given. Obviously wrong is the explanation common in the Christian chronographic tradition that Hyrcanus received his name after a victory over the Hyrcanians—presumably during Sidetes' Parthian campaign; see E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (ed. G. Vermes and F. Millar; Edinburgh: Clark, 1973) 1. 201 n. 2. This explanation reflects its authors' knowledge of Roman, not Hellenistic or Jewish, practice.

Judean independence. Judas himself, in befriending Nicanor (2 Macc 14:23–27),²² behaved more like an ambitious courtier than a zealous freedom-fighter. So he was probably seeking not to overthrow the existing system but to advance within it: Judas's strategy of winning concessions from the Seleucids by pestering them militarily had proved successful in the past, and he probably hoped it would continue to work (one is reminded here of the private army of the Tobiads). With the Hasmoneans' military failure in 161/0, the survivors apparently began to pursue their own political advancement more vigorously, or at least more successfully. The details are unknown, since 1 Maccabees suppressed them, but when its account starts up again, the Hasmoneans have been transformed into the Seleucid counterparts of the late third-century Tobiads: powerful local politicians who have been integrated into the administration of the empire. And they behaved predictably in seizing control in Jerusalem and exploiting their official positions in the Seleucid administration to plunder the coastal cities.

1 and 2 Maccabees and Josephus all make much of the early Hasmoneans' devotion to the Law, and it must be true that in some general sense their inclinations were traditionalist. Yet even here they showed a remarkable willingness to ignore or adapt the law when it suited their purposes to do so. Either Mattathias himself or Jonathan selectively ignored the Sabbath laws—a development apparently opposed later on by some supporters of the Hasmoneans, like the author of 2 Maccabees. Jonathan's assumption of the high priesthood while a presumably legitimate member of the traditional family (Onias IV or his son) was still available was at the very least problematic. But it was probably easier to defend than the family's military activities, which inevitably resulted in the contraction of corpse impurity—ambiguously forbidden to common priests by Lev 21:1, but unambiguously forbidden to high priests by v. 11;²³ indeed, there is no record that any previous high priest except Jason and Menelaus had gone to war. Perhaps I should mention also their failure to observe the laws of war as prescribed in Deuteronomy 20, a failure that 1 Maccabees cannot conceal though not for lack of trying. We have no further solid information about the legal practice of Judas, Jonathan, and Simon, though it would be very interesting to know the facts behind the vituperative rhetoric of, for example, *Pesher Habakkuk* or the *Psalms of Solomon*. These and other documents, especially those from Qumran, raise the possibility that even the early Hasmoneans neglected or altered traditional laws in profound ways not mentioned by the books of Maccabees.

To sum up: many details of the behavior of Mattathias, Judas, Jonathan, and Simon are most closely paralleled in the Zenon papyri and the stories about the Tobiad family. Therefore, the family, like the Tobiads before them (and, for that matter, the family of Antipater the Idumean later, and various Jewish rebel leaders later still), may be profitably viewed as a group of ambitious “village strongmen,” who exploited the disorder in Jerusalem to establish their influence beyond their country district. Their main concern at all periods was their own advancement. To secure this, they displayed political and religious flexibility for which the rhetorical tone of the most important source for their rise, 1 Maccabees, leaves us unprepared.

²² 1 Macc 7:26–32 hurries past the incident.

²³ See also v. 12: וּמִן הַמִּקְדָּשׁ לֹא יֵצֵא וְלֹא יִחַלֵּל אֶת מִקְדָּשׁ אֱלֹהֵיוּ.

SAMUEL'S VISION IN
PSEUDO-PHILO'S *LIBER ANTIQUITATUM BIBLICARUM*

In chap. 53 of the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* the author retells the story of God's initial revelation to the child Samuel (compare 1 Sam 3:1–15). Whereas the biblical tale is rather straightforward, several aspects of *LAB*'s version are puzzling. Thus, in the Bible, Samuel is asleep in the sanctuary and God calls to him twice. On each occasion, Samuel thinks the voice that of Eli the priest and goes to him. When this happens a third time, Eli tells the boy that God is calling him and instructs him to respond accordingly when God calls again. Samuel does so, and God tells him of forthcoming events. *LAB*'s version is more elaborate and complicated; I want only to attend to a few problems.

When God calls Samuel the first time, the boy runs to Eli and, after a brief conversation, Eli says, "in te video hoc signum . . . quoniam si clamaverit bis alter ad alterum . . . scient quoniam spiritus pessimus est. Si autem adiciet ter clamare, sciam quia angelus est" ("I see this sign in you . . . that if one will call out to another two times, . . . they will know that it is an evil spirit. If however he will continue to call out a third time, I will know that it is an angel") (53.4). After the second call, Eli advises the boy, "aure tua dextra intende, sinistra tace . . . auris dextra audit Dominum . . . sinistra autem angelum" ("Pay attention with your right ear, but be deaf with your left. . . . The right ear hears God, . . . the left an angel") (53.6). The commentators have little to say on these matters, but much of the puzzling material can be explained—and paralleled—if we recognize that *LAB* is here operating within the realm of ancient magical belief.

Eli tells Samuel that two calls will henceforth be considered the sign of an evil spirit, three that of an angel. We have here the ancient superstition that odd numbers are lucky, even ones unlucky (see, e.g., Virgil, *Eclogues* 8.75: "numero deus impare gaudet" ["The god rejoices in an odd number"]); *b. Pesah.* 109b–110b, where the king of the demons is said to be in charge of even numbers [110a]).

Particularly mysterious are the statements about right and left ears. C. Dietzfelbinger thinks that Luke 22:50 and John 18:10 are pertinent,¹ but this depends on a strained interpretation of these verses. What is clear is that in *LAB*'s text the right is superior to the left, as is frequent in many cultures.² We might mention Qoh 10:2 and the elaborate amplification of this verse at *Numbers R.* 22.9. More specifically pertinent is a saying of Jesus as recorded in the *Gospel of Thomas*, "preach . . . that which you will hear in your [one] ear."³ But the most illuminating evidence comes from the realm of magic. In a magical text that gives instructions on how to receive prophecy

¹ C. Dietzfelbinger, *Pseudo-Philo, Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (Theol. diss., Göttingen, 1964) 243; cited by L. H. Feldman, *Prolegomenon* to the reprint of M. R. James's translation of *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo* (New York: Ktav, 1971) CXXXIV.

² See Feldman, *Prolegomenon*, CXXXIV.

³ See *Nag Hammadi II.2–7* (ed. B. Layton; Leiden: Brill, 1989) 1.67, 121; "one" is in the Greek text; see *POxy.* 1.Recto 20–22 (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 1 [ed. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt; London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898] 3). Compare Matt 10:27.

(obviously pertinent to *LAB* here), the individual is told to prepare a certain kind of ink and then to put a little of it into his right ear as he speaks his invocation (*PGM* II. 39–40: ἐπικαλούμενος εἰς τὸ οὖς σου τὸ δεξιὸν βάλε ὀλίγον).⁴ The desirability of hearing with the right ear is also evident in a medieval Christian spell on behalf of a barren woman: “vade et dic ad aurem dextram sic . . . dicatur ter a dextra parte mulieris” (“Go and speak thus into her right ear. . . . Let it be spoken three times on the woman’s right side”).⁵

⁴ Translated in *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (ed. H. D. Betz; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986) 13.

⁵ The text is published by K. Helm, *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* 9 (1910) 210; for a Greek version, see A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina* (Moscow: University of Moscow Press, 1893) 339–40.

Howard Jacobson
University of Illinois, Urbana, IL 61801

ACTS 20:35 AND THUCYDIDES 2.97.4

At Acts 20:35, Paul completes his encouragement to the Ephesian elders to care for the weak with a citation from Jesus: μνημονεύειν τε τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν, Μακάριόν ἐστιν μᾶλλον διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν. It is evident that no document, within or outside of the NT, corroborates, except possibly in the most general way, the Acts claim that Jesus said, "It is better to give than to receive." One option is to accept the Acts citation as an accurate, but otherwise unknown, wisdom saying of Jesus.

In 1965, in a footnote to v. 35, E. Haenchen apparently suggested another option. He does this in three stages. First, Haenchen notes: "Now Thucydides II 97, 4 shows that it was the rule in the Persian empire rather to give than to receive (*didonai mallon ē lambanein*)."¹ Then Haenchen cites other sayings of the Greek and Latin world, ending with a citation from *1 Clem.* 2.1 which expresses the idea in participial form "*hypotassomenoi mallon ē hypotassontes, hēdion didontes ē lambanontes*."² Finally, Haenchen concludes: "Luke . . . has taken up a Greek proverb—this here becomes plain—into a section in other respects also very loosely composed, and placed it in the mouth of Jesus. It is Christianized by replacing the Hellenistic *hēdion* with the biblical *makarion*."³

The conclusion of Haenchen, that Luke has taken extrabiblical thinking and ascribed this to Jesus, depends on the multiplicity of examples he can muster and the ongoing repeated *Sprichwort* that lasted for centuries, even beyond the time of Jesus (cf. *1 Clement*). Yet, when one looks at all of the examples Haenchen cites, it is clear that none of them is in the form in which we find Jesus' words except what Haenchen seems to suggest to be a citation from Thucydides.

Now, Haenchen certainly cannot be arguing that, simply because an idea is repeated in history and not found (other than in Acts) attributed to Jesus, the idea must have been forced upon Jesus by a later writer so that he "speaks" it. Indeed, unless the minimum requirement is present, that the words of Jesus are precisely those of some other author, the argument fails for lack of *form*.

It is at this point that one returns to Haenchen's first citation from the ancient Greek world, that of Thucydides. Without saying it, while yet giving us the proposed exact

¹ See E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles* (trans. R. McL. Wilson; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971) 594; German original *Die Apostelgeschichte* (5th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965) 526: "Nun ergibt Thukyd. II 97,4, dass es beim persischen Königtum Regel war, lieber zu geben als zu nehmen (*didonai mallon ē lambanein*)."

² See Haenchen, *Acts*, 594–95.

³ See Haenchen, *Apostelgeschichte*, 527: "Lukas hat—das wird hier deutlich—in einem auch sonst sehr locker komponierten Abschnitt ein griechisches Sprichwort . . . aufgenommen und Jesus in den Mund gelegt. Es wird dadurch christianisiert, dass das biblische *makarion* das hellenistische *hēdion* ersetzt."

words of Thucydides, Haenchen suggests that the words of Thucydides, because they are in form identical to those ascribed to Jesus at Acts 20:35, had an uncommonly forceful influence on the author of the Miletus speech. Haenchen writes so as to emphasize that the citation from Thucydides is the crucial text in his argument. Thus it is good to be as precise as possible about what Thucydides wrote; that is what we propose to do here.

Late in the second book of his *Peloponnesian War*, Thucydides noted the political intention of Sitacles, king of Odrysia, which gave the historian the opportunity to comment on the kingdom of Odrysia and on some of its characteristics.⁴ At one point Thucydides notes that the successor of Sitacles raised the tribute to be paid to the king to its highest level, a tribute that was matched by presents of gold, and silver, besides woven stuffs of other material. Thucydides notes that these presents were given not only to the king but also to the chief men and nobles of Odrysia.

At this point Thucydides comments:

Indeed here, and among other Thracians too, the established custom was just the opposite of what it is in the kingdom of Persia; it was to receive rather than to give, and it was considered more of a disgrace to fail to give a present when one was asked for it than to fail to obtain a present when one asked for it oneself. And such was the power of the Odrysians that this custom was particularly prevalent among them since it was quite impossible to get anything done unless one first produced a present.⁵

As far as content is concerned, this paragraph from Thucydides indicates that "the rule" of the Odrysian kingdom was "to receive rather than to give," or in his Greek: "... *ton . . . nomon . . . lambanein mallon ē didonai*" (*Hist.* 2.97.4). Further, Thucydides notes that this Odrysian way of acting ("*ton nomon*") is quite the opposite of what one finds in the kingdom of Persia. This rather clearly suggests that in Persia the rule is rather to give than to receive.

As far as form is concerned, Thucydides never uses the phrasing "*didonai mallon ē lambanein*," but only its opposite "*lambanein mallon ē didonai*." Then why did Haenchen give us the Greek phrasing, in direct relation to Thucydides: "*didonai mallon ē lambanein*"? Because he thinks he can reconstruct what Thucydides would have written, were he to express what was the customary way of acting in the kingdom of Persia. It is not what Thucydides said that becomes noteworthy, but what he "surely would have said." For the crucial nature of the problem Haenchen wishes to resolve (the identification the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus), a supposed saying of Thucydides doubtfully qualifies.

A further observation about the reconstruction of Thucydides is in order. Indeed, since Thucydides goes on to speak of the Odrysian custom: "... and it was considered more of a disgrace to fail to give a present when one was asked for it than to fail to obtain a present when one asked for it oneself,"⁶ it is reasonable to suggest that, were the historian to express the opposite of what he does actually express ("to receive rather than to give") he may well have used *tychein* in place of *lambanein*, and even might

⁴ See Thucydides, *Historiae* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955) 2.97.

⁵ Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* (trans. R. Warner; London: R. Clay, 1954) 158.

⁶ Ibid. (*Hist.* 2.97.4): *kai aischion ēn aitēthenta mē dounai ē aitēsanta mē tychein*.

have preferred *dounai* to *didonai*. Thus, we are not sure just how Thucydides would have written "to give rather than to receive."⁷

It is very dubious, then, that Thucydides can be cited as an example of that series of expressions which turned into a *Stichwort* by the time of Jesus, "... to give rather than to receive." If the fact that Thucydides is the strongest argument as to the existence of the emerging *Stichwort*, the difficulty grows even greater. Perhaps the wiser course in the discussion of Jesus' wisdom saying in Acts 20:35 is to recognize the weakness in citing Thucydides here (and of reconstructing Thucydides here), to note the existence of other Greek and Latin citations which touch on the subject of giving and receiving (but less convincingly in a form as a source for what is attributed to Jesus), and to pay closer attention to the possibility that what *1 Clement* notes in this matter may well be an alternate rendition of what Jesus actually did say and was passed on, in its own way, by the tradition used by the author of the Miletus speech.

Whatever is to be decided about the rest, let us leave Thucydides at best on the periphery of this question.

⁷ Contra the "reconstruction" of Haenchen, *Acts*, 594.

John J. Kilgallen, S.J.
Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome 00187, Italy

PAUL AND GALLIO

In a recent article in this journal Dixon Slingerland argued that Acts 18:12 proved no more than that Paul arrived in Corinth sometime between 47 and 54 CE.¹ Challenges to received orthodoxy are always welcome, and a number of the points made by Slingerland are well taken, notably his exposure of the unwarranted character of certain assumptions that have led to blatant illogicality in some assessments of what little data we have. His basic criticism of the current consensus, however, is simply that it is not certain! He gives the impression that he alone is aware of the amount of conjecture involved in the attempt to establish an absolute date in Paul's career, and considers the pointing out of such conjecture sufficient to make his case. He idealistically makes certitude the test, whereas the question that realists ask of any reconstruction concerns its relative probability: Is this hypothesis more probable than any alternative? From this perspective one can do much better than Slingerland imagines.

He overstates his case by referring to Paul's appearance before Gallio as a "trial" which leads to the public humiliation of the Jewish community (p. 441). He is led to do so by his concern to make the episode appear typical of what he considers to be Luke's *Tendenz* and thus of no historical value. In fact there is no trial, because Gallio denies that he has jurisdiction; he returns the matter to the appropriate authority in Roman law, namely, the Jewish community.

In his desire to heighten the element of doubt, Slingerland exaggerates the incertitude regarding the length of Gallio's term of office; "there is no way to ascertain whether his position lasted one or two years" (p. 446). It is true that we cannot be absolutely sure, but one can answer with a significant degree of probability because of a piece of evidence that Slingerland did not check.² Seneca reports concerning his brother, "When, in Achaia, he [Gallio] began to feel feverish, he immediately took ship, claiming that it was not a malady of the body but of the place" (*Letters* 104.1). First, this positively excludes the two-year option because it is certain that Gallio did not finish his term of office, whether it was one or two years. Second, the natural interpretation of Seneca's sardonic reference to a "malady of the place" is that Gallio was antipathetic to Achaia and used the excuse of a minor illness to leave. This type of instinctive aversion normally results from a first impression. It does not usually begin late, although it may intensify with the passage of time. The impression of a fussy hypochondriac given by Seneca is confirmed by Pliny (*Natural History* 31.62).

We can go a step further by invoking a factor that Slingerland does not take into account. The closing of the seas to winter travel meant that after September Gallio

¹ Dixon Slingerland, "Acts 18:1–18, the Gallio Inscription, and Absolute Pauline Chronology," *JBL* 110 (1991) 439–49. Page numbers within the text refer to this article.

² He dismisses as speculative (p. 446 n. 28) the view of George Ogg (*The Chronology of the Life of Paul* [London: Epworth, 1968]) that Gallio's health would not have permitted him to spend two years in Achaia.

could not have returned to Rome except by ordering a military ship to sea and risking serious danger, a proceeding alien to his personality. In consequence, it is probable that Gallio stayed only a summer in Achaia. Whatever the year, Paul could have met Gallio in Corinth only between 1 July³ and mid-September.

In addition to ignoring the seasonal limitations on travel, so appropriately emphasized by R. Jewett,⁴ Slingerland also ignores the duration of the battle season (April–October) and the fact that the symbolic value of acclamations would diminish in proportion to their frequency.⁵ When a serious effort is made to correlate the six acclamations in question (the twenty-second to the twenty-seventh) with the time spans available in 51 and 52 CE, it becomes clear that it is most probable that the twenty-sixth acclamation (mentioned in the letter of Claudius to Delphi) took place after the first major military action in the battle season of 52 CE.⁶ Thus, even though we do not have the unrealistic standard of proof which Slingerland expects, we can say with a high degree of security that the letter of Claudius was written between April 52 CE at the earliest and 1 August 52 CE (by which date Claudius had been acclaimed Imperator for the twenty-seventh time) at the latest.

Further, because of the limitations on travel, the information to which the letter responded must have reached the emperor either sometime during the late summer of 51 CE or by the first boats coming from Greece in the spring of 52 CE. Claudius's special predilection for Achaia⁷ makes it improbable that he delayed in responding to a report on the plight of Delphi.

Slingerland would reply that there is no legitimate absolute criterion that would decide between the two dates, which, moreover, he would consider unduly limited because he recognizes that Gallio could have been appointed as early as 50 CE (p. 446). Reflection, however, suggests that the report was brought to Rome by Gallio in September 51 CE. Gallio's decision to leave his post without authorization was certain to incur the displeasure of Claudius, and it would have been in his interest both to redeem himself and to distract the emperor by informing the latter of a subject close to his heart. This line of argument makes it most unlikely that Gallio's truncated term of office was the summer of 50 CE. What reason could he have had to withhold the report for a year? Slingerland will, of course, dismiss such reasoning as mere conjecture.

³ The ruling of Tiberius in 15 CE that provincial officeholders should leave Rome by 1 June (Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 57.14.5) implies that they took up their posts a month later. That time was allowed for travel is confirmed by the 42 CE legislation of Claudius, who moved the departure date back to 1 April only because officials tarried in Rome (Dio Cassius 60.11.3). This was too early for sea travel, and the following year he was forced to change the date to 15 April (Dio Cassius 60.17.3). There is no evidence of any modification of the date of assumption of office. The problem is not "unresolvable," as Slingerland claims (p. 445 n. 22) apparently in order to justify his uncritical acceptance of 1 May.

⁴ R. Jewett, *A Chronology of Paul's Life* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977) 56–57.

⁵ On the necessary connection between the *salutatio imperatoria* and military victory, see Dio Cassius 43.44.4–5; 46.38.1; 52.41.3–4; and the article "Imperator" in PW (9. 1147–50) or *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (2d ed.; ed. N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard; Oxford: Clarendon, 1970) 542.

⁶ For details see my *St. Paul's Corinth: Texts and Archaeology* (GNS 6; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1983) 142–44.

⁷ "In commending Achaia to the senators he [Claudius] declared that it was a province dear to him through the association of kindred studies" (Suetonius, *Claudius* 42).

In fact it represents an effort to resist the intellectual paralysis to which his approach leads by attempting to find reasonable grounds for discriminating between the various possibilities all of which he considers equally valid.

Slingerland is on much more solid ground in arguing that Acts 18:1–18 provides no basis for determining either a *terminus a quo* or a *terminus ad quem* for Paul's eighteen-month stay in Corinth (pp. 442–43). There is, however, another approach, which Slingerland ignores. On the basis of Gal 1:18; 2:1; and 2 Cor 11:32–33, it has been argued with a high degree of probability that Paul's second visit to Jerusalem coming from Corinth took place in the fall of 51 CE.⁸ If this is correct, Paul would have left Corinth roughly about the same time as Gallio. In consequence, his arrival there should be dated in the early spring of 50 CE, because there is nothing intrinsically implausible in a stay of eighteen months.

■ See in particular Jewett, *Chronology*, 30–33 (with the corrections of C. Saulnier, "Hérode Antipas et Jean le Baptiste: Quelques remarques sur les confusions chronologiques de Flavius Josèphe," *RB* 91 [1984] 371–75) and my "Pauline Missions before the Jerusalem Conference," *RB* 89 (1982) 71–91. For a convincing rebuttal of the objections to Nabatean control of Damascus, see the forthcoming study by J. Taylor, "The Ethnarch of King Aretas at Damascus: A Note on 2 Cor 11:32–33," *RB* 99 (1992) 719–28.

Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, O.P.
Ecole Biblique, P.O.B. 19053, Jerusalem

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Arthur Ungnad

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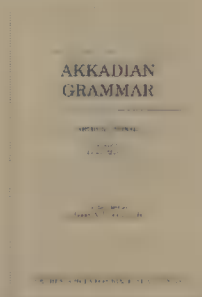
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The Goddess Anat in Ugaritic Myth

Neal H. Walls

This study offers a symbolic interpretation of the goddess Anat within the Ugaritic mythological corpus. Anat's symbolic identity is analyzed with respect to her poetic epithets, narrative actions, and structural position within the mythic pantheon. Informed by comparative analysis of feminine social and sexual images in Greek and Hindu mythology, this study emphasizes the role of gender imagery and feminine identity in androcentric mythological systems.

Described by modern scholars as either a virgin warrior or a "goddess of love and war," the Maiden Anat is an ambiguous character within the Late Bronze Age myths from ancient Ugarit. By adopting the masculine attributes of hunter and warrior, Anat rejects the normative feminine roles of wife and mother and thus threatens patriarchal social and gender ideologies.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Frauen im Alten Israel: Eine begriffsgeschichtliche und sozialrechtliche Studie zur Stellung der Frau im Alten Testament, by Karen Engelken. BWANT 130. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1990. Pp. ix + 256. DM 79 (paper).

The scope of this partly reworked inaugural dissertation (Mainz 1987/88, under H. Seebass) is considerably more modest than the title, "Women in Ancient Israel," suggests, though it encompasses more than the five word studies on which it is built. Describing her work as a "*begriffsgeschichtliche* and socio-legal study of the position of women in the Old Testament," Engelken focuses on five terms designating women in particular social categories, viz. *btwlh*, '*lmh*, *pylgš*, *šphh*, and '*mh*. Her aim in this selection is to provide a more differentiated picture of women's status than a simple division into free and non-free and the usual analysis of women's roles in terms of family relationships (daughter, wife, mother, widow).

The book is divided into three chapters, with a short introduction and concluding summary of results, an extensive bibliography (through 1986), and indexes of Bible references, names and subjects. Engelken begins by noting the paucity of sociological studies of women in ancient Israel and the lack of careful historical-exegetical study in much of the newer literature on women. Her work is intended as a corrective to both.

Chapter 1 treats the terms *btwlh* and '*lmh*, commonly treated as equivalent in the secondary literature. Engelken distinguishes the two, proposing a new interpretation for '*lmh*, which she sees as designating a woman of rank (*Adel*, *Aristokratie*), more specifically a member of the court (Moses' sister was an intimate of the Egyptian princess, in her view). Among court personnel the '*lmh* may have had special responsibility as a musician, dancer, or singer, a service Engelken derives from an original cultic role, as suggested by extrabiblical texts. She locates the '*lmh* at the top of the status hierarchy she constructs from the five terms (chart, p. 185), failing to recognize any conflict between the status of a performer or palace attendant and that of an aristocrat.

Engelken's main interest in chapter 1 is virginity, more particularly the extraordinarily high value placed on the virginity of the unmarried woman, together with the absence of any attempt to explain it. This dual phenomenon constitutes the "problem" she seeks to illumine through her study of *btwlh*, a term which she traces from an original common Semitic meaning of "young woman of puberty age" to the specific sense of *virgo intacta* that ultimately became its exclusive sense. She does not attempt a detailed study of all texts, but focuses on those that help to illuminate Israelite views of virginity. An overview establishes the basic meaning as "a young woman who has not had sexual contact with a man" (Gen 24:16; Deut 22:13-21; Judg 21:12) and shows how various uses reveal particular emphases and associations (an association with purity

in Lev 21:13–15; a sense of “intactness” in the metaphorical use of Jerusalem; the potential for life in combination with *bhwr*). Close analysis of the legal texts (Exod 22:15–16; Deut 22:13–27; Lev 21:1–4, 13–15) forms the bulk of the study, followed by analysis of three narrative passages (Judg 11:37–38; 1 Kgs 1:1–4; Job 31:1). Engelken finds clues to the meaning and motive of the emphasis in the father’s economic and social interest and offers a theory of origins (by O. Němeček) emphasizing sacral and psychological factors.

Chapter 2 focuses on the term *pylgš*, but is primarily concerned with the phenomenon of polygyny and the differentiation of status and rights of spouses. Engelken concludes that *pylgš* describes a marriage relationship of reduced rights and is best translated “auxiliary wife” (*Nebenfrau*), although she allows that a *pylgš* might be a first and sole wife (treating Judg 19:1–9 as reliable historical data). The *pylgš* is not a slave and ranks above the *’mh* and *šphh* as a sexual partner. She is subordinated to the main wife/wives, and her rights are not treated in any extant legal texts. Engelken suggests that the *pylgš* was not a member of her husband’s family to the same extent as the primary wife and might live apart from his house (inferred from Judg 8:3).

Chapter 3 treats the dependent or “non-free” woman, represented by the terms *šphh* and *’mh*. Engelken notes the lack of a feminine counterpart to the masculine noun *’ebed* (“slave” or “servant,” from the root “to work, serve”) and the variety of meanings given to the two terms describing women in situations of social, economic and legal dependency. Analyzing occurrences in narrative texts, lists of possessions, formulas of deferential address, legal texts, and prophetic and wisdom literature, she concludes (with tables, pp. 166–68) that both terms describe women in a range of positions from dependent to completely non-free. The position of the *’mh*, however, is clearly better than that of the *šphh*. The latter, best translated “slave,” is associated with classes of possessions, while the *’mh*, “maid” or “servant,” is more closely related to the household circle. The three named slaves of the Genesis narratives, Hagar, Zilpah, and Bilhah, function as substitute birth-mothers at the disposition of their mistresses without assuming any marital rights.

The contributions of this study are substantial, primarily in the careful literary-historical and form-critical analysis of selected texts and the wealth of literature cited. Engelken has provided an essential exegetical foundation for further study, having selected important terms for analysis that contribute to a general understanding of women in ancient Israel by focusing on various boundary situations. Her analysis is generally nuanced and largely convincing.

The study is weakened, however, by a fundamental failing, which will be more apparent to American readers, especially in view of recent and forthcoming sociologically oriented works on women in ancient Israel. Although Engelken understands her work as a contribution to the sociological study of ancient Israel, it lacks an adequately articulated theoretical framework for interpreting ancient agrarian and pastoral societies and makes no apparent use of the now extensive anthropological literature on gender. This is especially noteworthy in the extended discussion of the emphasis on virginity, for which Engelken can find no explanation, apart from Němeček’s work. She seems wholly unaware of the treatment of this phenomenon in anthropological studies of Mediterranean “honor and shame” societies, and she fails to see it as part of a larger complex of social and symbolic relationships. The same lack of macro-sociological analysis weakens her treatment of polygyny, although she rightly sees that

the study of *pylgš* requires attention to the broader phenomenon. It is here that the strains of combining word study with phenomenological analysis become obvious, as well as in the disparate terms selected for analysis. This study begins with lexical items, in texts relating to different social and historical settings, and attempts to construct a picture out of the pieces. A meaningful and coherent portrait, however, requires a conceptual framework that is lacking here. Without such a framework, studies of this type will remain of limited usefulness.

Phyllis A. Bird

Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary, Evanston, IL 60201

The Alien in Israelite Law, by Christiana van Houten. JSOTSup 107. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991. Pp. 200. £22.50/\$39.50 (£18.75/\$29.50).

This monograph, a revision of the author's 1989 dissertation (directed by Joseph Blenkinsopp at Notre Dame University) is a careful diachronic study of pentateuchal laws referring to the alien, the *gēr*. After a brief introduction and discussion of the ancient Near Eastern context, van Houten examines the changing identity and the legal treatment of the alien in the Book of the Covenant, Deuteronomy, and the Priestly laws.

Van Houten dates the references to the alien in the Book of the Covenant to the premonarchical period. Three laws in this collection protect the alien from general abuse (Exod 22:20), prohibit unfair treatment of the alien in the courts (Exod 23:9), and include the alien in the sabbath rest (Exod 23:12). Van Houten, perhaps too precisely, characterizes the concerns of these laws as charity, justice, and cultic activity.

The identity of the alien in this premonarchical period is defined in terms of clan. According to van Houten, the alien is an individual or family from a different tribe (Israelite or not) who is dependent upon being received into the household for survival. Van Houten's position, based largely on the sabbath law which assumes that the alien is a member of the household (Exod 23:12; cf. also Judg 17:19), convincingly counters the prevalent view that identifies the alien in these passages with the conquered indigenous population of Palestine.

Van Houten argues that two distinct views of the alien are found in Deuteronomy: first, that found within the law code (Deuteronomy 12–26) and the decalogue (Deut 5:12–15), and second, the view found in the covenant ceremony of Deut 29:10 (cf. Deut 31:12). According to van Houten, the first group of texts, dated from the late monarchy, identifies the alien as a non-Israelite (Deut 14:21) who has no option of becoming Israelite. Like the laws in the Book of the Covenant, these laws presuppose that the alien is economically vulnerable and probably landless, although unlike the alien in the Book of the Covenant, the Deuteronomic alien is not necessarily a member of the patriarchal household. The laws are aimed at creating a permanent support system for the alien, the widow and the orphan. Van Houten interprets the alien in Deut 29:10 and 31:12 as a group of second class citizens who are nonetheless legally bound to Israel as shown by their participation in a covenant ceremony. Following A. D. H. Mayes, van Houten suggests that the Deuteronomistic redactor sought to identify the alien with the Gibeonites of Joshua 9. The aliens in Deuteronomy 29 are described as "hewers

of wood and drawers of water," a phrase used elsewhere only in reference to the Gibeonites.

Van Houten identifies two different strata in the Priestly references to the alien. The earlier, pre-exilic stratum continues to view the alien as an economically vulnerable outsider who is to be treated with generosity. Van Houten shares the prevalent view that a later, post-exilic stratum uses the term *gēr* to refer to converts rather than to marginalized strangers. There is to be one law for the alien and the native born (cf. Num 15:14–16); the alien may be circumcised and participate in Passover (Exod 12:48–49). In what may be a more controversial move, van Houten further specifies the identity of these proselytes as Israelites and others who moved into Judah during the period of the exile. The returning Jews would have regarded those who remained in the land as impure, and would have required them to undergo ritual purification in order to be accepted into the worshipping community.

This study is painstaking and while details may be debated, its conclusions are on the whole plausible. Van Houten's diachronic approach is a significant advance over most previous discussions of the *gēr*, few of which have paid enough attention to the varying historical and social contexts from which the texts emerged. Moreover, van Houten consistently maintains a distinction between legal ideals and social practices. The laws indicate what those who drafted them thought ought to be done, not what was in fact carried out.

The book is not without flaws. Van Houten's grasp of the critical issues related to the three law codes is weaker than her exegesis of specific passages. Her discussion of the form and provenance of Deuteronomy, for example, is greatly oversimplified. She speaks of a scholarly consensus around the provenance of Deuteronomy which does not exist. Of the many theories concerning the genre of Deuteronomy, van Houten identifies only two, Mayes's and Weinfeld's; she then misreads Weinfeld's study and dismisses it. She is also overly optimistic about the ease with which redactional layers in Deuteronomy may be identified. She assigns Deut 5:12–15 and the majority of the references to the alien in Deuteronomy 12–26 to a single redactional layer for two reasons: they contain lists grouping the alien and other vulnerable persons, and they have similar motive clauses. Exod 20:8–11, which van Houten argues is predeuteronomic, includes a very similar list. Moreover, motive clauses cannot be used to determine redactional layers in Deuteronomy.

The final chapter of the book is especially problematic. Van Houten attempts to draw implications from her study that go far beyond her data. She asserts but does not demonstrate that "the laws pertaining to the alien are typical of the laws in each of the collections," so that "conclusions on the development of these laws can be generalized to describe the development of law in general in Israel" (p. 158). She then draws sweeping conclusions about the development of the form and character of Israelite law, the relationship of law and theology, and even the moral and ethical development of ancient Israel on the basis of a very narrow group of texts.

These problems do not, however, invalidate the core of van Houten's study. Her discussion of the identity and treatment of the alien in pentateuchal law is careful and useful.

Carolyn Jo Pressler
United Theological Seminary of the Twin Cities,
New Brighton, MN 55112-7435

Tithe as Gift: The Institution in the Pentateuch and in Light of Mauss's Prestation Theory, by Menahem Herman. Distinguished Dissertation Series. Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1991. Pp. xviii + 188. N.P. (paper).

In this dissertation under the direction of Wolfgang Roth, Herman challenges the widely held interpretation that the tithe in ancient Israel was a tax levied on the people. According to Herman, prior biblical scholars have failed to understand the true nature of the tithe because their use of historical-critical methodology has not been able to resolve the contradictions between the Priestly and the Deuteronomic tithe laws, and they have tended to neglect the larger covenantal context in which the Pentateuchal tithe passages are embedded. Consequently, the tithe remains a largely obscure institution. By using a canonical approach and anthropological evidence from gift-exchange systems, however, Herman attempts to circumvent the failures of prior scholarship and to shed new light on the tithe. His thesis is that the tithe legislation of the Pentateuch describes a compulsory system of reciprocities under the covenant through which tangible goods are given in exchange for intangibles, including divine protection and blessing.

Herman begins his study with the thorough review of scholarship that is characteristic of dissertations. Of the many scholars who have tackled the tithe, Herman finds the work of McConville (*Law and Theology in Deuteronomy*, JSOTSup 33 [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984]) most helpful, because it is sympathetic toward a synchronic investigation of the tithe, emphasizing the ideology of the sources over their function and chronology. In fact, the starting point of Herman's study is McConville's own insights that the tithe references in the Priestly and Deuteronomic traditions are constituent elements in a larger literary entity, that the tithe is an obligatory gift bound up with the theme of covenant, and that the tithe is a concrete representation of the covenant.

In chapter 2 Herman gives a detailed exegesis of the Pentateuchal tithe passages. Most of his exegesis is sound, reflecting the insights of historical-critical scholarship. Because he takes a canonical approach, Herman also interprets each passage in light of the other tithe and Pentateuchal passages. Although he acknowledges the differences between the Priestly and Deuteronomic traditions, he claims that they represent separate ways of articulating the shared idea that the tithe is a symbol of covenant loyalty. This point is well taken, and is a significant contribution. But when Herman further concludes that the Pentateuchal tithe law articulates "a system through which material goods, namely the tithe payment by the donor, is *exchanged* for divine protection or blessing" (p. 101, emphasis mine), he steps beyond the boundaries of sound exegesis. The only passage that hints of an exchange is Deut 14:29, but this evidence is not compelling. Herman simply assumes this and repeatedly states it throughout his investigation. Moreover, Herman neglects other, more apparent aspects of the tithe. In the Priestly tradition, for example, the tithe serves as a levitical and priestly wage in place of a territorial allotment. In the Deuteronomic tradition the tithe is provided for the indigent and landless—the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow. In both cases, the tithe is a symbol by which all Israel could share in the produce of the promised land.

In the remaining two chapters of the book, Herman attempts to provide more clarity on the biblical tithe by comparing it with cross-cultural gift-exchange systems, in particular, the exchange that Mauss identified as "prestation." Gift-exchange systems are symbolic means by which societal members channel power and resources for social

ends, either for maintaining existing relationships, or for acquiring status. Herman emphasizes that the exchange can be between members of equal or unequal status, and can include the giving of food in exchange for intangibles such as hospitality or protection. Prestations are a special type of gift-exchange in that they refer to a "compulsory gift that falls upon the entire group and all of its social phenomena, including religious, legal, moral, and economic aspects" (p. 117).

Herman's discussion of gift-exchange systems is straightforward and accurate. He also appropriately modifies Mauss's prestation theory in light of the ethnographic research that has been done since his formulation. Finally, Herman argues for significant analogies between prestations and the biblical tithe. The payoff for this comparison is that the tithe can be interpreted as a gift-exchange system that peacefully unites two unequal parties, Israel and God. The biblical tithe, then, serves as an analogy of the covenant.

In applying anthropological data from gift-exchange systems to the biblical tithe, Herman has opened up a potentially fruitful avenue of research. However, his basic approach is flawed, casting doubt on his conclusions. First, he never articulates the criteria by which anthropological data from diverse cultures can be applied to the biblical literature. His approach simply uses anthropological data to illuminate the biblical tithe, but no criteria are given for distinguishing relevant data. The resort to "parallels" and "similarities" is not sufficient without a theory of cross-cultural comparison. Second, Herman's characterization of the biblical tithe itself, as mentioned above, is flawed. His exegesis of the biblical text fails to demonstrate that the tithe is a gift-exchange, that it is given in exchange for intangibles. Although Herman's dissertation makes a valuable contribution by placing the tithe within its covenantal context, several shortcomings serve to undermine his thesis.

Ronald A. Simkins

Creighton University, Omaha, NE 68178

Leviticus 1-16: A New Translation With Introduction and Commentary, by Jacob Milgrom. AB 3. New York/London: Doubleday, 1991. Pp. xix + 1163. \$42.

In this first of two volumes on Leviticus in AB, Jacob Milgrom has brought together the results of his extensive research on the Priestly traditions. While Milgrom's published views on the Priestly traditions have not changed substantially, his basic arguments are extended and developed richly in the commentary. The exegetical skill, the breadth of knowledge, the command of the material, and the clarity of thought exhibited by Milgrom clearly mark this as an immediate standard in the study and interpretation of Leviticus 1-16.

The volume follows the typical AB format with an Introduction (pp. 1-67), an extensive and complete Bibliography (pp. 69-128), fresh translations of the texts followed by extensive and detailed notes, and a series of comments covering a wide range of topics. The exegetical work is organized around three major sections: Leviticus 1-7: "The Sacrificial System" (pp. 129-489); Leviticus 8-10: "The Inauguration of the Cult" (pp. 491-640); Leviticus 11-16: "The Impurity System" (pp. 641-1084). The volume concludes with a series of indices (Subjects, Terms, Authors, and Sources).

Milgrom states that his methodology is "synchronic"; it studies each literary unit as a whole (p. 2). Indeed, the commentary is filled with valuable stylistic and literary

insights. At the same time, however, the actual exegetical analysis of the texts is strongly historical and comparative. Texts are interpreted in conversation with a wide range of ANE texts, rabbinic texts, Qumran texts, and medieval Jewish interpreters. Milgrom often draws on these texts to support or confirm his arguments. In this regard, the commentary makes an unparalleled contribution to the history of interpretation of cultic terms, rites, and ideas.

Drawing on and extending the work of A. Hurvitz, Milgrom argues for a pre-exilic date for the whole of P. He discusses a number of terms and institutions found in P that are either missing altogether or understood very differently in post-exilic documents (pp. 3–13). Tracing the probable origin of P's sacrificial procedures to the cult at Shiloh (p. 34), Milgrom believes that the basic P texts (P_1) and supplements (P_2) were composed no later than ca. 750 BCE (p. 28). These texts were then redacted at the end of the eighth century by H. Finding several H passages in Leviticus 1–16 (3:16b–17; 6:12–18a α ; 7:22–29a; 7:38b[?]; 9:17b; 11:43–45; 12:8; 14:34–53[?], 54–57[?]; 15:31; 16:2b β , 29–34a), Milgrom argues that H was the final redactor of P (p. 63). With the possible exception of a few redactional touches, both P and H “were composed by the priests of Israel, in the land of Israel, during the days of the First Temple” (p. 13). In addition, Milgrom argues that Deut 14:4–21 is an abridgment of Leviticus 11 and concludes that the writer of Deut 14:4–21 “had the entire MT of Lev 11 [including H material in vv. 43–45] before him” (p. 704).

Drawing on and extending the work of I. Knohl, Milgrom begins to catalogue and evaluate the stylistic, terminological, and theological differences between P and H. For example, H has a tendency to blur certain terminological-ideological distinctions that are rigidly maintained in P (pp. 35–38), reflects a more artful and intricate use of chiasmic structure (pp. 39–42), contains an absolute prohibition against common slaughter (pp. 28–29, 214–16), emphasizes the holiness of Israel (pp. 48–49), includes the *gēr* in many of its laws (p. 1065), and for the first time prescribes an annual date for the celebration of the Day of Purgation (initially in P, he argues, it was an emergency procedure for purifying the sanctuary, pp. 1061–1062). Milgrom promises more extensive treatment of H in the forthcoming volume.

The primary contribution of the volume is Milgrom's exegetical analysis and interpretation of the texts of Leviticus and the Priestly ritual system. His analysis of stylistic and structural features of texts is illuminating and convincing. His exegetical conclusions are stated clearly and his reasoning is supported with a wide range of information and data. His attention to detail is exemplary. He develops with precision and consistency the ritual meaning of the various types of sacrifices, the function of the larger ritual processes described or prescribed in P, and the nature of the Priestly cult reflected in these texts.

At the same time, Milgrom uses his analysis of the individual texts as a basis for discussing and clarifying the structure of the Priestly ritual system. More fully than before, Milgrom brings to light the larger theological and conceptual categories which are operative in the Priestly traditions. For example, he demonstrates that the sacrificial texts (Leviticus 1–7) and the impurity texts (Leviticus 11–15) are significantly related through the dynamic interaction of the conceptual categories of life and death which are then reflected in the cultic categories of holiness and impurity. Thus, while he recognizes development within these texts, he also brings to light certain overarching issues and concerns which run throughout the Priestly traditions. In addition, he demon-

strates various ways in which Priestly theology is significantly related to other parts of the Hebrew Scriptures (e.g., "The Priestly Doctrine of Repentance," pp. 373–78 and "The Prophets and the Cult," pp. 482–85) and the importance of the Priestly materials for theology. The synthetic work is undertaken primarily in the comments following the textual notes which are, in this volume, arranged according to specific topics (I count some seventy-four distinct entries). These comments will be the most useful for many readers who will find the textual and exegetical notes difficult to follow.

As is the case with any volume of this size and forthrightness, there are specific points of interpretation which will find disagreement. It is clear, however, that future discussions of Leviticus and the Priestly traditions will have to begin with Milgrom's work. His views on the chronological development of P and H and D will have to be given careful and critical consideration. It is hoped that in the second volume Milgrom will clarify his understanding of the development of the whole of Leviticus and the relationship of this process to the development of the Pentateuch. In addition, it would be helpful if Milgrom clarified his understanding of the nature of ritual. For example, what constitutes a ritual or ritual activity? Are rituals to be understood in terms of their performance and enactment or primarily in terms of the ideas to which they point? While these issues are not central to Milgrom's enterprise, future discussions of Priestly ritual will need to address them more fully.

Unfortunately, the usefulness of the volume is limited by the absence of chapter and verse divisions at the top of the pages. The pages devoted to chapters 1–10 (pp. 133–640) do not even have the indication of chapter divisions! This is particularly problematic and irritating because of the large amount of very important and helpful cross-referencing done in the volume. This flaw in production will certainly be an obstacle to the extensive use of a commentary that is deserving of a wide audience. At the same time, it is clear that the massive amount of information contained in the notes, the technical nature of the analysis, and the highly nuanced nature of many of the arguments will prove daunting to those outside of the academy. It is this reviewer's hope that Professor Milgrom will in the not too distant future put his views on the Priestly traditions into a more popular and readable volume so that a wider audience will have access to his very important and stimulating work.

Frank H. Gorman, Jr.
Bethany College, Bethany, WV 26032

Deuteronomy 1–11: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary, by Moshe Weinfeld. AB 5. New York/London: Doubleday, 1991. Pp. xiv + 458. \$34 (\$42 Canada).

The book of Deuteronomy has been a frequent storm center in the history of biblical interpretation. Considered by some the linchpin of pentateuchal criticism and by others the "theological center" of the Hebrew Scriptures, Deuteronomy forms both the capstone of the Pentateuch and the introduction to the Deuteronomistic History. The frequent quotations of Deuteronomy in the New Testament and in the classic rabbinical sources are evidence of its authority within both Jewish and Christian traditions. Given Deuteronomy's importance at so many levels, there have been surprisingly few good commentaries on Deuteronomy which combine critical acumen, literary sensitivity and theological insight. The void has begun to be filled by a number of recent

monographs on Deuteronomy. Among these welcome newcomers is Moshe Weinfeld's contribution to the Anchor Bible series: *Deuteronomy 1-11: A New Translation, Introduction and Commentary*. Weinfeld is Professor of Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He has distinguished himself over almost thirty years with a long list of books and articles on Deuteronomy. The best known is his 1972 monograph entitled *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, a book noted for its thesis that Deuteronomy was in large part the product of sages in the wisdom tradition of ancient Israel. Weinfeld has also stressed the importance of ancient Near Eastern treaty forms in understanding Deuteronomy, particularly the suzerain-vassal treaties of the Hittite and neo-Assyrian varieties. Weinfeld's scholarly attention to Deuteronomy has ranged broadly, covering ancient Near Eastern, biblical and contemporary historical and theological concerns. The present commentary is a mature and well crafted distillation of a lifetime of work and thought.

Deuteronomy 1-11 begins with an extensive and readable 84-page introduction. Weinfeld presents his own positions on various issues along with selected scholars with whom he significantly agrees or disagrees. The seventeen topics range from historical and tradition-critical concerns ("Deuteronomy and Its Northern Roots," "Deuteronomy and the Reform of Josiah," "Deuteronomy and Wisdom Literature") to literary and critical questions ("The Literary Form of Deuteronomy," "Composition and Structure," "Singular and Plural Layers," "Relation of Deuteronomy to the Tetrateuch"), to issues of a more thematic and theological bent ("The Idea of the Election of Israel," "The Land in Deuteronomy," "Deuteronomy as Turning Point in Israelite Religion"). The introduction is followed by a thirty-seven page bibliography on Deuteronomy which clearly undergirds Weinfeld's work in both the introduction and the heart of the commentary on Deuteronomy 1-11 which follows.

Weinfeld divides chapters 1-11 into two major sections: Deut 1:1-4:43 (Moses' First Address: Historical Survey) and 4:44-11:32 (Moses' Second Address: Introduction to the Exposition of the Law). *Deuteronomy 1-11* is further subdivided into twenty-three smaller sections ranging from a few verses to whole chapters. Each section contains a fresh translation, textual notes, notes and comment. The "Textual Notes" are largely text-critical in character and include consideration of unpublished Qumran fragments of the text of Deuteronomy. The "Notes" defend translations against other options in understanding a phrase, explore historical and critical issues, introduce rabbinic readings, and refer to parallel texts elsewhere in Deuteronomy or the Hebrew Bible. The "Comment" sections build on Weinfeld's broader concerns to illuminate the literary structure, themes and theology of Deuteronomy. It is the integration of the work of a skilled translator, historical-critical scholar, and biblical theologian that is this commentary's overriding strength. Weinfeld reaches independent conclusions and cannot be easily placed in any one "camp." Readers will not always agree with Weinfeld's positions, but one will always find his conclusions clearly stated and defended.

Weinfeld's judicious sampling of traditional rabbinic and Jewish interpretations opens the reader to the range of interpretations available in the history of biblical interpretation. Ibn Ezra discerns an order in the subject matter of the last five commandments of the Decalogue; from destroying and violating another's body (murder, adultery) to taking another's property by force (stealing), by mouth (false witness) or by mere intention (coveting). Weinfeld comments on the brutal holy war requirement in Deuteronomy 21 that the native population must be exterminated: "the rabbis could

not conceive the removal of the Canaanites in such a cruel, radical manner and circumvented plain Scripture" by reinterpreting Joshua's conquest to allow for Canaanites either to leave Canaan, make peace with Israel, or fight. Weinfeld cites Philo and Martin Buber when discussing the second person singular "you" form of the Ten Commandments and its implied "I-Thou" relationship. Weinfeld's broader interpretive concerns are woven into the entire commentary.

Some questions arise as the reader works through this commentary. Weinfeld, for example, argues that Deuteronomy comes *after* and not before the Priestly tradition in date. The Priestly tradent for Weinfeld seems more ritualistic, magical, sacral and hence more primitive and earlier. On the other hand, Weinfeld argues that Deuteronomy is more rational, humanitarian and "secular" and thus later. But can such a clear distinction between the sacral-holy character of P and the secular-social character of D really be sustained? The purity laws in Deuteronomy 14, the concern for the worship place, festivals and liturgy in Deuteronomy 12, 16 and 26, the consistent concern for Levitical priests and prophets all suggest that Deuteronomy is not so much a more secular document. Rather, it has a different understanding of the sacral. And even if one could argue for such a sacral versus secular distinction between P and D, the assumption that a more secular or humanitarian tone necessarily entails a later dating is not self-evident. D and P may simply represent two different traditions of separate groups within Israel whose relative dating must depend on comparisons other than just the alleged sacral versus secular distinction.

Weinfeld is known for his thesis that Deuteronomy is associated with the wisdom tradition in ancient Israel. He rehearses what he perceives as the distinctive verbal and conceptual affinities between Deuteronomy and the wisdom literature, especially the book of Proverbs. Weinfeld concludes, "All of this might support my thesis that scribes and wise men were engaged in the composition of Deuteronomy" (p. 65). The key word here is "might." It seems that Weinfeld has backed off somewhat from his thesis in *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, recognizing that a list of scattered parallels is not overwhelming evidence for authorship as much as some borrowing from the wisdom tradition. The most one can say is there "might" be a connection of some sort.

One final question arising from the commentary is this: what does Weinfeld think is the central purpose which this book served in ancient Israel? Is it liturgical, political or theological? At times, Weinfeld argues that an attack on the cult was the book's central aim. "The very purpose of the book of Deuteronomy," writes Weinfeld, "was to curtail and circumvent the cult and not to extend or enhance it" (p. 37). Deuteronomy, claims Weinfeld, replaces the temple with the synagogue and the system of sacrifice and ritual with prayer and Torah reading. At other times, Weinfeld links the central purpose of Deuteronomy with kingship and the political programs of King Hezekiah and Josiah in their nationalistic efforts to restore old Israel, both north and south. At other times, especially in the discussion of Deuteronomy 4 and 30, Weinfeld sees Deuteronomy's central concern as introducing a "new consciousness of sin" (p. 59) and a word of hope for the exiles. Deuteronomy, writes Weinfeld, proclaims that "there is hope for restoration if the nation returns with sincerity" (p. 216).

The scattered and varied nature of Weinfeld's responses to the question of Deuteronomy's central purpose suggests a need for the author to spell out more clearly his assumptions about how one interprets this biblical book. Which level is definitive—

Hezekian, Josianic, exilic, post-exilic? What criteria does one use to determine what is a central purpose of the book? Was the transformation of worship in Deuteronomy an attack on the cult or a reasonable adjustment to the realities of the exile and the loss of the temple as a place of worship? Questions such as these may be answered in the second volume of Weinfeld's Deuteronomy commentary, which will cover chaps. 12–34. In light of the contributions of this present work, we are fortunate that we have not yet heard the last word from Weinfeld on Deuteronomy.

Dennis T. Olson

Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, NJ 08542

2 Kings, by Burke O. Long. FOTL 10. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1991. Pp. xiii + 324. \$29.95 (paper).

This most recent addition to the established commentary series, *Forms of the Old Testament Literature*, continues the series' focus on form-critical exegesis. This volume joins Long's *1 Kings* in the same series (1984). Throughout both volumes, the author treats 1–2 Kings as a large literary unit. This emphasis allows for sensitivity to the larger themes of this text, while retaining a focus on the individual units of the text.

Long understands 1–2 Kings as a fragment of a longer Deuteronomistic work. A scribe (or group of scribes) in Babylon wrote this history to explain the disaster of the exile and to provide a new self-understanding for the dispossessed supporters of the Judean monarchy. Long identifies the theme of 1–2 Kings as "the moral and religious failure that led to the loss of national identity and autonomy" (p. 4). This viewpoint allows for easy understanding of the relevance of the negative depictions of the successive kings, but other material, such as the Elisha narratives, becomes more difficult to understand. Are these non-royalist units mere interlopers within the text, unrelated to the major themes except through indirection and contrast, or are there some more fundamental connections within the book as a whole that Long's thematic approach fails to recognize?

Long understands the book of 2 Kings not only as historical record, but also as moral instruction for the exilic audience in Babylonia. The essential final message of the book, therefore, is accommodation to the Babylonian government. Readers with sociological interests will desire more attention to diverse and conflicting groups within the exile, or a more nuanced understanding of the specific situation of the exilic community. Overall, Long seems to assume a homogeneous exilic community with a chief concern for Judean politics. Within such a context, the social setting of a historical work that championed submission needs further consideration.

Methodologically, Long emphasizes that units of book length, such as 1–2 Kings, require form criticism to transform itself in the direction of newer literary methods. Long's emphasis proves quite helpful at many exegetical points. Though the book is not a methodological treatise, its awareness of method provides a solid example of integration between traditional and some newer modes of biblical criticism. Still, Long's contribution in this volume remains firmly within the realm of form criticism. This produces certain tensions within the commentary. For example, Long presents an insightful study of the literary art within 2 Kings 5, the story of Elisha, Naaman, and Gehazi (pp. 66–79). Long treats the individual narrative with care, but offers only cursory

comments about the function of this legend within 1–2 Kings as a whole. Despite the length of this narrative within the text and the importance of the figure Elisha, Long's detailed treatment of the unit produces no ramifications for the book as a whole, aside from a brief suggestion that it contributes indirectly to a negative portrayal of the king Jehoram (p. 79). But does this suggestion do more than restate Long's proposed general theme of DtrH, without considering the peculiar contribution of this particular telling of this story?

The problem seems rooted within the structure of the commentary. The methodological emphasis on the interpretation of large units conflicts with the series' treatment of shorter blocks, with no protracted discussion of the book as a whole or the main themes. Throughout, Long provides short analyses of the themes within larger units, as extensive as two or three chapters of 2 Kings, but this proves insufficient. The reader of the commentary ends with a sense that Long has much more to say about 2 Kings, its themes, and its overarching structure, but the format of the commentary does not allow for the desired development of these insights. This volume's introduction to 2 Kings lasts barely a page, and then refers the reader to the introduction offered in Long's *1 Kings*. It remains unsatisfying to return to an introduction published seven years earlier. Certainly, Long's insights into the general issues behind 2 Kings have progressed since then.

Overall, Long's commentary on 2 Kings provides close attention to specific exegetical matters in a highly consistent manner, combined with a helpful interest in at least one of 2 King's major themes. The combination of form criticism with an examination of the meaning of the larger unit (1–2 Kings and/or DtrH) proves helpful in seeing connections without obscuring the separate issues within specific units. The commentary's bibliographies are extensive and extremely current. This strength of the book is even more apparent in comparison to another recent commentary on 2 Kings (Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor, *II Kings* [AB 11; New York: Doubleday, 1988]) that contains no bibliographic references after 1982, and also does not contain a full introduction to 2 Kings.

Jon L. Berquist
Phillips Graduate Seminary, Tulsa, OK 74104

Amos: A Commentary on the Book of Amos, by Shalom M. Paul. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991. Pp. xxvii + 406. \$44.95.

Scholars in the field of Hebrew prophecy are indebted to Fortress Press for publishing yet a second major commentary on Amos in their prestigious Hermeneia series. There is no better way to acquire a clear view of the paradigm shift occurring in Scripture study than to compare Hans Walter Wolff's approach in his magisterial commentary on Amos (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977) with the new approach of the equally impressive commentary by Shalom M. Paul.

Wolff's approach was diachronic, making full use of form criticism, traditio-historical studies, and redactional criticism. He analyzed the Book of Amos into six independent layers: the first two from the time of Amos; the third labeled the Amos school, ca. 760–730; the fourth, the Bethel redaction related to Josiah's reforms; the fifth the Deuteronomistic redaction; and the sixth the post-exilic hope addition. The trend was

to regard the Book of Amos as the product of a long editorial process where it was shaped and reinterpreted through various stages of redaction.

Paul rejects all such approaches as "scissors-and-paste" and joins such scholars as E. Hammershaimb, W. Rudolph, J. H. Hayes, F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, and S. N. Rosenbaum in rejecting this atomistic analysis of the text. Paul argues that "... when each case is examined and analyzed on its own, without preconceived conjectures and unsupported hypotheses, the book in its entirety (with one or two minor exceptions) can be reclaimed for its rightful author, the prophet Amos" (p. 6). Paul uses a synchronic approach that refrains from atomizing the text. He identifies a variety of literary patterns in the text, but always insists on the basic integrity and unity of the Book of Amos. Where Wolff detected a redactor's hand when a variation in style occurs, Paul insists it reveals Amos's creativity.

Paul demonstrates an impressive knowledge of ancient Near Eastern cultures in his extensive footnotes. Frequent references are made to Akkadian, Phoenician, Ugaritic, and Egyptian texts. The result is a close reading of the text in the light of all available contemporary sources. The book provides a gold mine of information to those scholars without access to these ancient documents.

Paul, as a Jewish scholar, is also aware of the rich history of interpretation found in Judaism. Not only does he indicate rabbinic midrashim found in the Talmud, but he often refers to medieval Jewish interpretations. Scholars aware of the Christian Fathers' interpretations of Amos will be enlightened by their Jewish counterparts.

Attention to specific issues in Amos studies will clarify Paul's interpretation. Paul does not believe the evidence supports placing Amos in either a cultic or sapiential circle. Paul regards Amos as a sheep breeder and a tender of sycamore figs (not a professional prophet) who was sent by God from Judah to northern Israel to announce the Lord's sovereignty over the entire nation. While Amos was deeply rooted in earlier traditions, "... with his innovative ideas, distinctive literary style, and polemics against popular current beliefs, (he) inaugurated a new epoch in the religious life of Israel" (p. 7). Paul accepts as authentic all oracles against the nations (including Tyre, Edom, and Judah). For Paul these oracles as well as 9:7 indicate that Amos believed Yahweh "... has absolute sway over all the nations of the world and personally directs their destinies ..." (p. 282). Amos journeyed north to announce the imminent destruction of Israel, if it does not repent. Paul believes both 5:4-6 and 5:14-15 present a ray of hope to Israel. The northern kingdom may yet escape destruction; but salvation is conditioned on the establishment of justice and righteousness in the land. While the final death statement has not been signed, it is perilously close to the last hour. He does not indicate at what stage of Amos's ministry these oracles were pronounced.

Paul's commentary on the first use of "Day of Yahweh" in Hebrew prophecy (5:18-20) is conventional. He finds Mowinckel's theory of its cultic origin manifest in a New Year ritual unsupportable and favors von Rad's holy war setting as expanded by Weippert.

It has become almost universally accepted that the Book of Amos ends at 9:8a on a note of total destruction. Amos 9:8b-12 is usually dated after 586 BCE as a Judaistic hope addition and 9:13-15 is regarded as a later post-exilic apocalyptic salvation oracle. Paul, on the other hand, accepts 9:8b-15 as authentic Amos. True, "... the political entity, the *nation* of Israel (as well as all other immoral nations) shall be destroyed, but the *people* of Israel shall not be totally eradicated" (p. 285). A remnant of righteous

Israelites will return from exile, reunite with the southern kingdom of Judah, the nation returning to the golden age of David and Solomon. Amos, whose roots are in Judah, envisions a restoration of the Davidic empire accompanied by territorial expansion (9:12) and agricultural abundance and security (9:13–15).

While Paul admits that the major sin of the northern kingdom of Israel is oppression of the poor and the needy (not idolatry), this reader did not find his exegesis of those passages on social justice very insightful. Paul makes no reference to the present socio-historical approach in prophetic studies that maintains Amos called for a return to the egalitarian society of the settlement period. No reference is made to Norman Gottwald's monumental *The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel, 1250–1050 B.C.E.* and the impact it has had on the study of Hebrew prophecy.

Paul's interpretation of certain problem verses in Amos deserves the reader's attention. He maintains the troublesome "pair of sandals" (2:6) is due to vocalization based on a misunderstanding of its original meaning. He derives the word from the root *'lm* ("to hide"). The needy have been sold for "a hidden gain." He takes a noncultic view of the woman in the following verse (2:7) and believes she is simply a "young woman" who belongs to the category of the needy and the poor in the land. Amos condemns the man and his father for taking sexual advantage of the defenseless woman, "... proscribing a deed that went beyond the existing law" (p. 81). Contra H. M. Barstad, *The Religious Polemics of Amos*, he rejects the view that the following verse (2:8) refers to the *marzeah* festival. The only clear reference to that festival Paul finds in 6:4–7, but even here he holds that Amos was primarily concerned about the conspicuous consumption on the part of the wealthy class rather than the religious aspects of the ritual. While Paul regards the second of the three hymnic doxologies (4:13; 5:8–9; 9:5–6) as misplaced, he maintains all are genuine oracles of Amos that proclaim God as one who controls not only the laws of nature but also the destiny of nations. Paul believes the five visions in Amos reveal the two primary roles of the prophet—as intercessor he defends his people (7:1–3, 4–6) and as messenger he delivers God's judgment upon them (7:7–9; 8:1–3; 9:1–4). He discards the reading "plumb line" in the third vision, but confesses that the exact meaning of the vision remains a mystery. The "fallen booth of David" (9:11) he views as a reference to the division of the kingdom, not the Babylonian exile. Unlike most commentaries, he detects no major problem in relating the raising up of the booth of David to the restoration of the Davidic empire.

The book contains an extensive 69-page bibliography conveniently arranged by such subjects as commentary, general studies in Amos, major themes (e.g., covenant and Law, Day of the Lord, doxologies, oracles against the nations), and even articles devoted to specific verses. It will prove an indispensable tool for scholars interested in keeping abreast of the latest theories in Amos studies.

Max E. Polley
Davidson College, Davidson, NC 28036

Centripetal and Centrifugal Structures in Biblical Poetry, by Daniel Grossberg. SBLMS 39. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989. Pp. ix + 111. \$19.95/12.95 (\$12.95/8.95 for members).

Acknowledging his indebtedness to Edward Stankiewicz for naming and describing the categories, Grossberg isolates those centripetal and centrifugal forces that

significantly influence the structural composition of the Songs of Ascents (Psalms 120–134), Canticles, and Lamentations. During his obviously synchronic examination of these texts, which focuses sometimes within, and more often beyond, the individual line, the author considers those structural tensions which erupt as closely fused centripetal forces interact with their atomistic centrifugal counterparts. Disappointed that recent biblical scholarship habitually minimizes the artful interaction of discrete units of Hebrew verse, Grossberg quests for a more global perception of biblical poems. In his Introduction, he states that poems position themselves at various junctures on the centripetal/centrifugal continuum and offers a handy catalogue of stylistic features (e.g., boundary markers, syntactic structures, phonetic correspondence, extratextual references, ambiguity) that exert either a unifying or disjunctive impact (or both) on the poetic discourse to be scrutinized. In the chapters that follow, Grossberg argues that numerous centripetal elements effectively tighten the composition of the Songs of Ascents into an organic whole, that centrifugal factors are only fractionally offset by centripetal factors in the manifestly diffuse poetry of Canticles, and that well defined unifying forces are deliberately balanced against their diversifying counterparts in Lamentations, thus establishing its placement approximately midway on the centripetal/centrifugal continuum.

Despite several proofreading lapses and the lack of a scripture index, Grossberg's study suffers from relatively few flaws. Regrettably, he never spells out the basis of his selection of eight out of fifteen Songs of Ascents for close inspection. Since Psalm 134 is essentially a liturgical formula that fulfills the purpose of doxological closure, its omission from his consideration of individual songs is understandable. But on what grounds are Psalms 125, 126, 129, 130, 132, and 133 excluded? Do they host a lower incidence of cohesive and diversifying devices, or is it merely an issue of balance, since this is already the longest chapter? Grossberg might have been more straightforward about the omission and offered some summary assessment regarding the role of centripetal and centrifugal forces in these six psalms. Moreover, a few of the author's interpretations are tenuous. It is not altogether clear that the tonal difference in v. 1 and vv. 2–7 of Psalm 120 means that v. 1 recalls former calamity whereas the remainder of the poem centers on present calamity. Grossberg's case for the antiphonal character of Ps 121 is scarcely compelling and matters only slightly in his overall perception of this song. And his notion that the figurative mention of a bird in Ps 124:7 transforms the poem's dyadic conception of the cosmos (land/water) into a tryadic one (including air) seems contrived. Also Grossberg rarely admits to the subjectivity factor that is bound to encroach upon the interpretation of stylistic features that are neither exclusively centripetal nor exclusively centrifugal in character.

Locating itself near the front end of the selective/comprehensive continuum of poetic analysis, this monograph manifests several strengths. Its argument is enhanced by allusions that focus within as well as beyond the boundaries of biblical poetry. Thus, the literary critical insights of E. V. Rieu and Marvin Pope share a place with those of Cleanth Brooks and Kenneth Burke. Regularly reinforcing the consensus of contemporary scholarship about several characteristic aspects of Hebrew poetics, Grossberg observes that parallelism in biblical verse often entails nuanced restatement, that figurative language effectively retards the pace of poetic texts, and that metaphors in the Hebrew Psalter are predominantly conventional and rarely extravagant in nature. His sharp eye for poetic technique is evident in his comments about intentional gender

and number matching in Ps 123:1–2, in his observation that the nouns “house” and “city” (v. 1) and “gate” (v. 5), which effectively integrate Psalm 127, belong to the same semantic field, and in his awareness that the imperatives dominating Lam 2:18–20 (3:18–20 is a misprint, p. 88) constitute a crucial consolidating force that holds excessive diffuseness in check. Where he can, Grossberg draws instructive similarities and contrasts between the three blocks of poetic text under review. Accordingly, Lamentations and Canticles are compared with respect to their pervasive hyperbole and contrasted with respect to its source: canonical extratextuality is normative in the former and exceptional in the latter.

It is salutary that Grossberg never loses interest in how biblical texts are read and heard. At the outset, he generalizes that readers ordinarily experience the cumulative effect of a poem in its wholeness. More specifically, he maintains that the incremental pattern in Psalm 120 keeps the reader “at tight rein” (p. 27) and that several figures of speech in Canticles (e.g., the reference to “lily” and “apple” in 2:2–3) invite the reader to explore them at various levels. Moreover, Luis Alonso Schökel’s persistent reminder that biblical texts cannot be adequately understood until they are *heard* finds confirmation in this study where phonologically linked words are identified as a vital centripetal device. Thus, Grossberg recognizes the merger of assonance and meaning in Psalm 122 with its key nouns *yĕrûšālēm*, *šālôm*, *šalwâ* (“Jerusalem,” “peace,” “tranquility”). Even so, here and elsewhere he might have alluded to Adele Berlin’s pioneering work on phonological parallelism more forthrightly. Indeed, his concluding sentence on Psalm 128 (“The correspondence of sound links the already related thematically pregnant terms”) appears to model itself after Berlin.

Finally, as he situates the compositional structuring of his texts on a centripetal/centrifugal continuum, Grossberg displays a welcome sophistication that is rightly wary of quantification. He cogently remarks that when it comes to centripetal and centrifugal devices, “to tally is impossible—but to recognize is important” (p. 27). Those who have learned about the single poetic line from M. O’Connor’s *Hebrew Verse Structure* and about the parallelistic couplet from Berlin’s *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism* can expect to learn as well from Grossberg’s study with its primary focus on those unifying and diversifying tendencies that call significantly larger segments of poetic discourse—even entire poems—into being. This worthwhile pursuit will surely enjoy further momentum and refinement as other scholars adopt Grossberg’s agenda as their own.

J. Kenneth Kuntz

The University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA 52242

Linguistic Evidence for the Northern Origin of Selected Psalms, by Gary A. Rendsburg. SBLMS 43. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990. Pp. xiii + 143. \$24.95/14.95 (\$14.95/9.95 for members).

Gary Rendsburg has recently distinguished himself as a Hebrew dialectologist. In this new monograph, he proposes a set of linguistic criteria by which one may identify psalms that are written in the northern Hebrew dialect, which he calls “Israelian Hebrew” (IH). By these criteria he concludes that Psalms 9–10, 16, 29, 36, 45, 53, 58, 74, 116, 132, 133, 140, and 141 are all of northern origin, and as a by-product of his investigation, he isolates a list of linguistic features of IH, representing by far the boldest attempt yet to define such a dialect.

Rendsburg begins by identifying the sources for reconstructing IH. These include not only texts that are universally accepted as originating in the north (e.g., Hosea), but also accounts which concern northern figures (various narratives, tribal blessings, Balaam's Oracles), various passages that scholars have from time to time attributed to northern sources or are said to manifest an abundance of northern linguistic features (Nehemiah 9, Deuteronomy 32, Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs). Texts that have linguistic or poetic affinities with Phoenician, Aramaic, or the Transjordanian dialects are all said to reflect IH. Despite the international character of the wisdom texts, he does not entertain the possibility of foreign influences on their language, preferring to account for the non-standard features as "northernisms." Indeed, he even concludes that there is "probably very little Judahite material in Proverbs" (p. 10). Moreover, the account of the construction and dedication of Solomon's temple is attributed to a Phoenician scribe, primarily on the basis of the mention of Bul, Ziv, and Ethan, which are regarded as "Phoenician," presumably because two of these names appear in Phoenician inscriptions (pp. 29–30). On the other hand, the E-Source of the Tetrateuch and Deuteronomy, which are commonly attributed to the north, are not accepted as such. Since he subscribes to the theory that northern and southern Hebrew have effectively merged from the exilic period on, he is ready to account for the presence of "IH features" in a significant amount of material that would otherwise be considered southern. Passages of obvious southern provenance may also contain "IH features," according to Rendsburg, if they address or are concerned with foreign nations.

In most cases it is difficult, of course, to be absolutely certain about the provenance of biblical texts; the evidence is usually circumstantial. It is surprising, therefore, that the author does not provide better control of his data by a consistent reference to the epigraphic evidence. The lack of attention to the Hebrew inscriptions in fact proves problematic at times. For instance, Rendsburg claims that the occurrence of the 1 cs form *'mrt* in Ps 16:2 reflects northern = Phoenician) orthography (p. 29). Yet one finds the 1 cs forms *šlht* and *klt* in *papMur* 17 (ca. 700 BCE) and the Yavneh-Yam Ostrakon, respectively, both examples from Judah. Moreover, he maintains that IH uses the relative pronouns *zû/zeh* and *še*, whereas Judahite Hebrew (JH) uses *'āšer* (pp. 20–21). Besides the occurrence of *'āšer* along with *zû* in Psalm 132, a text which he thinks reflects IH, and the admitted preference for *'āšer* in Hosea, one may note the attestation of *'šr* among the inscriptions from Kuntilet 'Ajrud which assuredly reflect northern Hebrew. The inscriptional evidence, thus, sometimes contradicts Rendsburg's arguments. But it can also support his case in other instances—as in his contention that the root *n'm* occurs predominantly in northern Hebrew.

Rendsburg's work could be strengthened by greater precision in defining the geographical and chronological parameters of Hebrew dialects. The comment that IH includes also "all of Transjordan" (p. 4) begs the question of the precise relationship between the language of "Israel" and the distinctive dialects, Aramaic, Ammonite, Moabite, and the language of Deir 'Alla, not to mention the relationship between Judahite and the dialects of the Edomites and Philistines (cf. the contrast between *'ašdôdît* "Ashdodite" and *yěhûdît* "Judahite" in Neh 13:24). It is not helpful to say that "everything which is not Judahite should be termed Israelian" (p. 4). In many instances, linguistic features are regarded as "Israelian" because they appear in a "majority" of instances or "a good number of times" in northern texts. But when is "a good number"

good enough to allow one to attribute a feature to dialectal preference? What kind of majority is needed to qualify a feature as IH and not just general Hebrew?

Rendsburg makes a strong case against the common practice of labeling many of the “non-standard” features in Biblical Hebrew as “Aramaisms” or “Phoenicianisms,” contending that frequently one is simply dealing with isoglosses which Hebrew shares with other languages. Yet it is far from satisfactory to label a word as IH—as opposed to JH or archaic Hebrew—if that word occurs only once or twice in Hebrew but is found in the languages of Israel’s neighbors. By the same token, the form *y’rwt* in Ps 29:9 cannot be called IH just because Ugaritic also has that form. Nor should the parallelism of *brk//ntn* be labeled IH because Phoenician has *ytn//brk*.

The mere attestation of Northwest Semitic cognates proves nothing, especially if the linguistic feature is also evident elsewhere. Rendsburg often cites Northwest Semitic evidence but does not consider or mention South Semitic cognates (e.g., the verbs *ksh* and *twy* and the noun *kese’* all have probable Arabic and/or Ethiopic cognates). For the relative pronoun *zû*, he cites the Northwest Semitic languages, but mentions neither the usage of *dû* in Arabic nor the attestation of *d* in the Proto-Sinaitic inscription. He is also incorrect to say that cognates for *hmr* (for some sort of wine) “are all to be found in languages spoken to the north and east of Israel” (p. 76), since Arabic and Ethiopic both have *hamr* “wine.” It is curious, incidentally, that he says that *yn* does not occur in Phoenician, since one of the examples from the Shiqmona jars that he cites reads: *hmr yn gt kr[ml]*.

By identifying clusters of “IH features,” then, Rendsburg concludes that the psalms in question are all of northern provenance. But even if one grants most or even all the features as IH, one must ask if linguistic specificity necessarily proves origin. Isaiah 33 and Psalm 68, for example, each contain many of the features that Rendsburg would take to be IH. Yet he would seek recourse in other explanations for the clustering of “IH features” in those texts. By the same token, even if he is right about the Israelian language evident in these psalms, one might ask if some of them might not in fact be of southern origins. Rendsburg contends that the explicit mention of Zion and/or evidence of Zion theology may merely be the product of pro-Zion sympathizers in the north (p. 27). Perhaps he tries too hard to tie these Zion texts to the north on linguistic grounds. Thus, he takes the reference to watery turbulence in Psalm 46 literally, arguing that such conditions are evident only in the northern coastal region (p. 52). It can be demonstrated, however, that the language of watery chaos is simply part and parcel of the *Völkerkampf/Völkersturm* motif in the Zion tradition, and that the imagery is derived not from physical geography but from mythology. The same is true for references to the deity’s abode in the far north with Mount Zion (Ps 48:3; cf. Isa 14:13)—it is derived from mythology, and one ought not seek the provenance of the idiom in the north (p. 52). Significantly, the authors of these Zion psalms often refer to what they witness and things they do in the city. Even if there are true IH features in these texts, one might still consider a southern provenance, though the texts may have been directed at northerners to convince them that the God of Jacob “is with us” (Ps 46:8), that this deity “loves the gates of Zion more than all the *miškēnôt* of Jacob” (Ps 87:2), that the “Bull of Jacob” had chosen to move from Ephraim to Judah (Psalm 132).

Despite these criticisms, Rendsburg’s contribution cannot be gainsaid. Some linguistic features that have hitherto been regarded too conveniently as archaisms, or as late and foreign intrusions into Hebrew, must now be reevaluated as such. More

importantly one is reminded not to harmonize or standardize Biblical Hebrew too readily.

C. L. Seow

Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, NJ 08542

The Targum of Job, by Céline Mangan; *The Targum of Proverbs*, by John F. Healey; *The Targum of Qohelet*, by Peter S. Knobel. The Aramaic Bible 15. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991. Pp. xiii + 98; viii + 65; vii + 60. \$65.

The Two Targums of Esther. Translated, with Apparatus and Notes, by Bernard Grossfeld. The Aramaic Bible 18. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991. Pp. xiv + 237. \$65.

The Liturgical Press has taken up the publication of "The Aramaic Bible," under the imprint of Michael Glazier, the previous publisher. The standard of presentation is as before, and the director of the project, Martin McNamara, is soon to see his purpose realized, "to translate all the traditionally-known Targums, that is those transmitted by Rabbinic Judaism, into modern English idiom" (see the "Editors' Foreword" in either volume). The present two volumes present five Targumim between them, and their particular attraction lies in the fact that they treat Targumim to the Writings, the study of which has not been well developed within the secondary literature. Each contributor has extended available knowledge concerning the Targum in question by means of the present publication, a performance which is consistent with the achievement of the series generally. But because study of the Targumim to the Writings remains at a preliminary stage, there is a certain unevenness in the findings presented, and at a few points a gentle warning to the reader might be in order.

Céline Mangan was able to use the critical edition of F. J. Fernández Vallina for her translation of the *Targum of Job*. That enabled her, within her apparatus, to cite important variants from the base text, MS Or. Ee. 5.9 from Cambridge, and to devote the notes to matters of language, textual type, and commentary. In so doing she reverts to a practice similar to the one Hayward and I followed separately in the volumes first published in the series (Isaiah and Jeremiah). Certain subsequent volumes defended the policy of ignoring variants; it is good to see that habit abandoned.

Mangan's translation, apparatus, and notes are helpful and (but for a few misprints) appear accurate. Her introduction, however, lapses—after a fine start—into special pleading over the issue of provenience. She evidently belongs to the ranks of those who reflexively date Targumim early, and employs faulty arguments in order to make a case along those lines. She cites usages common to the *Targum of Job* and the New Testament (p. 6), for example, without considering that their meanings might be distinctive in each corpus. "Gehenna" is used in the Targum with a cosmological sense which few would impute to pericopae in the Gospels, for example, and the senses of the terms "paraclete" in *Tg. Job* 33:23 and "kingdom" in *Tg. Job* 36:7 are scarcely those one would attribute to Jesus. Mere catalogs of such words are no replacement for a proper history of the meanings concerned, as reflected in datable documents and/or cycles of tradition.

The fault involved is not simply a matter of locating the Targum temporally, but of determining its nature. Mangan grants that "What we have is a variety of texts, varying in different ways among themselves," explicitly denying that "only one single such text ever existed" (p. 17), and yet persists in speaking of "a very early core in the Targum"

(p. 6). What model of formation is invoked here? Is the Targum akin to *Jonathan*, where (as I have argued and others have agreed) an exegetical framework during the tannaitic period was supplemented during the Aramaic period by self-consciously literary activity? Or is the *Targum of Job* rather a crystallization of traditions of varying provenience at a later stage? Mangan provides us with the raw material to pose such questions, but little clear guidance for finding answers.

John Healy made do with Paul de Lagarde's edition of the *Targum of Proverbs* in his rendering, although he did also make use of the MS of Alfonso de Zamora edited by L. Díez Merino. His principal concern is the old and vexed question of the relationship between the Targum and the Peshitta. His own preferred solution is "that in Tg we have a reworking in the light of the Hebrew of an older Jewish Aramaic or Syriac translation of the book which was also used by the compilers of the Peshittā" (p. 9). In that a truly critical edition remains a desideratum, the linguistic considerations necessarily involved in evaluating such an argument await thorough development. But Healy's interests in the phenomenon of Syriacism have enabled him to write an engaging commentary, as well as a fine translation. He also makes it clear that the simple style of the Targum may be deceptive: a lack of an exegetical explanation and haggadic embellishment, as in most Targumim, does not imply that the rendering is "slavish" (p. 6). Healy is certainly wise to be cautious in dating the *Targum of Proverbs* (p. 10), but his perspective does not include a typological comparison with other Targumim, which would reinforce his strictures against an early dating.

Peter Knobel's introduction itself presents an interesting exercise in recensional analysis, in that arguments in the text (p. 3) also appear in two notes (numbered 4 and 5) on the same page. Which came first, the footnote or the paragraph? Ironically, that rare lapse occurs just as Knobel is arguing for an eclectic text, such as he here produces, and against the presentation of a single text with variants. Clarke and van der Heide appear to me to have the better of the argument, but Knobel's collation is serviceable, in that he indicates variants clearly. His notes are especially useful in regard to analogous exegeses in Rabbinica, and amply justify his agreement with previous scholars to a dating within the seventh century. His attempt to fine-tune the consensus, to a period after 629 (Heraclius's conquest of Jerusalem), is perhaps more daring than convincing; in any case, he makes out his argument "tentatively" (p. 13).

Bernard Grossfeld has already made a distinguished contribution to targumic studies, in and out of the present series. He here advances his already pace-setting work on the two Targums of Esther. His introduction provides a brief but informative discussion of the Five Megillot, which would be helpful to read in association with the earlier volume in the series. His grouping of the manuscripts (pp. 2–7) is precise; his explanation of translational techniques of the *meturgemanin* (pp. 7–12) is lucid. His treatment of the relationship between each Targum and midrashim (and related documents) of different periods (pp. 13–16) is extremely useful (although perhaps sometimes excessively numerical). Above all, he is not afraid to acknowledge that the Targumim are not merely specimens of language, but construals of what the scriptures have to say, often about their favorite theological subjects (pp. 17–19). (In the course of that argument, he demonstrates that phrases and *theologoumena* cited by Mangan as demonstrating a targumic "early core" are in fact frequently found in Rabbinica.) As a result, his dating of both Targumim to Esther early within the seventh

century is masterful (pp. 19–25), although recent developments in the study of Aramaic may require a revision of the distinctions he presupposes between dialects (pp. 7, 8).

As always, Grossfeld's translation is consistent and accurate; the apparatus of the volume is among the best in the series. The notes are as comprehensive as one is likely to wish in respect of biblical references, citations from Rabbinica, and secondary literature. The appendices are detailed and well conceived. The volume makes one long to have Grossfeld's Aramaic text to hand, as well, but the aims of the project generally are well served here.

Bruce Chilton

Bard College, Annandale, NY 12504

Ancient Jewish Epitaphs: An Introductory Survey of a Millennium of Jewish Funerary Epigraphy (300 BCE–700 CE), by P. W. van der Horst. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 2. Kampen, The Netherlands: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1991. 179 pp. N.P. (paper).

To the young, parental interest in obituaries is somewhat comic. But now well into parenthood myself I see how an obituary can survey not only one person's accomplishments but an entire page of political, social, and economic history. The equivalent for the scholar of the ancient world is surely the collection of epitaphs, which within the great limitations of their short and most often perfunctory text, hint at a much wider and more complete environment which we wish to reconstruct. Sometimes their brevity is more articulate than the biographies of ancient worthies.

P. W. van der Horst has certainly allowed us to indulge our curiosity in the accomplishments of the ancient Jews. He has given us a most remarkable discussion of the various collections of fascinating epitaphs and undertaken a reasonable and sound reconstruction of the culture that produced them, "testimonies of Jewish living," as he puts it (p. 11).

The book is not intended to replace the current collections of Jewish epigraphy (though, as he notes, they certainly are in urgent need of replacement) but to introduce the general reader to the field. In order to do so, van der Horst surveys the history of the collection of Jewish inscriptions and epigraphy, the languages of the inscriptions, their formulas, motifs, and epithets. In each chapter van der Horst carefully outlines the general methodological problems and questions brought on by each topic. After discussing the literary (or, more exactly, the nonliterary quality) of the inscriptions, van der Horst examines the population of persons described by the epitaphs: their ages, functions and professions, the presence of women, belief or nonbelief in afterlife, and relationship to the NT.

Even so, some important methodological questions must be left out. For instance, there is not a full discussion of why there are few inscriptions from the first year of age, though infant mortality was so high. Were neonates entitled to full obsequies? The question is difficult and secondary, but it affects how we are to interpret the average age of the deceased in the inscriptions we have. Such questions are really beyond the scope of the book, which announces its purpose as an introduction for the general reader to this interesting and important field. On the other hand, the reader should properly be conversant with Greek and Hebrew, which are reproduced as is necessary.

With such a sophisticated reader assumed for the survey, it would occasionally have been helpful to have the methodological complications mentioned as well. Anyone who has taken the trouble to learn the ancient languages can be put off a few minutes longer by a few more methodological complications.

The findings of the book are sound and correctly conservative, given the very ambiguous character of the evidence and the difficulty in establishing whether the extant evidence is characteristic at all. Nevertheless, van der Horst does not shrink from controversy. He shows that the majority of the inscriptions are in Greek, suggesting that the primary language of Hellenistic Jews was not Hebrew or Aramaic but Greek. This may surprise not a few scholars, who are used to reading their Jewish history of the period solely in the Mishna. What is even more interesting is that Greek predominates two to one even in the land of Israel and even prior to the destruction of Jerusalem. Even allowing that more Hebrew graves and inscriptions would have been desecrated during these catastrophic years for Jewry (and for nearly every succeeding period as well), this is a challenging finding. Furthermore, van der Horst points out the importance of women during the period and the frequency of their holding office in the synagogue. Van der Horst also points out the ambivalent attitudes toward immortality which is evinced by the epitaphs and the difficulty in seeing any specific references to it in many of the formulae, which imply only pleasant sleep for the inhabitants of the tombs and ossuaries. It seems to me that this is characteristic of persons of rather high status in the society. Indeed, there is a great deal more sociological data included in van der Horst's brief and handy book than can be discussed in detail.

Thus Van der Horst's book stays completely within its articulated aims of introducing the reader to this fascinating and frustrating part of historical research. True to its aims, as well, it makes the reader want to investigate further independently.

Alan F. Segal

5 Beechwood Rd., Ho-Ho-Kus, NJ 07423-1606

The Hasmoneans and their Supporters: From Mattathias to the Death of John Hyrcanus I, by Joseph Sievers. University of South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 6. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990. Pp. x + 171. \$49.95 (\$32.95 for members).

This is a well-written, scholarly, and well-informed study of the Maccabean period that runs from Mattathias to John Hyrcanus (hence from ca. 165 to 104 BCE), in the light of all available sources, especially 1 and 2 Maccabees, Josephus, and Philo. The author is well read and shows a sound independence of judgment, rejecting, for instance, opinions signed by authoritative names, when he cannot find sufficient warrants for them.

Being myself one of the last defenders of the "Hasidic" theory, I feel here again that the author's skepticism about it (see esp. pp. 38–40) is ungrounded. If one dismisses the Hasidic sect/party as an indecisive factor in the period under study, one must invent a still less satisfactory substitute to explain events that occurred during the Maccabean revolt, and the advent of both the Pharisees and the Essenes. True, we know frustratingly little about the origins of the Hasidim and their varied stances along the tormented line of their existence as a sociological group. But we are also left in the dark as regards the Essenes, for instance, or, for that matter, the early Pharisees (see

Sievers, p. 86). The contemporary sources speak of these factions within the people as of well-known phenomena in no need of description. Constantly even though reluctantly, Sievers must explain specific events or fill historical gaps by having recourse to the unavoidable Hasidim. Contrary to what Philip Davies once wrote, the Second Temple history *cannot* "be written without it."

Sievers's book follows the chronology of events and, consequently, the order adopted by 1 and 2 Maccabees (both being similarly patterned in spite of their contrasting opinions about the Hasmoneans): after introducing the extant sources, the author deals successively with Mattathias, Judah, Jonathan, Simon, and John Hyrcanus. The book concludes with a selected bibliography, a map of Palestine in the Hasmonean period, and an index.

This is a very useful synopsis of an epoch rich in events and in intellectual as well as religious developments. It takes place within a modern explosion of books and articles on the Hellenistic period in the Near East. It will be particularly appreciated by students in late pre-Christian history, and in NT literature.

André LaCocque

Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago, IL 60637

Los Evangelios de la Infancia. I: Los Canticos del Evangelio de la Infancia segun San Lucas, by Salvador Muñoz Iglesias. Segunda edicion. Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos 508. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1990. Pp. xix + 377. N.P.

Los Evangelios de la Infancia. IV: Nacimiento e infancia de Jesús en San Mateo, by Salvador Muñoz Iglesias. Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 509. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1990. Pp. xvi + 443. N.P.

With the completion of volume 4 on Matthew 1–2 this massive work now runs over 1500 pages, and apparently there is at least one more volume to come (on the theology of the infancy narratives). Since previously there was a long trail of the Muñoz Iglesias' articles going back at least to 1957, it may be that this author has written more on the infancy narratives than any other scholar in history. The outline of the present series needs to be explained. Muñoz Iglesias wrote a volume on the Lucan infancy canticles in 1983, and a reprint of this (not really a new edition) was made available in 1990 as vol. 1 of the set. Volume 2, dealing with the angelic annunciations in Luke appeared in 1986, and vol. 3 on the Lucan accounts of the birth of John the Baptist and of Jesus, in 1987 (neither of these two volumes was reviewed in *JBL*).

Since Muñoz Iglesias' work may not be overly familiar in English-speaking circles, let me comment on the two individual volumes in the context of his general emphases and what I regard as his strengths and weaknesses. He writes clearly and his Spanish is not difficult. He is very well read in infancy narrative literature (including what the church fathers have thought); and customarily he organizes diverse views on a point logically, explaining in concise form and, as far as I can see, accurately what each important author has said. (Muñoz Iglesias' rejection of the views of others is sometimes lacking in graciousness; "fantastic" is too often his put-down of views that I would regard as reasonable; whether or not one agrees with them.) Researchers can certainly find here a compendium of previous scholarship; yet that wealth removes these volumes from the genre of an easily usable commentary since, verse by verse or issue by issue,

one may have to read through many pages devoted to the critique of diverse views before one comes to Muñoz Iglesias' own opinion. Indeed, because of the format one has to labor to trace the author's sequential thought about a passage.

Almost forty years ago Muñoz Iglesias, along with R. Laurentin, was a pioneer among Roman Catholics in insisting on a midrashic approach to the infancy narratives. (In current Spanish exegesis there is major emphasis on midrash, in part stemming from the influence of A. Diez Macho and his study of targumic literature.) Whether or not one agrees with the "midrash" nomenclature, the recognition of OT stories and forms underlying the narratives was an important contribution; and that is still very evident in Muñoz Iglesias' treatment of the Matthean infancy narrative. To many of us who learned from his early writings, the "midrashic" approach had historical implications, for the realization that an OT story (like the birth of Moses) was being retold beneath the surface of the story of the birth of Jesus gave exegetes leeway to interpret as symbolic Matthean (and Lucan) details, e.g., the star, the slaughter of the children, that found no support in external evidence. It became clear in the later writings of this scholar, however, that he did not see the same implications and wanted to hold on to about 75 percent historicity in the Matthean infancy narrative and to about 90 percent in the Lucan. That is obvious in these volumes where Muñoz Iglesias not only asserts very strongly that midrash can involve history—a true principle, in my judgment—but relentlessly harmonizes the infancy narratives of Matthew and Luke to save the historicity of both. If women are mentioned in the strongly Davidic Matthean genealogy, that is probably because there were in his audience those who knew and were uneasy about information (attested in Luke) pointing to Mary's levitical descent, and so Matthew wanted to show that there were non-Davidic women in the Davidic line. Matthew derived the biblical names in the first two-thirds of his genealogy from popular lists rather than from official Davidic archives, but in the last third of the list which consists of nonbiblical names the last links in the chain of names before Joseph "must be rigorously historical" (vol. 4, p. 120). If in that sense Matthew supplies the historical genealogy of Joseph, it is quite possible that despite the presence of Joseph's name in the Lucan genealogy, what is offered there is the genealogy of Mary!

There are many scholars who think the silence of the rest of the NT outside Matthew 1 and Luke 1 about the virginal conception is not an insuperable obstacle, but they still might be suspicious of the contention of Muñoz Iglesias that the whole early Christian community of Jerusalem knew about the virginal conception and observed a *disciplina arcani* about it lest it cast doubt on the Davidic descent of Jesus (vol. 4, pp. 360–61). Muñoz Iglesias sees no great problem about reconciling Matthew's implication that Mary and Joseph were living in a house at Bethlehem after Jesus' birth with Luke placing Mary's home in Nazareth, or about reconciling Matthew's account of the flight of Joseph, Mary and the child to Egypt with the Lucan account of their journey back from Bethlehem through Jerusalem to Nazareth immediately after Jesus' birth. He offers a summary of what he thinks was the possible historical substratum underlying Matthew 2 (vol. 4, pp. 374–75): There were some magi—possibly migrant merchants of aromatic perfumes—who were knowledgeable about an astral horoscope that could be interpreted as announcing the birth of a king of Israel. Having arrived in Jerusalem, they showed interest in this matter. Herod became alarmed, made inquiries, and set the merchants en route to Bethlehem, where he presently ordered and effected a massacre of boys. Fortunately Jesus was saved through the cautious

foresight of Joseph who decided on voluntary exile in Egypt until Herod died. Joseph returned to Palestine prudently installing himself at Nazareth, the ancient matrimonial residence. Readers can judge for themselves whether such a historical reconstruction is not implausibly speculative, especially since there is no echo in the rest of Matthew of this prehistory.

The author of the Matthean infancy narrative was an early Jewish Christian, possibly of Palestinian origin, who did not draw on written sources for his narrative or translate an underlying Semitic *Vorlage*. Nevertheless, his Semitic (probably Aramaic) mentality is seen in his writing and can be appealed to in struggling with his Greek (vol. 4, p. 146). The Lucan infancy narrative is a unity, including the finding of Jesus at age twelve, so that both the canticles (which do *not* have extraneous added lines) and the angelic annunciations were composed by the same author as the rest. (In positing that the canticles were placed by this author on the lips of Mary, Zechariah, etc., Muñoz Iglesias is refreshingly more sophisticated than R. Laurentin, who is equally conservative about history but presses that concern to the point of positing that Mary composed the Magnificat and preserved by memory the Benedictus that Zechariah had composed.) The ultimate reflection of Muñoz Iglesias' midrashic approach may be seen in his thesis that the whole Lucan infancy narrative was originally written in Hebrew by a Jewish Christian of Palestinian origin, probably related to levitical circles, who exhibited his midrashic skill in fleshing out an account that ultimately came from Mary. Anyone who knows the literature will be aware how debatable all these points are. Muñoz Iglesias prints in an appendix (vol. 1, pp. 322–33) Hebrew reconstructions (Delitzsch, Zorell, Sahlin, etc.) of the four canticles and offers throughout his own commentary examples of the Hebrew that might underlie the lines of the canticles. Yet one must constantly wonder at the reasoning since so often the Greek of the infancy narrative echoes the LXX which in turn was translated from the Hebrew OT. Because vol. 1 appeared in 1983, Muñoz Iglesias did not make use of the first volume of J. A. Fitzmyer's commentary on Luke published in 1981. (On the other hand, Fitzmyer knew Muñoz Iglesias' views as expressed in earlier articles.) Certainly one of the world's most prominent specialists in the Semitic underlying the NT, Fitzmyer holds linguistic views that are almost diametrically opposite to those of Muñoz Iglesias. The canticles (the *Gloria* excepted) were for him most likely taken over by Luke from an earlier source and so were not of the same composition as the rest of the infancy narratives. As Fitzmyer states firmly (vol. 1, p. 359): "There is no evidence that the Magnificat ever existed in a Semitic (Hebrew or Aramaic) form."

Historical and linguistic stress are major factors in the two volumes under review, and I judge that the author seriously exaggerates on both scores. Yet, if one can lay those factors aside, there are many valuable insights in his discussion of individual verses. This may be more true in vol. 1 because he is less concerned there about debating the historicity of every issue. On difficult points of exegesis, e.g., the structure of Luke 2:14, he lays out the problem with admirable clarity and presents good arguments for his conclusion. And even when one disagrees with his contention that the canticles were written in Hebrew, Muñoz Iglesias' stress on the Jewish background and mentality is perfectly valid. These volumes, then, constitute an important contribution to the ongoing discussion of the infancy narratives to be taken into account by all who write in the future.

Raymond E. Brown, S.S.

Union Theological Seminary, New York, NY 10027 (Emeritus)

Reden in Vollmacht: Hintergrund, Form und Anliegen der Gleichnisse Jesu, by Eckhard Rau. FRLANT 149. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990. Pp. 434. DM 148.

Three foci dominate this discussion, based on a 1987 Habilitationsschrift, Fachbereich Evangelische Theologie, Universität Hamburg, of Jesus' parables: parable research since Adolf Jülicher; the relevance of ancient rhetoric; and the Jewish context of Jesus' parables, including both the historical context and the parallels in Jewish parables. The author correctly notes that parable research has been in a state of flux for the past two decades. The Jülicher-Bultmann-Jeremias paradigm no longer dominates, but no other framework has proven convincing. The argument of this book is that parables must be understood on the basis of ancient rhetoric, which had influenced Judaism as well, and in particular must focus on the parables as a communication process. The book is divided into two virtually equal parts: (1) a discussion of parables generally, of rhetoric, and of five specific parables (the Seed Growing Secretly, the Mustard Seed, the Leaven, the Father with the Son who Requests in Matt 7:9-11, and the Prodigal Son); and (2) parallels from both the Hellenistic and Jewish cultures to the Parable of the Prodigal Son.

Several aspects of parable interpretation and rhetoric are discussed. An analysis of whether a parable can be divided into image and fact halves leads to the suggestion that one give up this feature of Jülicher's research and instead divide the parables into narrative (*erzählenden*) and conversational (or deliberative? — *besprechenden*) parables (p. 30). Luke 17:7-10 is offered as a good example of the latter. Rau is well aware that narrative parables also have conversational components, but focuses on the difference in orientation to time in the two categories, with narrative parables focusing primarily on past tense and conversational parables focusing more on present and future. However, when analyzing parables Rau gives less focus to this distinction than to the perspectives of the hearer and the speaker. Stress is placed on how the hearer affects the speaker. Note is taken of both the modern focus on hearer/reader-oriented hermeneutics and on the way ancient rhetoricians focused on the situation of the hearer. Still, throughout Rau recognizes and gives priority to the speaker (p. 101). Actually, when he speaks of the perspective of the hearer, he is more concerned with how the parable is shaped to affect the hearer than he is with a reader response approach.

Helpful discussions of ancient rhetoric offer insight into several subjects: (1) the ways authors seek to convince hearers; (2) an understanding of metaphor; and (3) brevity, lucidity, and believability. Examples show how the rhetorical rules give parables their credibility. Also helpful is a treatment of the way parables address the inner reality of the soul.

The parables chosen for detailed treatment are the three kingdom parables in Mark and Q, with most of the attention being given to Mark 4:26-29. In Rau's view, the point of this parable is not the non-action of the farmer, but the easing of the desire for the end time. Time passes, but the end will come when the fruit is ready. This parable and those about the Mustard Seed and the Leaven are all intended to address questions and doubts about the kingdom.

Rau sees only six parables from the oldest tradition referring explicitly to the kingdom of God. He grants the possibility of as many as twelve, but still is amazed that all parables are frequently associated with the kingdom. He suggests other arrangements and specifically focuses on parables describing the separation of sinners and the just in Israel.

Of ten such parables, Matt 7:9–11 and Luke 15:11–32 receive detailed treatment. The son who requests in Matt 7:9–11 is not seen as representing the prayers of the hearers, but the prayers of unrighteous people. The parable is understood as addressing protests against Jesus' association with sinners. This seems unlikely to me, despite the fact that Jeremias and others have argued for this position. Luke 15:11–32 is seen as an unfolding of Matt 7:9–11. More understandably, it is also viewed as addressed against protests of Jesus' association with sinners. An overview of interpretation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son is limited to seven German scholars, all of whom are accused of neglecting both the Jewish background and the perspective of the hearer.

The second part of the book collects ancient sources that also speak of prodigals. The author does not argue for dependence, but for the indirect influence of the Hellenistic-Roman culture on Judaism and on Jesus. This is evident for Rau both in form and in theme. He hypothesizes that Jesus' telling of parables was influenced by the Pharisees, who were themselves influenced by rhetoric. Alternatively, he suggests that John the Baptist was the source of Jesus' familiarity with rhetorical practice (pp. 238–42). The material collected shows that various letters or parables from the ancient world speak of prodigals, but they do not parallel the invitation to rejoice nor do they parallel the second half of the Lucan parable. Personally, I find the parallels interesting, but doubt that they tell us anything about Jesus' method or the forces that influenced him. The subject matter of the Parable of the Prodigal Son is so common that one does not need to speak of a *Paradigma* of Hellenistic-Roman rhetoric (p. 374). Questions of date are treated by Rau, but they still stand as obstacles to the kinds of conclusions he seeks to draw. I do not doubt the general influence of ancient rhetoric in the Palestinian culture of Jesus' day. Whether that helps us understand Jesus' method of speaking in parables in more than general terms is another question.

One could have wished the author had focused more specifically on the contribution of rhetoric for understanding the parables. Helpful points are made, particularly in emphasizing the perspective of the hearer, but overall the book lacks coherence. It is a probing work, and therefore, not all the material hangs together. By confining his attention to the value of rhetoric, even if only for modern interpreters, the usefulness of the book would have been increased.

Other parts of the book also create misgivings. The author knows that Jülicher's position is ill-founded, but values him and seeks to protect him where possible. Not nearly enough attention is given to the influence of OT parables. Further, why are just these NT parables treated and not others? Finally, doubt also arises over some hypotheses and opinions of the author. The following are especially questionable: (1) that John the Baptist was the source of rhetorical influence on Jesus' parables; (2) that the Parable of the Prodigal is not an attack on Pharisaic theology; and (3) that the Parable of the Prodigal suggests that the righteous live in community with God and do not need to return (pp. 403–4).

Klyne Snodgrass

North Park Theological Seminary, Chicago, IL 60625

“Eine neue Lehre in Vollmacht”: Die Streit- und Schulgespräche des Markus-Evangeliums, by Wolfgang Weiß. BZNW 52. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1989. Pp. xi + 409. DM 136.

This book is Weiß's revised dissertation written under Egon Brandenburger and accepted by the faculty of Protestant theology at the University of Mainz in 1986. It

contains four chapters, an extensive bibliography and three indexes (a complete index of passages cited, a selective index of subjects and a selective index of Greek terms).

The foreword indicates that the author's starting point was the unsatisfactory state of scholarship on the controversy-dialogues and the scholastic dialogues more than 60 years after Bultmann's ground-breaking research as well as the current debate on the redaction-history of the Gospel of Mark. Weiß intended to contribute to both of these branches of scholarship, the form-critical and tradition-historical on the one hand, and the redaction-critical on the other.

The first chapter deals with the history of scholarship. In the first major section, Weiß provides a critical summary of the work of Albertz, Dibelius, Bultmann, Taylor, Hultgren, and Tannehill from a form-critical point of view. Then he turns to the question of pre-Markan collections of controversy-dialogues. Albertz suggested that there were two such collections that form the basis of Mark 2:1-3:6 and 11:15-17, 27-33; 12:13-40. Weiß points out that scholars have rejected the thesis that a collection stands behind chapters 11-12, but have accepted the thesis with regard to 2:1-3:6. He summarizes the arguments for the latter collection put forth by Albertz, Kuhn, and Theissen and finds that they have failed to make their case. Finally, he argues that Busemann's case for the use of a pre-existing collection in the composition of Mark 10 also fails to persuade.

The second chapter is a detailed study of the controversy-dialogues and the scholastic dialogues in the Gospel of Mark. Weiß proceeds by defining these two literary forms in terms of their constitutive elements, basing his working hypotheses upon the results of previous scholarship. A controversy-dialogue is defined by the sequence of a reproach or an attack and a response within the framework of a dialogue. The dialogues in Mark that fit this definition are 2:1-12, 15-17, 18-22, 23-28; 3:1-6, 22-30; 7:1-23 and 11:27-33. Weiß argues that these dialogues should be separated into two groups: those in which people attack the activity of Jesus and those in which people reproach Jesus because of the behavior of his disciples. The "controversy-dialogues about the activity of Jesus" include 2:1-12; 3:22-30; and 11:27-33. Behind the various attacks stands the question of the legitimation of Jesus.

Weiß argues that the rest of the controversy dialogues involve issues of the Christian way of life. Each reproach concerning the disciples' behavior reflects a controversial matter of practice in the early Church: association with tax collectors and sinners (Gentiles), fasting, observance of the sabbath, and adherence to tradition. So he labels this sub-type "controversy-dialogues on questions of Christian life."

The scholastic dialogue is defined by the presence of a genuine question followed by an answer. The dialogues that fit this definition include: 10:2-12, 17-21; 12:13-17, 18-27, 28-34. The dialogue with the rich man in 10:17-21 is distinguished from the rest by the general character of the question and answer. Weiß characterizes it (along with other pericopes outside of Mark) as an instructional dialogue. The rest on which the subsequent discussion focuses are true scholastic dialogues in that they focus on a specific problem.

Weiß argues persuasively that a decision about the form of a text should be based on the nature of the question and answer and not by the label applied to the questioner. In their present context in Mark, some of the dialogues appear to be controversy-dialogues because the questioners are identified as opponents of Jesus in the Gospel as a whole. Often, however, this identification is a Marcan addition and the question

itself is a true question, seeking information. In such cases, the original form is scholastic dialogue, not controversy-dialogue.

The analysis begins with the controversy-dialogues on questions of Christian life. Four of the five were placed in a single context by Mark (2:1–3:6). The other occurs in 7:1–23. In the discussion of each passage, Weiß attempts to determine the original form of the dialogue, the history of the transmission of the unit, and the redactional elements added by Mark. He points out that the themes of mighty deeds and teaching appear both in 1:21–28 and 3:1–6. The two passages, on the level of Marcan redaction, interpret one another. Mark's intention seems to be to present Jesus as the authoritative teacher whose authority becomes an experiential event in the miracles. The two passages bind the whole section together and suggest that the authority of Jesus' teaching led to his death. According to Mark, the acclamation of the crowd and the murderous conspiracy of the opponents are two sides of the same coin. In discussing the controversy-dialogues about the activity of Jesus and the scholastic dialogues, Weiß begins in each case with the separation of redaction and tradition and then turns to the questions of literary form, origin, social setting, and social group.

In the third chapter, Weiß summarizes and assesses the results of the individual analyses for the questions of literary form and function. With regard to the controversy-dialogues regarding questions of Christian life, he concludes that Bultmann, Dibelius, and Hultgren overemphasized the importance of the description of the occasion of the dialogue. He distinguishes, as they did not, between the dialogue-scene proper and the framing scene. He labels the form represented by the dialogue-scene the "basic form" that underlies the later expanded form. The framing scene involves the activity of Jesus or of the disciples and makes the following conflict vivid and concrete. The secondary character of this scene is shown by the fact that it can be understood as based on the answer of Jesus, but the answer of Jesus is not easily explicable as derived from the scene. The contrast between the specific behavior described and the general character of the answer is noteworthy (pp. 288–89).

He also concludes that the original answer attributed to Jesus in many controversy-dialogues is a wisdom-saying. He infers from this that such dialogues are based on the early Christian practice of using wisdom-sayings to settle arguments about law and lifestyle. These original answers are critical of the law insofar as they respond to legal questions in a way that is independent of the law itself (p. 280). The answers of Jesus do not imply or call for a law-free Christian life. Rather, they caricature the stringent observance of the law (pp. 292, 303, 305).

According to Weiß, the controversy-dialogues originated in debates between Christian communities and Jewish communities. The position of the Christian communities is based on the conduct of Jesus, but the dialogues themselves are the creations of the community. The similarity of the sayings with which the dialogues conclude to Hellenistic and Hellenistic Jewish texts suggests that the social setting involved Hellenistic Jewish Christian communities, possibly in Antioch.

In the secondary expansions of the answers of Jesus, the lifestyle of the Christian community is grounded christologically; this shift in emphasis is discernible, for example, in a comparison of 2:27 with 2:28.

The controversy-dialogues containing attacks on the conduct of Jesus, according to Weiß, arose in Jewish Christian communities whose geographical and cultural

location cannot be specified. The scholastic dialogues, however, show evidence of a Jewish Hellenistic origin.

In an excursus on the problem of formal analogies in the environment of Christianity, Weiß argues that the basic form of the controversy-dialogues and the scholastic dialogues were modeled on the schema of the ancient apophthegm. The expanded form of the controversy-dialogues and the literary controversy-dialogues (i.e., those composed by an evangelist) correspond more closely to the chreia. But the Christian literary forms are not identical with either of these.

The fourth chapter discusses the interpretation of the controversy-dialogues and the scholastic dialogues in the Gospel of Mark and the depiction of the opponents of Jesus in these passages.

The methodology of this book is admirable, and it is rich with insightful literary and historical details. Every serious student of Mark should read it.

Adela Yarbro Collins

The University of Chicago, Chicago, IL 60637

Watchwords: Mark 13 in Markan Eschatology, by Timothy J. Geddert. JSNTSup 26. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989. Pp. 352. £25 (\$37.50).

This book is Geddert's revised Ph.D. dissertation which was directed by I. Howard Marshall. It contains nine chapters plus a brief "Summary and Conclusions." Chapter 1, the "Introduction," states that the "method is to read and interpret Mark 13 in the literary and theological context of the entire Gospel in which Mark placed it" (p. 15). Geddert's position is that Mark 13 is not an alien intrusion into the Gospel, but part and parcel of the whole.

Geddert admits that the interpreter must pay close attention to the words and actions of the characters in Mark's story, since the evangelist communicates with his readers in large part by allowing them to observe these actions and overhear such words. He criticizes those scholars, however, who establish the agenda of the *disciples* in Mark 13:1-4 and assume that this agenda is also *Mark's*. He claims that such a conclusion is based on a confusion of categories. Given the role of the disciples in the Gospel as a whole, he thinks it more probable that Mark's purpose was to have Jesus correct and criticize the disciples' perspective. This is a gratuitous and misleading assumption, since there is no explicit indication in Mark 13 that Jesus rejects the basic perspective of the disciples' question.

Chapter 2 is a study of the role of "signs" in Mark's Gospel. Geddert notes that the Pharisees are refused a sign (8:11-13) and the disciples are warned against "sign-givers" (13:22). He infers that Mark's real concern was epistemology; the evangelist self-consciously criticized the idea that the truths of the gospel can be objectively demonstrated with persuasive effect before unbelieving eyes. This is a large and questionable inference, but the main problem with it is that the disciples in 13:4 are not referring to a sign in that sense. The context suggests that they ask how *believers* will know "that all these things are about to be accomplished." Although the argument that Mark was concerned about the problem of "objective evidence" is not persuasive, Geddert makes a plausible case in this chapter for 3:6 as an important turning point in the narrative of the Gospel (pp. 41-47).

In Chapter 3 Geddert makes the implausible argument that βλέπω is a technical term in Mark and that βλέπετε ἀπὸ in 8:15 has more to do with discernment than with avoidance. Discernment is certainly a factor, but Geddert has overstated its importance. Similar problems beset the discussion of the use of βλέπετε in Mark 13. The conclusion that apocalyptic signs are not to be the object of one's watching is difficult to maintain in light of 13:14. The desolating sacrilege is implicitly the "sign" about which the disciples were asking, and it is introduced with the words "when you see" (ὅταν δὲ ἴδῃτε). There is surely no great exegetical significance in the fact that a form of εἶδον is used here rather than of βλέπω. Geddert claims that the forms of the word βλέπω always have the connotation of "seeing," yet he ignores 13:14; if the former point is valid, then he must deal with v. 14.

In Chapter 4 Geddert argues that the verb γρηγορέω is also a technical term in Mark, designating the proper behavior in the waiting time before the parousia. His use of the notion of a technical term is problematic. More serious is his attempt to divorce the two terms (βλέπω and γρηγορέω) from eschatological expectation. Even if γρηγορέω, as he argues, is not directly connected with either "sign-seeking" or "eschatological time-tables," it still expresses imminent expectation in its literary context. And it will not do, as Geddert thinks appropriate, to define the condition of "imminence" as one that could endure over [many] generations (p. 254).

Chapter 5 treats "Mark's Temple Theology." The conclusion is that Mark 13 is an anti-temple speech and that the destruction of the temple is not necessarily associated closely with the parousia.

Chapter 6 ("Mark's Theology of Suffering") presents an interesting argument that the projected meeting in Galilee (16:7) involves both a resurrection appearance and a renewal of discipleship. He rightly concludes that 16:7 gives no support to the theory that the purpose of the flight from Judea advocated in 13:14 is a journey to Galilee in order to experience the parousia there. This conclusion, however, does not weaken the argument that 13:24a implies that the parousia follows directly upon the destruction of Jerusalem implied in 13:14–23.

Two theses of Chapter 7 ("Mark 13 and Mark's Literary Achievement") may be mentioned here. Geddert makes a plausible case for the first: "Mark therefore wrote much of his Gospel on two levels at once, narrating a sequence of historical events and at the same time and with the same words, instructing readers in discernment and discipleship (emphasis removed)" (p. 183). The second is implausible, namely, that the address to "all" in 13:37 "is designed to focus on the transition [from the disciples] to yet others as they begin their turn in the race [i.e., the pursuit of faithful discipleship]" (p. 196).

In Chapter 8, Geddert argues that the destruction of the temple in Mark 13 is related to the *beginning* of the post-resurrection era and not to its end. He is able to reach this conclusion only by positing that the mission mentioned in 13:10 continues after the destruction of the temple and involves generations subsequent to the original disciples. Warrants are lacking in Mark for both hypotheses.

In the final chapter ("Mark 13 and the Timing of the End") Geddert argues that Mark deliberately left open the question whether judgment is included or excluded in the description of the final events (13:24–27) and whether the fall of the temple was an event directly linked with the End.

A major weakness of this book lies in the author's use of the fact of scholarly

disagreement about the meaning of a passage as an argument that the evangelist deliberately made the passage ambiguous. Another problem becomes apparent, for example, in the argument that 13:33 implies that the timing of the final eschatological event is totally unknowable (p. 246). A bias seems to be at work here, namely, the concern to save Scripture from error, by denying the presence of imminent (in the ordinary sense) expectation of the End in Mark 13.

The main contributions of the book are its depiction of 3:6 as a turning point in Jesus' treatment of his opponents (in the literary design of Mark) and its explanation of the ending of the Gospel (16:7–8).

Adela Yarbro Collins

University of Chicago, Chicago, IL 60637

"All that God had Done with Them": The Narration of the Works of God in the Early Christian Community as Described in the Acts of the Apostles, by Linda M. Maloney. American University Studies VII, Theology and Religion 91. New York/Bern: Peter Lang, 1991. Pp. xiii + 237. \$42.95.

This book, a 1990 Tübingen dissertation directed by Gerhard Lohfink, argues that a schematic pattern underlies certain passages in Luke-Acts in which some recent event or series of events is described and acclaimed as the work of God. In 1978 Lohfink (see Maloney, p. 5 n. 1) pointed to a recurring pattern in six passages from Acts (4:23–31; 11:1–18; 12:11–17; 14:26–28; 15:1–35; 21:15–20a) and suggested that behind Luke's stylized stories stood the praxis of early Christian communities that "dared to describe the ongoing deeds of God." The present work proposes that these six passages from Acts, as well as Luke 24:33–35, are examples of the form "report to the community," which consists of the following five elements: transition, arrival, assembly, report, and response. The body of the study offers a "form- and redaction-critical" investigation of the selected texts to demonstrate that Luke shaped each pericope according to the identified schema. The conclusion considers "the extent to which the 'reporting scene' as a form may have had its roots in the lived experience of the author within his own community context" (p. 3) and reflects on the implications of Luke's model for contemporary church praxis.

The first chapter seeks to verify both (1) the existence of literary models for the form "report to the community" and (2) the actual practice of such reporting in the late Second Temple period. Maloney limits the search for literary models to passages from the Septuagint that include the three indispensable elements of the "reporting scene," namely: (1) a report (2) about some work of God (3) received by a community or congregation. She concludes that numerous Psalms (e.g., 9:1; 22:22, 30–31; 26:7; 40:9–10; etc.), and other texts (e.g., 1 Esdr 4:61–63; Jdt 14:8–10; etc.) could have served Luke in constructing the reporting scenes. Further, she surmises that "Luke had surely been personally present at scenes of such witnessing to God's works, in the *tôdâ* celebrations of the Jewish people and/or in those of the Christian faithful who followed that model" (p. 21).

The seven chapters that follow present exegetical treatments of each of the Lucan pericopes listed above, starting with Luke 24:33–35 and working on through Acts. The majority of the passages are judged to be thoroughly Lucan compositions (Luke 24:33–35; Acts 4:23–31; 11:1–18; 14:26–28; 21:15–20a) or Lucan compositions that utilize

traditional material in conformity with the reporting schema (Acts 12:11–17; 15:1–35). Although the relative weight of the individual elements of the reporting scene varies from passage to passage, the overall consistency of the pattern shows that these texts “are conceived on a common basic model,” which may with justice be called the “report to the community” form (p. 190). While Maloney finds no lack of literary models for this form, she also affirms its “historicity” in the sense that Luke “drew on his own experience and that of the churches that were his sources of information for the scenes he described” (p. 191).

Maloney’s analysis, insofar as it accents the Lucan composition of these passages, is carefully executed, attentive to the primary exegetical issues, and convincing. Yet her judgment concerning the reporting scene’s formal nature is questionable, and the hypotheses she advances with respect to its purpose in Acts and its relation to Luke’s ecclesial life exceed the evidence furnished by the texts.

While it is possible to see a schematic similarity among some of these passages, it is a misnomer to designate this pattern a “form.” Since, as Maloney argues, the passages under consideration are fundamentally Lucan compositions, they provide no access to that oral, pre-literary level of tradition that is the concern of classical form criticism. Her use of the label “form,” however, creates the misleading impression that these Lucan pericopes provide evidence of a particular *Sitz im Leben* that is (to cite a pertinent example) on a methodological par with the life-settings posited for the Psalms by traditional form criticism. Even allowing a much broader definition of form, the term, if it is to be helpful at all, still must refer to a generally recognized and repeatable structure. Yet the Psalm texts Maloney cites, as she admits (p. 28 n. 37), do not describe reporting scenes in the strictest sense, nor do 1 Esdr 4:61–63 and Jdt 14:8–10 suffice to establish the existence of a commonly known form. Moreover, the suggestion that the “model” reporting scenes of 1 Esdras and Judith may have provided examples for Luke (p. 15) assumes that Luke knew these two books, but this is far from certain.

Bracketing the issue of antecedents and retaining the more neutral designation “schema” initially proposed by Maloney, we may still ask how closely the Lucan passages under view conform to the proposed outline of the reporting scene. By definition each passage has to do with a “report”; the elements of “transition” and “arrival,” although somewhat superficial and occasionally merged, are also present in every case. The element of “assembly” is sometimes not explicit but understood (4:23–31; 11:1–18) and in one instance has to do only with leaders (21:15–20a), contrary to the putative purpose of the schema (i.e., the acclamation of events by the community). Finally, the element of “response” is missing in three of the seven texts (Luke 24:33–35; Acts 12:11–17; 14:26–28) and in a fourth (15:1–35) hardly functions explicitly as an acclamation of “the mighty acts of God.” (As an aside, one could suggest that Luke 10:17–20 offers a better example of the five-point schema than the four pericopes just mentioned, though the response is given by Jesus, not the community.) The explanations offered by Maloney to account for these discrepancies (Luke 24:34 and Acts 12:11 anticipate the response in their respective scenes; the response is omitted from 14:26–28 for compositional reasons) have the aura of special pleading. The absence of the response in 12:11–17, for example, is said to be due to the “narrative exigency in this pericope” (p. 108). But if the present cast of these passages is thoroughly Lucan, as Maloney holds, how can a narrative exigency arise that interferes with one of the author’s favorite structures?

Luke's flexible use of the pattern, especially with regard to the crucial response element, casts doubt on the underlying thesis of this book. Throughout the investigation Maloney emphasizes the weight placed by Luke on the community's response to the report given it because: "It is only in and through their interpretation of the events narrated that those events become effective for the church as the genuine work of God" (p. 53; see also pp. 68, 81–82, 108, 115 n. 3, 156–57, 195–96). Yet the fact that the schema falters several times precisely at this point suggests that this understanding of the Lucan intent behind these passages misses the mark. Indeed this principle of community interpretation, which seems to involve the church in a kind of metaphysical ratification of God's activity, appears to owe more to the influence of systematic theologian Ludwig Weimer, whose "ecclesial" criterion for the correct interpretation of events Maloney cites with approval (p. 196), than to the exegesis of Luke's text.

If the formal and literary proposals are ultimately not compelling, the same must be said of the "historical" argument. Maloney claims that Luke's reporting scenes are informed not only by his knowledge of Jewish worship customs and the practice of the Christian communities known to him, but also by his actual participation in the living praxis of both. Unfortunately, these assertions are set forth without any corroborating evidence, apart from the alleged implications of the schema itself.

Christopher R. Matthews

New Testament Abstracts, Weston School of Theology, Cambridge, MA 02138

Leidenslisten und Apostelbrief: Untersuchungen zu Form, Motivik und Funktion der Peristasenkataloge bei Paulus, by Martin Ebner. FB 66. Würzburg: Echter, 1991. Pp. xvi + 414. DM 56 (paper).

In the last decade there has been a strong resurgence of scholarly interest in the lists of hardships found in the Pauline corpus (Rom 8:35–39; 1 Cor 4:9–13; 2 Cor 4:8–9; 6:4–10; 11:23–28; 12:10; Phil 4:11–12; see also 2 Tim 3:11). Three doctoral dissertations devoted to these *peristasis* catalogs have been published since 1988 alone. The first was this reviewer's *Cracks in an Earthen Vessel: An Examination of the Catalogues of Hardships in the Corinthian Correspondence* (SBLDS 99; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988). The second was Markus Schiefer Ferrari's *Die Sprache des Leids in den paulinischen Peristasenkatalogen* (SBB 23; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1991), a Munich dissertation completed in 1990. Ebner's work, written under the guidance of Hans-Josef Klauck and accepted by the faculty of Catholic Theology at Würzburg in the summer semester of 1991, is now the third on the subject. Inasmuch as my own study became accessible to Ebner only after he had completed large parts of his dissertation and because the work of Ferrari was either unknown or completed too late to be available to him (and is not cited in his bibliography), Ebner's investigation is largely an independent analysis of these important lists of vicissitudes.

Ebner begins his treatment with a brief history of research in which Robert Hodgson is given proper credit for demonstrating that lists of tribulations occur in a wide variety of texts and authors (including Josephus, the Nag Hammadi writings, the Mishna, Plutarch, and Arrian) and thereby breaking through the alternative of Stoicism (Bultmann) or apocalypticism (Schrage) that had previously controlled the discussion of the lists' origin. In view of K. T. Kleinknecht's treatment of the relevant

OT and Jewish material in *Der leidende Gerechtfertigte: Die alttestamentlich-jüdische Tradition vom "leidenden Gerechten" und ihre Rezeption bei Paulus* (WUNT 2.13; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1984), Ebner understandably does not attempt to cover all the pertinent comparative material but concentrates rather on that which is found in the non-Jewish Hellenistic world. Rather than devoting a separate chapter to a treatment of this material in its own right, however, Ebner discusses it within the context of interpreting Paul's lists. Organizationally, this procedure for treating comparative material has the advantage of allowing a NT scholar to focus on the biblical texts that are the ultimate object of exegesis. At the same time, this method is not without its disadvantages and dangers. The main disadvantage is that the pagan materials are treated piecemeal, so that the reader is not presented with an extended and unified discussion of the various authors within their literary and social contexts. The chief danger of focusing on the NT text is that the concerns of the biblical writer too often dictate and restrict a scholar's analysis of the comparative material, resulting in a skewed reading that does not respect the integrity of the pagan text. Ebner, in general, avoids this danger and seeks to place the Pauline text within the larger concerns of the Greco-Roman world (see, for example, his discussion of manual labor [pp. 69–75], which is particularly informed by the work of R. F. Hock, *The Social Context of Paul's Ministry* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980]).

Ebner argues that the *peristasis* catalog was a *Gattung* well known to both Paul and the recipients of his letters. The apostle's use as well as adaptations of different forms of this *Gattung* thus played an important role in his attempts to communicate with his audience, particularly at Corinth, and help to clarify his epistolary purposes. Ebner investigates seven of the lists that appear in Paul's letters, devoting a chapter to each list, and treating them in what he believes was the chronological order in which they were written. The texts and the rubrics under which he discusses them are as follows: "The Apostolic Way of Life as an Affront" (1 Cor 4:8–16), "The Superiority of Paul as a Servant of Christ" (2 Cor 11:23–29), "The 'Weaknesses' of Paul According to 2 Cor 12:10," "The 'Treasure' of the Believer" (2 Cor 4:7–12), "The 'Proof of the Apostle' (2 Cor 6:4–10), "Friendship and Self-Sufficiency" (Phil 4:10–20), and "*Peristaseis* as the Crucial Test" (Rom 8:31–39). In addition, Ebner devotes an excursus to "Paul's Catalog in 2 Cor 11:23–29 and the Labors of Herakles," where he assesses the relevance of the Herakles-tradition for the understanding of Paul's list. The major conclusions are given in a 26-point summary, with five basic forms of the *peristasis* catalog identified along with four different motifs with which they are connected.

Illustrative of Ebner's approach is his treatment of the list that appears in 1 Corinthians 4. He terms the list of verbs that appears in 4:11–12 a "*peristasis* catalog of the external conditions of life." Four of the items in the catalog appear in popular philosophical sources as mandatory themes in the discussion of austerity (*Bedürfnislosigkeit*), viz. eating ("hunger"), drinking ("thirst"), clothing ("naked"), and housing ("homeless"). Ebner argues that Paul, like the moralists, uses this philosophical "canon of themes" to demonstrate his austerity. Paul's catalog thus points, not to the sorrows of his life, but to the strength of his soul. Furthermore, Ebner proposes that when the apostle asserts that he is "naked" (γυμνιτεύομεν), he is not claiming to be "poorly clothed" (so BAGD; NRSV; and almost all commentators, including myself). On the contrary, Paul is referring to his practice of wearing an outer garment on his bare skin. That is, like Socrates and the Cynics, Paul wore only a coarse outer cloak and refrained from wearing

the softer undergarment. Paul's practice of working with his hands, to which he gives emphasis in the catalog, also has Cynic analogies. Manual labor was generally despised by sophists and philosophers, who regarded it as vulgar, demeaning, and slavish. Rigorous Cynics, however, rejected the widespread custom of charging fees, begging, or becoming resident philosophers, and advocated manual labor as essential to the maintenance of the philosopher's freedom and independence.

Paul thus presents himself in the catalog as a wise man who, like his pagan counterparts, suffers verbal as well as physical abuse, and, as the antitheses of 4:12–13 demonstrate, responds to social conflict in the manner befitting a true philosopher. In vivid contrast to him stand those Corinthians who, like pseudo-philosophers, claim to be wise (4:10) when they are in reality only babes and beginners (*proficientes*) on the way to wisdom (3:1–4).

Those who compare my treatment of 1 Corinthians 4 with that of Ebner will immediately recognize that our analyses are similar in many respects. The same judgment is generally true for the other materials that we both examine. "The congruence in the essential results is," as Ebner himself notes, "gratifying and confirming" (p. 2 n. 8). Yet we also differ on numerous points of interpretation, both of the pagan materials and of Paul's letters. For example, Ebner attempts to establish 1 Cor 4:8–16 as the basic contextual unit for the list of verbs that appears in 4:11–12. I do not find him persuasive on this point, for such a demarcation cuts off v. 8 from vv. 6–7, to which it is closely linked in both style and content. In the rhetorical tradition, irony (v. 8) and covert allusion (*μετεσχημάτισα*) are closely related (Quint., *Inst.* 9.2.65; Dion. Hal., *Rhet.* 9.323.1 Usener; Ps-Demetrius, *Eloc.* 291). Irony is also basic to the diatribe, the use of which is seen in the brief, biting questions of v. 7. In addition, the appearance of the *peristasis* catalog in the diatribe has been noted since the time of Bultmann, and this connection is stressed by Ebner himself. Again, while Paul's list has a paradigmatic function, his concern with exemplification (see v. 16) appears already in v. 6, where he presents himself (as well as Apollos!) as a model worthy of imitation. Finally, Paul's treatment of the Corinthians as children (see also v. 14) appears also in v. 6, where they are depicted as beginners who still have not learned correctly how to trace the letters of the alphabet ("not beyond what is written").

Such criticisms are not intended to detract from the value of Ebner's important contribution. By adducing a number of new comparative texts and by providing a thorough discussion of Paul's seven major *peristasis* catalogs, he has advanced our understanding of this ancient literary phenomenon.

John T. Fitzgerald

University of Miami, Coral Gables, FL 33124-4672

The Obedience of Faith': A Pauline Phrase in Historical Context, by Don S. Garlington. WUNT 2/38. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1991. Pp. xiv + 337. DM 114.00 (paper).

Now that we know that first-century Jews did not calculate each evening their meritorious deeds of the day and sleep in the assurance that God was bound to reward their efforts with salvation, the question remains what it was about them to which the apostle Paul objected. According to James Dunn, Paul found fault with their "misplaced accent" on those elements of the Mosaic law which constituted "boundary

markers" dividing Jews from Gentiles and, in short, their "too narrowly nationalistic conception of God's purposes in history" (quotations from Garlington, pp. 267; 5). Garlington's *The Obedience of Faith*, a revised form of a dissertation completed under Dunn's supervision in 1987, is concerned to provide the historical context for such an understanding of Paul by showing how Jewish thought of the period features precisely those emphases which Paul opposed.

Writings from the "Apocrypha" are explored for what, in their authors' views, constitute faith and obedience, unbelief and disobedience, and the marks of Israel as "the people of God." This literature is chosen in part because (with the exception of Sirach) it was not treated extensively by E. P. Sanders in *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), yet proves again the pervasiveness of "covenantal nomism" in Jewish thinking; Garlington also believes that these writings illustrate the "popular piety" with which Paul was manifestly interacting and point to a notion of conversion to Judaism which was essentially shared by Paul's opponents. His study gains its distinctive thrust by contrasting what Paul meant by the "obedience of faith" (Rom 1:5) with what the authors of these Jewish works would have taken the phrase to mean. For the latter, active in a time when there was considerable pressure on Jews to abandon their traditional way of life, "faith's obedience *was* one's commitment to *the whole of the Mosaic covenant and its laws*, whose focal emphasis was such institutions as circumcision, the sabbath/festival days and the food laws of Israel, upon which an especial premium began to be placed at the time of the Seleucid oppression and Maccabean revolt" (p. 254). Against this backdrop, Paul's phrase "obedience of faith among all the nations for [Christ's] name's sake" is deliberately polemical and antithetical, proposing that "the nations' can participate in God's (new) covenant apart from becoming and remaining Jewish" (p. v). Since this Pauline "manifesto" sets little stock by those distinctive "badges" of the covenant which had been maintained at great cost by faithful Jews in times of persecution, it is not surprising that the Pauline gospel was "rejected by the rank and file of the Jewish people" (p. v).

Garlington's study of the various "apocryphal" writings makes up the bulk of the book. While the upshot of these discussions will startle none, the review is valuable as an up-to-date, careful tracing of central themes through a body of writings which (in parts) has been largely neglected. Abundant and helpful references are provided to the secondary literature. Moreover, Garlington is doubtless correct in his conclusions about why many Jews would have viewed Paul as an apostate.

For Paul had a different vision. The law which prescribed Jewish distinctiveness was a temporary divine measure. Torah was designed "to keep Israel separate from the nations *until the coming of (the) faith* (Gal 3.23-25)" (p. 255), but was not in fact met with "believing obedience" on the part of Israel nor was it suited to cope with the problem posed by human sin (pp. 260-61). It had now in God's plan given way to the eschatological revelation of God's righteousness, by which it was "possible for people of every race to be regarded as faithful and obedient apart from the distinctive marks of Jewish identity" (p. 253). On the other hand, Jews of Paul's day were now "disobedient" precisely by insisting on conformity, by all who would belong to God's people, with the old, unaltered Torah, thus failing to respond to the eschatological situation brought about in Christ.

No one will deny that Garlington has accurately represented a number of basic Pauline convictions, but some ambiguities remain.

First, Garlington is clear that, for Paul, the Mosaic law has been done away in Christ (pp. 246–47, especially n. 62; pp. 255–56). Yet he suggests that Paul's "negative statements about the law can be explained very well in terms of his awareness of its ethnico-nationalistic restrictions, and his positive pronouncements can be taken as his approval of an abiding core of ethical norms which transcend the peculiar distinctives of Israel's self-consciousness" (p. 268). Aware that Paul does not differentiate "between 'moral' and 'ceremonial' elements in the Torah" (p. 268) and that he does speak of the law itself as a temporary measure now done away, Garlington concludes that Paul "saw an element of the law as transferable from the 'old covenant' to the 'new covenant'" (p. 268). Perhaps that *in effect* is what Paul did; but the language is not recognizably Pauline. Nor can Paul's negative statements about the law be confined to its "ethnico-nationalistic restrictions" (cf. Rom 4:15; 5:20; 7:5; 8:3, etc.). Truer to Paul is Garlington's recognition elsewhere that the law is unable to cope with sin (pp. 260–261).

Second, it is not clear to what extent Garlington (or, better, Garlington's Paul) sees Jewish emphasis on the "boundary markers" as a perversion *in itself*. To my mind at least, it is difficult (and un-Pauline) to so construe it (cf. Rom 2:25; 3:1–2, etc.). Prior to Christ's coming, an emphasis upon adherence to what are, after all, parts of the divine Torah could be seen as culpable only if it was thought to be accompanied by a neglect of the "weightier matters of the law" (cf. the critique in Isa 1:10–17; Amos 5:21–24; Matt 23:23) or to have led to the presumption that those marked with the external signs of the covenant could count on divine favor even when they blatantly transgressed its moral demands (cf. Mic 3:9–12; Rom 2:17–25). In either case, the failure would obviously lie, not in Jewish emphasis on parts of the law, but in the neglect or transgression of other commandments. After Christ's coming, insistence upon the "boundary markers" can be construed as wrong (in addition to the above mentioned grounds) in that it is *symptomatic* of a failure to recognize either the establishment of a new covenant or the implications of its establishment for the viability of the old (it is, after all, only because Paul believes the old covenant has been done away with for those in Christ that he entertains a departure from its requirements). In short, though Paul does indeed differ from his opponents in not requiring the "boundary markers," and perhaps even in assigning such "markers" secondary importance among the laws of Torah, and though Paul's foes may well have opposed him on precisely these grounds, the real root of Paul's polemic must lie elsewhere.

Third, if the fundamental human problem with which the law could not cope was that of sin; if "redemption"—for Jews and Gentiles alike—means deliverance, not simply from the curse of a misunderstanding of the law, but from bondage to "the present evil age" and its powers (Gal 1:4), the justification of the "ungodly" (Rom 4:5; cf. 5:6), and the reconciling of God's "enemies" (Rom 5:10), then due place must be found for the Pauline emphasis on the gratuity of God's salvation in Christ (Rom 3:24; 4:4–6; 5:15–17, etc.), his insistence that reconciliation has been brought about "entirely by God" (2 Cor 5:18), that it is enjoyed by the justified "ungodly," as David of old enjoyed forgiveness, "apart from works" (Rom 4:4–6; cf. 9:11–12; 11:6). These emphases find little place in Garlington's book, apparently because of the assumption (mistaken, I believe) that they imply the ascription of a "merit" theology to contemporary Judaism and the absence of moral imperatives for believers.

Finally, Garlington appears to presuppose that Paul's negative evaluation of Judaism must neatly correspond to some emphasis present in Jewish writings; but need it do

so? Surely Paul's conviction—not dreamed of by the writers of the "Apocrypha"—that God's Son had had to die for the redemption of his people would lead to a radically *different* perception of Israel's standing before God.

Stephen Westerholm
McMaster University, Hamilton, ON L8S 4K1, Canada

The Church as the Body of Christ in the Pauline Corpus: A Re-examination, by Gosnell L. O. R. Yorke. Lanham, MD/New York: University Press of America, 1991. Pp. xx + 156. \$42.50/23.50 (paper).

The thesis of this brief study, a revision of a 1987 McGill University dissertation under N. Thomas Wright, may be simply put: Despite a long history of NT scholarship to the contrary, in the Pauline corpus the human body—any human body—and not Christ's own personal body serves as the *tertium comparationis* for Paul's imagery of the church as the body of Christ. The genitive "of Christ" is thus to be understood as possessive, not explicative. Yorke further argues that the references to Christ as "head" of the body in Colossians and Ephesians are not to be understood as anatomical/physiological, but as metaphors for sovereignty and lordship. The net result, therefore, is that the imagery "body of Christ" does not refer either to some mystical unity between Christ and his church, nor is there some sort of metaphorical identity between them.

To arrive at these conclusions Yorke offers a study in six chapters (plus an overview of conclusions), the heart of which are the four in which he offers in turn an exegesis of the crucial "body = church" texts in 1 Corinthians, Romans, Colossians, and Ephesians. These are preceded by an introductory, and quite useful, overview of the "state of the question," in which he demonstrates that the issue as to the meaning of the metaphor has been clouded historically by the commonly held *presupposition* that the "body = church" metaphor refers in some way to Christ's own crucified or risen body. A second chapter offers a very brief statistical overview of Paul's use of *σῶμα* terminology so as to narrow down the actual texts necessary for the exegesis that follows.

The strength of this study lies in its conclusions, which for the most part seem to be well taken—although it is difficult to imagine that very many will be convinced by the circuitous kind of exegesis that denies that "head" in Col 2:19 and Eph 4:15 has an anatomical point of reference. To argue that had Paul intended the "head" to be the source of the body's life and growth he would have used the feminine *ἐξ ἧς* (thus clearly referring to "head") rather than *ἐξ οὗ* (referring to Christ himself) is both to misunderstand the use and application of metaphor and to neglect the rather large amount of evidence from the Greco-Roman world which indicates an anatomical understanding of the head as the source of most bodily functions. On the other hand, the evidence both from Paul's own application of the metaphor in 1 Cor 12:14–26 and especially from his further use of the metaphor in Rom 12:5 indicates that Yorke's basic thesis is on target—that "body" as a metaphor for church (usually, if not always) has the human body as its primary referent, as Gundry, Daines, and others have argued before him (the omission of the Daines article [*EvQ* 50 (1978)] is an especially curious lacuna; it appears in the bibliography [with an incorrect date] but is not mentioned in the study itself).

The weakness of the study, unfortunately, lies in the very thing that is needed to make the conclusions convincing—the exegesis of the individual passages. Part of this is due to Yorke's methodological choice to look at the texts in their (presumed) chronological order. A more convincing case may perhaps have been presented had he begun with the texts noted above where the conclusion he wants to achieve is more certain in the texts themselves. But part of the weakness is also due to much of the exegesis itself, where a much more careful and thorough treatment is needed in most cases in order to be persuasive. This is especially true of the first text he takes up (1 Cor 10:16–17), in which several contextual matters and exegetical options either are not noted or are passed over too casually (e.g., why the reverse order of cup/bread; the possibility that in v. 16 the “participation in the body of Christ” is already pointing to the interpretation Paul gives in v. 17). Moreover, since Yorke himself agrees that the $\delta\tau\iota$ that begins v. 17 is causal-explanatory, how can he then sever the knot so cleanly as though the “one bread-one body” interpretation did not have Christ's crucified body, remembered at the Table, as its first referent? What does not follow, of course, in light of the rest of the Pauline evidence is that Paul intends something either mystical or metaphorical with regard to Christ's own body. But for Yorke to come to his conclusions by running somewhat roughshod over Paul's own connections would not seem to be the best way to make his case convincing. The same is true for other texts as well (e.g. 1 Cor 11:29, where the connection with 10:16–17 needs to be taken much more seriously than Yorke does).

The net result, then, is that this study seems to be pointing in the right direction, but that the exegetical work needed to make Yorke's case convincing remains yet to be done.

The study shows all the weaknesses of a dissertation that has been published four years after completion, especially in the mixed way the author tries to incorporate, rarely successfully, the literature that appeared between the two dates. Moreover, there is a kind of brashness toward previous scholarship, on the one hand, and toward his own conclusions, on the other, that seems unwarranted in light of the exegesis we are here offered.

Gordon D. Fee

Regent College, Vancouver, BC V6T 2E4

Metaphor and Composition in 1 Peter, by Troy W. Martin. SBLDS 131. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1992. Pp. xii + 383. \$32.95/21.95 (\$21.95/14.95 for members).

It sounds strange to say, but this work (originally a University of Chicago dissertation under Hans Dieter Betz) is a solid, useful, and well-written contribution to 1 Peter studies, and *at the same time* an excellent illustration of what is wrong with too many American doctoral dissertations. Martin undeniably has a thesis, which he develops carefully in chapter 4, given to “Literary Analysis.” His thesis is that one controlling metaphor is the key to the composition of 1 Peter—the metaphor of the diaspora. The thesis is plausible on the face of it in view of explicit references to the diaspora and to Babylon respectively in the letter's epistolary greeting and conclusion (1:1; 5:13). It is also more convincing than other proposed alternatives: for example, the metaphor of baptism, or martyrdom, or of the household. Yet Martin's analysis is weakened by

unnecessarily extravagant claims, both in his Introduction (p. 2, "this dissertation will resolve the problem of the literary character of this document") and in his Conclusion (p. 275, "this dissertation has resolved the literary character of 1 Peter"). Martin has done as much as any dissertation advisor has the right to ask, and more, but few will agree that he has "resolved" the thorny question of 1 Peter's composition!

In striving for his ambitious goal, Martin has sketched the outlines for no less than three other dissertations: one surveying the history of research on the composition of 1 Peter (chapter 1), one on the epistolary format of the work (chapter 2) and one analyzing the body of the letter form-critically as paraenesis (chapter 3). Each of these could have become a monograph in itself, but Martin has put himself through the paces of trying to do all three in a single dissertation. To be sure, some attention to these subjects was necessary in order to accomplish his actual goal (chapter 4), but the dissertation as it stands is much longer than it needs to be.

From where I sit, the most valuable thesis of all would have been an expansion of chapter 1 (and Appendix I, pp. 277–84), surveying the pre-critical as well as critical efforts to make sense of 1 Peter's structure and composition. How many of us knew, for example, that the Venerable Bede skillfully linked what would later be called the "household duty codes" to Peter's advice to elders and younger in 5:1–5 (p. 7, "first those who are free and slaves, then women and men, and then after a passage of general exhortation he points out to the old and young also how they ought to conduct themselves")? Martin provides a number of such nuggets from the past conveniently translated in his opening chapter, just enough to make us wish for more. A comprehensive history of the interpretation of 1 Peter is yet to be written. It would be a lasting contribution to scholarship, and Troy Martin looks like the person to make it.

As for the metaphor of the Jewish diaspora, it is indeed significant in 1 Peter, but Martin burdens it with more weight than it can carry. He identifies three "metaphor clusters" in 1 Peter: the elect household of God (1:14–2:10), aliens in this world (2:11–3:12), and sufferers of the dispersion (3:13–5:11). Under the first are grouped such single metaphors as the new birth, obedient children, babies desiring spiritual milk and living stones in a new temple. Under the second are grouped the metaphors of resident and visiting aliens and of free men in Roman society who confer "honor" where it belongs. Under the third are grouped the metaphors of the righteous sufferer and of being partners in the suffering and glory of Christ.

Martin labors to bring all these under the grand umbrella of the diaspora metaphor, but with mixed success. What he demonstrates instead is that no one metaphor so dominates the others that it can explain the structure and the varied rhetorical strategies of this unique letter. Why, for example, are rules for the household more appropriate to the diaspora than to other segments of Roman society? Is it entirely true that "The temporal aspect of the Diaspora as a road to be traveled or a journey to be undertaken and the threatening aspect of the Diaspora as a dangerous place pressuring the faithful to assimilate and defect set up the rhetorical situation of 1 Peter" (p. 274)? Why is suffering seen as a distinctly diaspora experience rather than as a simple consequence of the *imitatio Christi*? Why is 1 Pet 2:21–23 given so little attention, and none at all in its own context within the household duty codes? Why is the theme of the journey linked to the diaspora rather than to Christ's journey to heaven (see 3:19, 22)? To be sure, these alternatives are not all mutually exclusive, but Martin gives the impression at times of pressing a generally sound insight further than it was meant to go.

The value of this lengthy dissertation cannot be measured by the validity of its main contention. For the knowledgeable and attentive reader, "getting there is half the fun." In the course of his argument, Martin engages all the major commentaries and monographs on 1 Peter in running debate. He advances the discussion at a number of points: for example, the joy of 1 Pet 1:6-8 as future rather than present (pp. 59-64); the unexpressed feminine "co-elect" in 5:13 not as "church" or "wife," but as "brotherhood" or (less likely) "diaspora" (pp. 145-46); the application of the Roman idea of the *patria potestas* to 1 Pet 1:17 (pp. 169-72); some well-taken cautions about the use of participles as imperatives (pp. 90-91); "honor" rather than "submission" as the keynote of what he calls the "Petrine Haustafel" (p. 130); "zealots of the good" in 1 Pet 3:13 as "zealots of the Good," or zealots for God (Appendix II, p. 288). Sometimes one agrees and sometimes not, but many of the points he makes are worthy of consideration entirely apart from the merits of his major thesis.

Finally, Martin's study confirms the view that such terms as diaspora, resident alien, visiting alien, and the like *are* metaphors. If they are clues to 1 Peter's "social world," they are clues precisely as metaphors and not as sober descriptions of social reality.

J. Ramsey Michaels
Southwest Missouri State University, Springfield, MO 65804

COLLECTED ESSAYS

VIII International Congress of the International Organization for Masoretic Studies, Chicago 1988, ed. E. J. Revell. SBLMas 6. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990. Pp. viii + 138. \$17.95/11.95 (\$11.95/8.95 for members).

These twelve essays by as many scholars were originally presented as papers at the VIII International Congress of the IOMS in Chicago in November, 1988, on various aspects of the text of the Hebrew Bible. There is a preface by Harry M. Orlinsky. There are no indexes.

The essays are: "Masoretic Lists and *Matres Lectionis*," by Philippe Cassuto (pp. 1-30); "The Masoretic Accentual System and Repeated Metrical Refrains in Nahum, Song of Songs, and Deuteronomy," by Duane Christensen (pp. 31-36); "Masoretic Rubrics of Indicated Origin in Codex Leningrad (B19a)," by Aron Dotan (pp. 37-44); "Hebrew Reading Traditions of the Jewish Communities," by Ilan Eldar (pp. 45-64); "Benedicti Ariae Montani . . . de Mazzoreth Ratione ATQVE VSV," by Emilia Fernandez-Tejero (pp. 65-70); "*Masorah Figurata* in the *Mikdashyah*: The Mes-sianic Solomonite Temple in a 14th-Century Spanish Hebrew Bible Manuscript," by Joseph Gutmann (pp. 71-77 + six illustrations); "לִּשְׁמִי/לִּשְׁמִי: An Analysis of a Kethib-Qere Phenomenon," by Abraham A. Lieberman (pp. 79-86); "The Latest Spanish Contribution to Masoretic Research," by Maria T. Ortega-Monasterio (pp. 87-93); "Conjunctive *Daghesh*: A Preliminary Study," by E. J. Revell (pp. 95-101); "The Babylonian Masoretic Tradition Reflected in the MSS of the Targum to the Latter Prophets," by Joseph Ribera (pp. 103-9); "A Study of וַיִּאָּמֶר in the Masora Finalis," by Milton Weinberg (pp. 111-19); "Observations on the Old Accusative Ending in Masoretic Hebrew," by P. C. H. Wernberg-Møller (pp. 121-38).

Terence E. Fretheim

Lonergan's Hermeneutics. Its Development and Application, ed. Sean E. McEvenue and Ben F. Meyer. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America, 1989. Pp. vi + 313. \$44.95.

This volume stems from a symposium at Concordia University in Montreal in October, 1986. After the introduction by the editors, there are six essays, each followed by a response and an afterword by the author of the essay. The essays are: (1) "Mutual Misunderstanding: The Dialectic of Contemporary Hermeneutics," by Quentin Quesnell (pp. 19-37); Response by Michael Vertin (pp. 38-46); Afterword (pp. 47-48). (2) "The Great Code and the Christian Faith," by Hugo Meynell (pp. 49-74); Response by John C. Robertson, Jr. (pp. 75-78); Afterword (pp. 79-80). (3) "The

Primacy of the Intended Sense of Texts," by Ben F. Meyer (pp. 81–119); Response by Kenneth R. Melchin (pp. 120–28); Afterword (pp. 129–31). (4) "Theological Doctrines and the Old Testament: Lonergan's Contribution" (pp. 133–54); Response by P. Joseph Cahill (pp. 155–57); Afterword (pp. 158–60). (5) "Psychic Conversion and Lonergan's Hermeneutics," by Robert M. Doran (pp. 161–208); Response by Philip McShane (pp. 209–16); Afterword (pp. 217–20). (6) "On Understanding Salvation History," by Charles C. Hefling, Jr. (pp. 221–75); Response by Charles Davis (pp. 276–88); Response by John Van Den Hengel, S.C.J. (pp. 289–93); Afterword (pp. 294–99).

There are indexes of names, subjects, non-English words, and references to the Bible.

Text and Tradition: The Hebrew Bible and Folklore, ed. by Susan Niditch. SBLSS Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990. Pp. ix + 261. \$29.95/19.95 (SBL members \$19.95/13.95).

The twenty-one essays and responses in this volume constitute the proceedings of a conference on the Hebrew Bible and Folklore at Amherst College on April 28–May 1, 1988. After an introduction by the editor, the volume is divided into three parts.

Part A, "Biblical Narrative," contains 8 contributions: "Patterns of Lives of the Patriarchs from Abraham to Samson and Samuel," by Albert B. Lord (pp. 7–18); "Treading the Labyrinth: A Response to Albert B. Lord," by David M. Gunn (pp. 19–24); "Five Tales of Punishment in the Book of Numbers," by Robert C. Culley (pp. 25–34); "Comments on Robert C. Culley's 'Five Tales of Punishment in the Book of Numbers,'" by Dan Ben-Amos (pp. 35–45); "Samson as *PHĒR ORESKŌOS*," by David E. Bynum (pp. 57–73); "Humor and Theology or the Successful Failure of Israelite Intelligence: A Literary-Folkloric Approach to Joshua 2," by Yair Zakovitch (pp. 75–98); and "A Response to Zakovitch's 'Successful Failure of Israelite Intelligence,'" by Frank Moore Cross (pp. 99–104).

Part B, "Biblical Proverbs and Riddles," contains four contributions: "And God Created the Proverb. . . . Inter-generic and Inter-textual Aspects of Biblical Paremiology—or the Longest Way to the Shortest Text," by Galit Hasan-Rokem (pp. 107–20); "Proverbs in Genesis 2," by Roland Murphy (pp. 121–25); "The Words of the Wise and their Riddles," by Claudia V. Camp and Carole R. Fontaine (pp. 127–51); and "Response to Professors Fontaine and Camp," by Edgar Slotkin (pp. 153–59).

Part C, "Biblical Law," has four contributions: "Naomi and Ruth: Building up the House of David," by Gillian Feeley-Harnik (pp. 163–84); "On Feeley-Harnik's Reading of Ruth," by Edward L. Greenstein (pp. 185–91); "Ethics in Conflict: Sociological Aspects of Ancient Israelite Ethics," by Robert R. Wilson (pp. 193–205); and "Comments on Robert Wilson," by John Middleton (pp. 207–13).

The final section, D, "Reflections on the Hebrew Bible and Folklore: A Conclusion," consists of "Reflections" by Robert A. Oden (pp. 217–20), Joseph F. Nagy (pp. 221–24), Burke O. Long (pp. 225–28), and Robert Coote (pp. 229–30); and "Domains of Folkloristic Concern: The Interpretation of Scriptures," by Margaret Mills (pp. 231–41).

There is a list of contributors, a general index, and indexes of characters, biblical citations, and authors.

L'Apocalittica Giudaica e la sua Storia, by Paolo Sacchi. Biblioteca di Cultura Religiosa 55. Brescia: Paideia, 1990. Pp. 374. L 47,000 (paper).

This volume brings together twelve essays on Jewish apocalypticism and related subjects, written over a period of ten years. The essays are presented with minimal revision, but there is a brief introduction by the author (pp. 9–26), an extensive bibliography on apocalypticism, and indexes of subjects, authors, and citations.

The essays are: "Il Libro dei Vigilanti e l'apocalittica" (pp. 31–78) = *Henoch* 1 (1979) 42–98; "Ordine cosmico e prospettiva ultraterrena nel postesilio" (pp. 79–98) = *RivB* 30 (1982) 6–25; "Per una storia dell'apocalittica" (pp. 99–130) = *Atti del III Convegno dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio del Giudaismo, San Miniato, novembre 1982* (Rome, 1985) 9–34; "L'apocalittica del I secolo: Peccato e Giudizio" (pp. 131–53) = *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio del Giudaismo, San Miniato, novembre 1984* (Rome, 1987) 59–78; "L'apocalittica giudaica" (pp. 154–69) = *SIDIC* 18 (1985) 4–10; "I due calendari del Libro dell'Astronomia" (pp. 173–86) = "Testi palestinesi anteriori al 200 a.C. con particolare riguardo al problema dei due calendari solari del Libro dell'Astronomia," *RivB* 34 (1986) 183–204; "Enoc Etiopico 91,15 e il problema della mediazione" (pp. 187–98) = *Henoch* 7 (1985) 257–67; "Messianismo e apocalittica" (pp. 199–219) = *Quaderni di Vita Monastica* 46 (1987) 14–38; "La conoscenza presso gli ebrei da Amos all'essenismo" (pp. 220–58) = *Ricerche Storico Bibliche* 1 (1989) 123–49; "Storicizzazione e rivelazione alle origini del giudaismo" (pp. 259–71) = *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 24 (1988) 68–77; "Il diavolo nelle tradizioni giudaiche del Secondo Templo" (pp. 272–97) = *Atti di conferenza dall'Associazione "Diabolos, Dialogos, Daimon."* Torino, ottobre 1988 (in press) and "Introduzione storica al Libro dei Segreti di Enoc (= Enoc Slavo o 2 Enoc) (pp. 298–318) = *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento* (Turin, 1989) 2.491–511.

John J. Collins

Die Hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte: Festschrift für Rolf Rendtorff zum 65. Geburtstag. Edited by Erhard Blum, Christian Macholz, and Ekkehard W. Stegemann. Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 1990. Pp. xiv + 736. N.P.

This volume contains 54 essays by 55 contributors arranged in 2 major sections. Section A, "Zur Hebräischen Bibel," is subdivided into 4 sections. The first, "Pentateuch – תורה," includes the following essays: "Jerusalem in den Erzväter-Geschichten der Genesis?: Traditionsgeschichtliche Erwägungen zu Gen 14 und 22," by Klaus Baltzer (pp. 3–12); "'400 Jahre' oder 'vier Generationen' (Gen 15:13–15): Geschichtliche Zeitangaben oder literarische Motive?" by Shemaryahu Talmon (pp. 13–25); "An Enquiry into the Betrothal of Ruth," by Alexander Rofé (pp. 27–39); "Zippora und ihr חתן רים," by Ruth and Erhard Blum (pp. 41–54); "Zu Komposition und Theologie der Plagenerzählungen," by Jürgen Kegler (pp. 55–74); "Alttestamentliche und altorientalische Rituale," by Klaus Koch (pp. 75–85); "Ablutions," by Jacob Milgrom (pp. 87–95); "Azazel – biblisches Gegenstück zum ägyptischen Seth?: Zur Religionsgeschichte von Lev 16: 10, 21f," by Bernd Janowski (pp. 97–110); "'You Shall Love Your Neighbor As Yourself': A Case of Misinterpretation?" by Abraham Malamat (pp. 111–15); "Der Exodus als Heiligung: Zur rechtsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung des Heiligkeitgesetzes," by Frank Crüsemann (pp. 117–29); "Bemerkungen zur Textgeschichte

von Leviticus: Welchen Wert haben die Varianten aus der Kairoer Geniza?," by Magne Saebø (pp. 131–39); "Bileam-Lieder und Bileam Erzählung," by Hans-Jürgen Zobel (pp. 141–54); "The Book of Numbers," by Rolf P. Knierim (pp. 155–63); "Book-Size and the Thematic Cycles in the Pentateuch," by Menahem Haran (pp. 165–76).

Section 2, "Propheten—נביאים," includes the following essays: "Richter 5: Das Debora-Lied Versuch einer Deutung," by Hannelis Schulte (pp. 177–91); "Ophra in Manasse: Der Heimatort des Richters Gideon und des Königs Abimelech," by Herbert Donner (pp. 193–206); "Abzählungen in 1 Samuel 1-4," by Matatiah Tsevat (pp. 207–14); "Zur Komposition von 1 Könige 18: Versuch einer kontextuellen Auslegung," by Winfried Thiel (pp. 215–23); "The Immanuel Prophecy of Isa. 7:10–17 and Its Messianic Interpretation," by R. E. Clements (pp. 225–40); "Das Deuterocesaja-Buch als Fortschreibung der Jesaja-Prophetie," by Rainer Albertz (pp. 241–56); "Zions Tröstung: Beobachtungen und Fragen zu Jesaja 51:1–11," by Odil Hannes Steck (pp. 257–76); "Die 'Königsspruch'—Sammlung im Jeremiabuch—von der Anfangs- zur Endgestalt," by Hans-Jürgen Hermisson (pp. 277–99); "Jer 29:24–32—'eine geradezu unüberbietbare Konfusion': Vorurteil und Methode in der exegetischen Forschung," by Christof Hardmeier (pp. 301–17).

Section 3, "Schriften—כתובים," includes the following essays: "'Ist es 'umsonst,' daß Hiob gottesfürchtig ist?': Lexicographische und methodologische Marginalien zu חֵן in Hi 1:9," by Jürgen Ebach (pp. 319–35); "Die Juden als Kindes- und Frauenmörder?: Zu Est 8:11," by Rainer Kessler (pp. 339–45); "Zu Herkunft und Alter der Vater-Anrede Gottes im Gebet des vorchristlichen Judentums: Nicht durchgehend wissenschaftliche Erlebnisse, Beobachtungen, Überlegungen und Spekulationen," by Konrad Rupprecht (pp. 349–55).

Section 4, "Schrift—תנ"ך," includes the following essays: "Analysis of a Canonical Formula: 'It shall be recorded for a future generation,'" by Brevard Childs (pp. 357–64); "Three Conceptions of the Torah in Hebrew Scriptures," by Moshe Greenberg (pp. 365–78); "Die Entstehung des hebräischen Bibelkanons nach 4 Esra 14," by Christian Macholz (pp. 379–91); "The Elusive Essence: YHWH, El and Baal and the Distinctiveness of Israelite Faith," by Tryggve N. D. Mettinger (pp. 393–417); "Vom Nebensatz zum Idealtypus: zur Vorgeschichte des Antiken Judentums von Max Weber," by Christa Schäfer-Lichtenberger (pp. 419–33); "'Jahwe und . . .': Anmerkungen zur sog. Monotheismus-Debatte," by Werner H. Schmidt (pp. 435–47); "Die Petition eines Erntearbeiters aus Měšad Ḥāšav yāhū und die Syntax althebräischer erzählender Prosa," by Manfred Weippert (pp. 449–66).

Section B, "Aus der doppelten Nachgeschichte," is subdivided into 2 sections. Section 1, "Zu jüdischen und christlichen Schriften," includes the following essays: "Zu den Scheidungsklauseln im Ehevertrag zwischen 'Ananyah bar 'Azaryah und der Sklavin Tamut, Papyrus Kraeling BMAP 2," by Reinhard Hillmann (pp. 469–78); "Die jemenitische Version des 'Midrash Echa," by Michael Krupp (pp. 479–87); "Hermeneutische Möglichkeiten: Zur frühen Rezeptionsgeschichte der Jefte-Tradition," by Ulrich Übner (pp. 489–501); "Zur Tempelreinigung im Johannesevangelium," by Ekkehard W. Stegemann (pp. 503–16); "Nächstenliebegebot, Dekalog und Gesetz in Jak 2:8–11," by Christoph Burchard (pp. 517–33); "Aporien im Umgang mit Antijudaismen des Neuen Testaments," by Gerd Theißen (pp. 535–53); "Jesu Weinen über sein Volk: Predigt über Lukas 19:41–44," by Peter von der Osten-Sacken (pp. 555–59); "Ökologischer Sabbat: Rundfunkpredigt vom 16. April 1989 über Genesis, Kapitel 1,"

by Gerhard Rau (pp. 561–65); “Der Tobiasdienst: Predigt in der Peterskirche Heidelberg am Karfreitag (24. März 1989) über Johannes 19:38–42,” by Lothar Steiger (pp. 567–73); “Mission nach der Weise Abrahams’: Eine Predigt über Gen 12:1–9,” by Theo Sundermeier (pp. 575–79).

Section 2, “Christen und Juden,” includes the following essays: “Von den ‘Schriften’ zum ‘Alten Testament’ – und zurück?: Jüdische Fragen zur christlichen Suche einer ‘Mitte der Schrift,’” by Edna Brocke (pp. 581–94); “On Reading Someone Else’s Mail: The Church and Israel’s Scriptures,” by Paul M. van Buren (pp. 595–606); “Allmacht und Ohnmacht: Die Gottesfrage nach Auschwitz und Hiroshima,” by Wolfgang Huber (pp. 607–17); “‘Moses hat von mir geschrieben’: Leitlinien einer Christologie im Kontext des Judentums Joh 5:39–47,” by Bertold Klappert (pp. 619–40); “Tora und ‘Volksnomos,’” by Hans-Joachim Kraus (pp. 641–55); “Zur Reintegration der Tora in eine Evangelische Theologie,” by Friedrich-Wilhelm Marquardt (pp. 657–76); “Keine Korruption des Monotheismus durch Christozentrismus – das schwerste theologische Problem nach J. L. Hromádka,” by Martin Stöhr (pp. 677–88); “Juden und Christen – Kinder eines Vaters,” by Hartwig Thyen (pp. 689–705); “Judenverfolgung und Kirchenzerstörung im Spiegel der Hassell-Tagebücher 1938–1944,” by Heinz Eduard Tödt (pp. 707–15); “The Crisis of Hope,” by Elie Wiesel (pp. 717–23); “The Impact of Dialogue with Christianity on My Self-Understanding as a Jew,” by Michael Wyschogrod (pp. 725–36).

History of the Jews in the First Century of the Common Era, ed. Jacob Neusner. Origins of Judaism 6. New York/London: Garland, 1990. Pp. xvii–678. N.P.

This volume, the eleventh in a projected twenty-volume series, contains 34 previously published essays by 25 authors. The essays are: “The Emperor Nero in Talmudic Legend,” by S. J. Bastomsky (pp. 1–5) = *JQR* 59 (1968–69) 321–25; “Rabbinic Responses to Catastrophe: From Continuity to Discontinuity,” by Baruch M. Bokser (pp. 7–31) = *Academy for Jewish Research* 50 (1983) 37–61; “The Jamnia Period in Jewish History,” by W. M. Christie (pp. 33–50) = *JTS* 26 (1925) 347–64; “Josephus’ Portrayal of Saul,” by Louis H. Feldman (pp. 51–105) = *HUCA* 53 (1983) 45–99; “The Identity of Pollio, the Pharisee, in Josephus,” by Louis H. Feldman (pp. 107–16) = *JQR* 49 (1958–59) 53–62; “A Philosophical Session in a Tannaite Academy,” by Judah Goldin (pp. 117–37) = *Tradition* 21 (1965) 1–21; “Early Christian and Jewish Art,” by Erwin R. Goodenough (pp. 139–53) = *JQR* 33 (1942–43) 403–17; “Hebrew as the Spoken and Written Language in the Last Days of the Second Temple,” by Jehoshua M. Grintz (pp. 54–169) = *JBL* 79 (1960) 32–47; “Hillelites and Shammaites – a Clarification,” by Alexander Guttman (pp. 171–82) = *HUCA* 28 (1957) 115–26; “Akiba, ‘Rescuer of the Torah,’” by Alexander Guttman (pp. 183–209) = *HUCA* 38 (1967) 395–421; “The End of the Houses,” by Alexander Guttman (pp. 211–27) = *The Abraham Weiss Jubilee Volume* (New York, 1964) 89–105; “The End of the Jewish Sacrificial Cult,” by Alexander Guttman (pp. 229–40) = *HUCA* 38 (1967) 137–48; “The Location of the Bet Din in the Early Tannaitic Period,” by David Halivni (Weiss) (pp. 241–51) = *PAAJR* 29 (1961) 181–91; “Historic Masada and the Halakhah,” by Sidney B. Hoenig (pp. 252–67) = *Tradition* 13/2 (1972) 100–115; “Synedrion in the Attic Orators, the Ptolemaic Papyri and its Adoption by Josephus, the Gospels and the Tannaim,” by Sidney B. Hoenig (pp. 269–77) = *JQR* 37 (1946–47) 179–87; “Josephus and the Ban-

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The Literature of Formative Judaism: The Midrash-Compilations, ed. by Jacob Neusner. Origins of Judaism 11/1. New York/London: Garland, 1990. Pp. xvii + 678. N.P.

This volume, the seventeenth in a projected twenty-volume series, contains 20 previously published essays by 14 authors. The essays are: "The Gnostic Background of the Rabbinic Adam Legends," by Alexander Altmann (pp. 1–21) = *JQR* 35 (1944) 371–91; "The Rewarding and Punishing of Animals and Inanimate Objects. On the Aggadic View of the World," by V. Aptowitzer (pp. 23–61) = *HUCA* 3 (1926) 117–55; "Seventy-Two Modes of Exposition," by W. Bacher (p. 63) *JQR* o.s. 4 (1892) 509; "The Origin of the Word Haggada (Agada)," by W. Bacher (pp. 64–87) = *JQR* o.s. 4 (1892) 406–29; "Revelations of the Torah after Sinai," by Bernard J. Bamberger (pp. 89–105) = *HUCA* 16 (1941) 97–113; "The Dating of the Aggadic Materials," by Bernard J. Bamberger (pp. 107–15) = *JBL* 68 (1949) 115–23; "The Death of Zechariah in Rabbinic Literature," by Sheldon H. Blank (pp. 117–36) = *HUCA* 12 (1938) 327–46; "Methodological Note for the Study of Rabbinic Literature," by Renée Bloch (pp. 137–61) =

Approaches to Ancient Judaism: Theory and Practice (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press for Brown Judaic Studies, 1978) 51–75; “Midrash,” by Renée Bloch (pp. 163–84) = *Approaches to Ancient Judaism: Theory and Practice* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press for Brown Judaic Studies, 1978) 29–50; “The Piska Concerning the Sheep which Rebelled,” by William G. Braude (pp. 185–219) = *PAAJR* 30 (1962) 1–35; “Midrashim as Oral Traditions,” by Ronald Brown (pp. 221–29) = *HUCA* 47 (1978) 181–89; “Alexandrian Methods of Interpretation and the Rabbis,” by David Daube (pp. 231–48) = *Festschrift Hans Lewald* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1953) 27–44; “Rabbinic Methods of Interpretation and Hellenistic Rhetoric,” by David Daube (pp. 249–74) = *HUCA* 22 (1949) 239–64; “Women in Midrash,” by Elsie Davis (pp. 275–79) = *JQR* o.s. 8 (1896) 529–33; “Studies in the Tannaitic Midrashim,” by Louis Finkelstein (pp. 281–320) = *PAAJR* 6 (1935) 189–228; “The Mekilta and Its Text,” by Louis Finkelstein (pp. 321–72) = *PAAJR* 5 (1934) 3–54; “The Sources of the Tannaitic Midrashim,” by Louis Finkelstein (pp. 373–405) = *JQR* 31 (1940–41) 211–43; “The Circular Proem: Composition, Terminology and Antecedents,” by Harry Fox (pp. 407–37) = *PAAJR* 49 (1982) 1–31; “What’s in a Name?—The Problematic of Rabbinic ‘Biography,’” by William Scott Green (pp. 439–58) = *Approaches to Ancient Judaism: Theory and Practice* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press for Brown Judaic Studies, 1978) 77–96; “The Proem in the Aggadic Midrashim: a Form-Critical Study,” by Joseph Heinemann (pp. 460–82) = *ScrHier* 22 (1971) 100–22.

Essays on the Jewish World of Early Christianity, by P. W. van der Horst. NTOA 14. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990. Pp. 255. SFr 68.00.

This volume contains 14 essays written between 1978 and 1990, 12 of which have been previously published. The essays are: “Pseudo-Phocylides and the New Testament” (pp. 19–34) = *ZNW* 69 (1978) 187–202; “Pseudo-Phocylides Revisited” (pp. 35–62) = *JSP* 3 (1988) 3–30; “Moses’ Throne Vision in Ezekiel the Dramatist” (pp. 63–71) = *JSS* 34 (1983) 21–29; “Some Notes on the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel” (pp. 72–93) = *Mnemosyne* 37 (1984) 354–75; “The Role of Women in the Testament of Job” (pp. 94–110) = *NedTTs* 40 (1986) 273–89; “Portraits of Biblical Women in Pseudo-Philo’s *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*” (pp. 111–22); “The Measurement of the Body. A Chapter in the History of Jewish Mysticism” (pp. 123–35) = *Effigies Dei* (ed. D. van der Plas; Leiden: Brill, 1987) 56–68; “The Samaritan Diaspora in Antiquity” (pp. 136–47) = *NedTTs* 42 (1988) 134–44 (rev. version of an originally Dutch article); “The Jews of Ancient Crete” (pp. 148–65) = *JJS* 39 (1988) 183–200; “Jews and Christians in Aphrodisias in the Light of Their Relations in Other Cities” (pp. 166–81) = *NedTTs* 43 (1989) 106–21 (rev. version of an originally English article); “‘Lord, Help the Rabbi’: The Interpretation of *SEG XXXI 1578b*” (pp. 182–86) = *JJS* 38 (1987) 102–6; “The Interpretation of the Bible by the Minor Jewish Authors” (pp. 187–219) = *Mikra*. CRINT 2/1 (ed. M. J. Mulder; Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum/Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) 519–46; “Nimrod After the Bible” (pp. 220–32); “Seven Months’ Children in Jewish and Christian Literature from Antiquity” (pp. 233–47) = *ETL* 54 (1978) 346–60.

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- BARR, JAMES. *The Garden of Eden and The Hope of Immortality*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1992. Pp. xiv + 146. N.P. (paper).
- BECKER-SPÖRL, SILVIA. "Und Hanna betete und sie sprach . . .": *Literarische Untersuchungen zu 1 Sam 2. 1-10*. Textwissenschaft, Theologie, Hermeneutik, Linguistik, Literaturanalyse, Informatik 2. Tübingen: Franke, 1992. Pp. x + 163. DM 68 (paper).
- BERGER, KLAUS. *Synopse des Vierten Buches Esra und der Syrischen Baruch-Apokalypse*. Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 8. Tübingen/Basel: Franke, 1992. Pp. viii + 287. DM 98.
- BERQUIST, JON L. *Reclaiming Her Story: The Witness of Women in the Old Testament*. St. Louis, MO: Chalice, 1992. Pp. xiv + 186. \$14.99 (paper).
- BETZ, HANS DIETER. *Synoptische Studien: Gesammelte Aufsätze 2*. Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1992. Pp. x + 322. DM 178. Contains 16 previously published essays.
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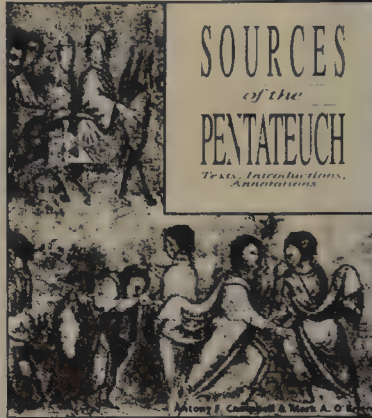
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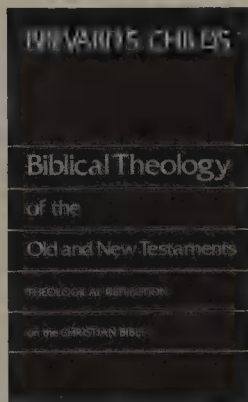
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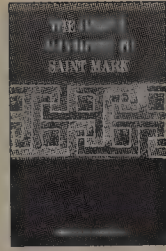
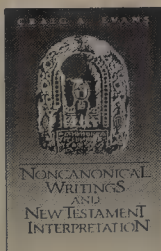
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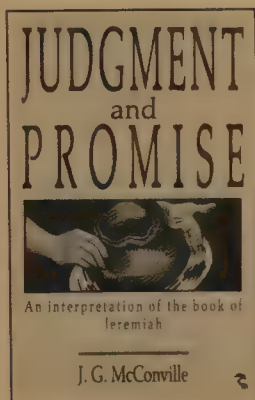
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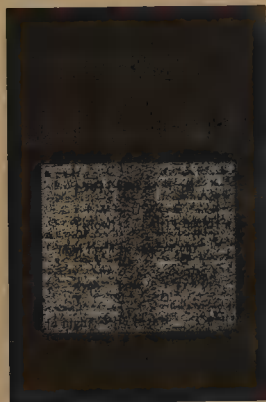
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THE QUEEN MOTHER AND THE CULT IN ANCIENT ISRAEL

SUSAN ACKERMAN

Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH 03755-3592

I

In a recent issue of the *JBL*, Z. Ben-Barak published an article on the status and rights of the *gēbîrâ*, or queen mother, in ancient Israel.¹ In it Ben-Barak argued that the *gēbîrâ* was not an official functionary within the Israelite or Judean monarchy; that is, the *gēbîrâ* did not lay claim to privilege in either the northern or southern court by virtue of an institutionalized position. To be sure, Ben-Barak noted that there were *gēbîrôt* in the Hebrew Bible who did rise to places of prominence and influence during their sons' reigns, but she suggested that this was effected only by a few authoritative and powerful women through the force of their own personalities. Such authoritative and powerful women included in particular a queen mother who exerted herself in the matter of succession upon the death of her husband, the king, typically by promoting a younger son as heir to the throne in defiance of the generally acknowledged claim of the firstborn (or of the oldest surviving son if the eldest had died or had become unable to rule). Bathsheba, in advocating Solomon's claim to kingship over that of Adonijah, is the paradigmatic exemplar of the *gēbîrâ* who schemed for succession on behalf of her younger son; elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible Ben-Barak cites Ma'acah, the queen mother of Abijam/Abijah² (a younger son according to 2 Chr 11:18-23); Hamutal, the queen mother of Jehoahaz (the younger brother of Jehoikim according to the date formulas found in

¹ Z. Ben-Barak, "The Status and Right of the *Gēbîrâ*," *JBL* 110 (1991) 23-34; see also Ben-Barak's earlier article, "The Queen Consort and the Struggle for Succession to the Throne," in *La femme dans le Proche-Orient antique* (Compte rendu de la XXXIIIe Rencontre assyriologique internationale [Paris, 7-10 juillet 1986]; ed. J.-M. Durand; Paris: Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1987) 33-40.

The term *gēbîrâ/gēberet* is used fifteen times in the Hebrew Bible. In Gen 16:4, 8, and 9 it means "mistress" (describing Sarah's relationship with Hagar), and this translation is also required in 2 Kgs 5:3; Ps 123:2; Prov 30:23; and Isa 24:2; 45:5,7. In 1 Kgs 1:19 *gēbîrâ* should be translated "queen," referring to the wife of the Egyptian pharaoh. Elsewhere in Kings, and also in Chronicles and Jeremiah (1 Kgs 15:13; 2 Kgs 10:13; 2 Chr 15:16; Jer 13:18; 29:2), the term means "queen mother."

² The variant names Abijam and Abijah are most probably the result of textual confusion; see M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1980) 234 #117.

2 Kgs 23:31, 36); and Nehushta, the queen mother of Jehoiachin (the younger brother of Zedekiah according to 2 Chr 36:9–11, but cf. 2 Kgs 24:17, where Jehoiachin is identified as Zedekiah's nephew). Further afield, Ben-Barak notes examples of the same phenomenon from Ugarit, from the Hittite empire, from Assyria, from Y'dy (Ya'diya?) Šam'al, from Babylon, and from Persia. Ben-Barak stresses that in all these examples there was no official role for the queen mother in the standard succession to the throne. It was only the ambitious *gēbîrôt*, those who craved the highest office in the land for their sons, who used their influence to determine their husbands' heirs.

In advancing this thesis that the *gēbîrâ* in the Hebrew Bible had no official position, Ben-Barak is arguing against, albeit not explicitly, another fairly recent article on the queen mother, this one published by N.-E. A. Andreasen in *CBQ*.³ In that article, Andreasen quickly rejects the argument that the queen mother had no institutionalized status. He writes instead that, "it soon becomes obvious from the text that the queen mother was not merely treated with deference by the monarch, but that she held a significant official position superseded only by that of the king himself."⁴ Andreasen describes this official position as that of "lady counsellor," with counsel being sought especially in regard to the royal succession and also, at least in the case of Bathsheba, in matters judicial and in mediations between political factions (1 Kgs 2:13–25). Andreasen, along with many other commentators, sees the roots of this institutionalized role for the queen mother in Hittite culture, where the queen mother or *tawananna* had significant responsibilities within the social and political affairs of the king's court.⁵

The Hittite *tawananna*, moreover, had responsibilities within the cultic life of Hittite society. Indeed, S. R. Bin-Nun, in her Oxford Ph.D. dissertation, the most recent and up-to-date study available on the *tawananna*, has argued that in the earliest periods of the Hittite Old Kingdom (and in pre-Hittite Anatolia as well), the title *tawananna* referred exclusively to a religious functionary. Only secondarily, she suggests, in the period of the Hittite empire, does the *tawananna* assume responsibilities within Hittite social, political, and economic spheres. Yet even then her cultic obligations persist.⁶ Despite, however, this primacy of religious function in the duties of the Hittite queen mother, Andreasen argues that when the office was borrowed into Israel, the

³ N.-E. A. Andreasen, "The Role of the Queen Mother in Israelite Society," *CBQ* 45 (1983) 179–94.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 180.

⁵ G. Molin, "Die Stellung der G^ebira im Staate Juda," *TZ* 10 (1954) 161–75; H. Donner, "Art und Herkunft des Amtes der Königinmutter im Alten Testament," in *Festschrift Johannes Friedrich zum 65. Geburtstag am 27. August gewidmet* (ed. R. von Kienle et al.; Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1959) 105–45; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: 1, Social Institutions* (New York/Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1961) 118.

⁶ S. R. Bin-Nun, *The Tawananna in the Hittite Kingdom* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter; Universitätsverlag, 1975) 34–50, 107–59.

cultic role of the *gēbîrâ* was eliminated.⁷ On this point, then, Andreasen is in agreement with Ben-Barak, as both of them suggest that there was no official position for the queen mother within institutionalized Israelite religion.

In fact, as Andreasen points out, only a few scholars have advanced arguments supporting an official role for the queen mother in the cult. S. Terrien in 1970 proposed that the queen mother was one element in a constellation of religious beliefs and practices — the Jerusalem temple as the *omphalos mundi*, serpent worship, chthonian divination, a solar cult, and male prostitution involving homosexual and bisexual intercourse — all of which played a role “in the mystical or sacramental aspect of the principle of monarchic succession.”⁸ But Terrien finds today little support among historians of Israelite religion for his reconstructions: the notion of cult prostitution in Israel and throughout the ancient Near East, whether male or female, has been increasingly discredited, for example,⁹ and fully developed solar worship such as Terrien describes seems to have come to Israelite religion only relatively late and from the east, in the eighth and seventh centuries, that is, through increasing Aramean and even Assyrian influence.¹⁰ Also garnering only minimal scholarly support today is the 1963 proposal of G. W. Ahlström that the cultic responsibility of the queen mother in ancient Israelite religion was to play the role of the bride in the *hieros gamos*.¹¹ Currently, however, few historians of religion endorse any reconstruction involving a *hieros gamos* in Israel, and, to my knowledge, none among those who do allow for an Israelite sacred marriage would agree with Ahlström’s contention that the queen mother (and not the queen or some priestess) functioned as the ritual consort.¹²

Still, despite the failure of Terrien and Ahlström to articulate a convincing role for the queen mother in Israelite religion and also despite the conclusions of Ben-Barak and Andreasen that the *gēbîrâ* had no official cultic function, I believe that the issue is far from settled. Moreover, I propose that the

⁷ Clearly we cannot speak of direct borrowing, given the time gap between the fall of the Hittite empire and the rise of the Israelite monarchy. Still, H. Donner has argued that the political structures of Hittite society survived in first-millennium Syria and Canaan and from there came to influence the united monarchy in Jerusalem. See Donner, “Art und Herkunft,” 123–30; also Andreasen, “Queen Mother,” 181.

⁸ S. Terrien, “The Omphalos Myth and Hebrew Religion,” VT 20 (1970) 315–38; quotation from p. 331.

⁹ See E. J. Fisher, “Cultic Prostitution in the Ancient Near East? A Reassessment,” BTB 5 (1976) 225–36; R. A. Oden, “Religious Identity and the Sacred Prostitution Accusation,” in *The Bible Without Theology: The Theological Tradition and Alternatives to It* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987) 131–53; J. Westenholz, “Tamar, Qēdēša, Qadištu, and Sacred Prostitution in Mesopotamia,” HTR 82 (1989) 245–65.

¹⁰ See M. Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion: Assyria, Judah, and Israel in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.E.* (SBLMS 19; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1974) 84–87.

¹¹ G. W. Ahlström, *Aspects of Syncretism in Israelite Religion* (Horae Soederblomianae 5; Lund: Gleerup, 1963) 57–88.

¹² See the criticisms of Andreasen, “Queen Mother,” 182.

time is ripe to consider the question of the queen mother and the cult anew. The time is ripe because our understanding of what comprised cult in ancient Israel has changed considerably in the past fifteen years. Since the late 1970s, that is, we have seen multiple attempts to redefine the nature of Israelite religion both in the light of new archaeological discoveries and also in the light of more nuanced exegeses of the biblical text.¹³ What we have learned from these numerous redefinitions is that the ancient cult allowed a far greater latitude in religious beliefs and practices than the exilic and postexilic editors of the biblical text would admit. We have thus come to doubt the rather homogeneous picture presented by the biblical writers of Israelite religion. Instead, we have increasingly broadened our parameters in describing what the Israelite cult encompassed. In this paper I propose to seek amid these broadened parameters evidence suggesting that the queen mother did play some role in Israelite religion.

To be sure, the data that will guide this exploration are sparse, since the male-dominated culture that gave us the Bible, still our primary piece of evidence concerning the Israelite cult, tended not to include significant information concerning women's religious activities; those female acts of devotion that are described, moreover, are more often than not denigrated (women's worship of the Queen of Heaven in Jeremiah 7 and 44, for example, or their wailing over Tammuz in Ezekiel 8). Comparative evidence from elsewhere in the ancient Near East, while essential, cannot truly compensate for this deficit in the biblical text, as the comparative material also typically stems from patriarchal societies that overlooked or devalued women's cult activities. From the start, then, I must admit that the reconstruction offered here is necessarily speculative. Still, while caution is advisable, I do hope to demonstrate that the queen mother did have an official responsibility in Israelite religion: it was to devote herself to the cult of the mother goddess Asherah within the king's court. I will also suggest that this cultic role was primary among other obligations required of the *gēbîrâ*. Ultimately I conclude, with Andreasen and against Ben-Barak, that the queen mother did have sociopolitical responsibilities in ancient Israel, particularly with regard to succession upon the old king's death. But, unlike Andreasen, I believe that these sociopolitical functions cannot be divorced from a cultic role. In fact, I will propose that the queen mother's devotions to Asherah stand behind and are fundamental to the role accorded her in matters of succession.

¹³ While by no means the only attempts at such redefinitions, many of the articles collected in the Cross *Festschrift* (*Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross* [ed. P. D. Miller, P. D. Hanson, and S. D. McBride; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987]), especially those of B. Peckham, M. D. Coogan, J. A. Hackett, P. K. McCarter, N. Avigad, W. G. Dever, J. S. Holladay, and P. Bird, are characteristic of the reevaluations to which I refer.

II

The biblical text that most explicitly links the *gēbîrâ* with a cultic activity of any sort is 1 Kgs 15:13 (2 Chr 15:16), in which Ma'acah, the queen mother of Asa,¹⁴ is removed as *gēbîrâ*¹⁵ because she made a *miplešet lā'āšērâ*,¹⁶ to be translated either "an abominable image for Asherah [the goddess]" or "an abominable image of the asherah [the stylized tree that symbolized the goddess in the cult]."¹⁷ The former translation, "an abominable image for Asherah [the goddess]," is in my mind preferable: the definite article prefixed to *'āšērâ* need not preclude our understanding of *'āšērâ* as a proper name since it is easily explained as appellative, as elsewhere in Deuteronomistic prose (Judg 2:11, 13; 3:7; 10:6). Certainly the Chronicler understood *'āšērâ* in this passage to be a proper name since he transposed *miplešet* and *'āšērâ* (*lā'āšērâ miplešet*), leaving us no option but to translate "she made for Asherah [the goddess] an abominable image."¹⁸ Moreover, the alternate translation of the Kings text, "she made an abominable image of the asherah [the stylized cult symbol]" borders on the nonsensical: What does it mean, after all, to make an image of an image? In fact, elsewhere in Deuteronomistic prose when *'āšērâ*, the image, is referred to, the noun *'āšērâ* stands alone without *miplešet* or similar modifier:¹⁹ *waya'as 'ah'āb 'et-hā'āšērâ*, "and Ahab made the asherah" (1 Kgs 16:33), for example (note the similar use of *'šh*, "to make," in both this passage and 1 Kgs 15:13 while contrasting the treatment of *'āšērâ* as object). Ma'acah, the queen mother, we conclude, is described in 1 Kgs 15:13 as worshiping the goddess Asherah by making a cult statue for her.²⁰

¹⁴ Ma'acah is identified in 1 Kgs 15:2 and in 2 Chr 11:20–22 as the queen mother of her son Abijam/Abijah (see n. 2 above) and in 1 Kgs 15:10 and in 2 Chr 15:16 as the queen mother of her grandson Asa. Ma'acah, that is, continued to function as queen mother even after her son the king had died. This should suggest that the *gēbîrâ* commanded at a minimum a semi-independent position in the court, one that was not exclusively dependent on her son the king. This anticipates our conclusion below that the queen mother did have an institutionalized position in the ancient Israelite monarchy.

¹⁵ The fact that Ma'acah can be deposed (*swr*) as *gēbîrâ* also, as in n. 14 above, anticipates our conclusion that the queen mother did hold some sort of official position within the court.

¹⁶ The noun *miplešet*, which occurs only in 1 Kgs 15:13 and in the Chronicles parallel, comes from the verb *plš*, "to shudder." Presumably it means "a thing to be shuddered at," "a horrid thing," or, as here, "an abominable image."

¹⁷ The biblical tradition is quite emphatic in its understanding of the *'āšērâ* as a stylized wooden tree. Deut 16:21 speaks of "planting" (*nāta'*) the *'āšērâ*; elsewhere in the Bible the cult object is "made" (*'āšâ*), "built" (*bānâ*), "stood up" (*'āmad*), or "erected" (*hiššib*). If destroyed, the *'āšērâ* is "burned" (*bī'ēr* or *sārap*), "cut down" (*kārat*), "hewn down" (*gāda'*), "uprooted" (*nātaš*), or "broken" (*šibbēr*). See also below, n. 26.

¹⁸ The Greek of 2 Chr 15:16 reads *tē Astartē* for MT *lā'āšērâ*. The MT is clearly primitive.

¹⁹ I understand 2 Kgs 21:7, *pesel hā'āšērâ*, in the same way I have analyzed 1 Kgs 15:13 and thus would translate "an image of Asherah."

²⁰ In a certain sense, to be sure, to argue about translating "asherah [the cult symbol]" or "Asherah [the goddess]" is to quibble over semantics. Most practitioners of ancient Israelite religion, evidence

It has been suggested that Ma'acah's worship of Asherah was an alien element introduced by her into the Judean cult.²¹ The primary piece of evidence supporting this claim is Ma'acah's presumed foreign ancestry: elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible the personal name *ma'ākā* does appear as the name of a non-Israelite (Ma'acah, the daughter of King Talmai of Geshur and mother of Absalom; 2 Sam 3:3 and 1 Chr 3:2); this Ma'acah of Geshur, moreover, is apparently the grandmother of the Ma'acah of 1 Kgs 15:13, who is identified in 1 Kgs 15:2 and 2 Chr 11:20–22 as the daughter of Absalom. Ma'acah's foreign heritage, however, need not predicate the conclusion that the Asherah cult Ma'acah promoted was foreign; nor does the fact that King Asa regarded Ma'acah's worship as heterodox necessarily imply such. In fact, certain biblical and archaeological evidence suggests that Asa's opinion was not normative in Judah. A case can instead be made that Asherah worship was customary among the populace. S. M. Olyan has even argued that the worship of Asherah may have been part of the state cult; Asherah may have been worshiped, that is, along with Yahweh in official Judahite religion.²² Note in this regard that Ma'acah's image devoted to Asherah stood in all likelihood in Yahweh's Temple in Jerusalem; the Jerusalem Temple is at least the logical place for a member of the royal family to erect a cult statue, first, for reasons of proximity, as Temple and palace stood side by side in Jerusalem, and, second, because the Temple essentially functioned as the private chapel for the monarch.

Moreover, we would be wrong were we to assume that Ma'acah's worship of Asherah in Yahweh's Temple was an anomaly, eliminated when Asa destroyed the cult statue that Ma'acah had made. Rather, by all indications, Ma'acah's cult statue of Asherah was replaced in the Jerusalem Temple after Asa's reforms. Such is at least suggested by 2 Kgs 18:4, in which Hezekiah removes an *'āšērā* from Jerusalem as part of his own reforms; this *'āšērā*, like Ma'acah's and for

suggests, would interpret the cult object asherah as something that is a symbol of the goddess and is in effect synonymous with her. One has only to compare the ancient Israelite understanding of Yahweh's primary symbol in the league cult and in the Jerusalem Temple, the ark, to see how close the relationship was in Israelite religion between cult object and deity. Num 10:35–36, the so-called Song of the Ark, illustrates perfectly the simultaneity of symbol and god in Israelite imagination: “whenever *the ark* set out, Moses said, ‘Arise, *O Yahweh*’”; similarly, “when *it* [the ark] rested, he [Moses] said, ‘Return, *O Yahweh*.’” We would expect that the *'āšērā*, the cult symbol, and Asherah, the goddess, would likewise have been understood by the ancient Israelites as one and the same.

²¹ See Ahlström, *Aspects of Syncretism*, 59, 61, who cites also W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (2d ed.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1946) 157–59; and S. Yeivin, “Social, Religious, and Cultural Trends in Judaism under the Davidic Dynasty,” VT 3 (1953) 162–64. See too the remarks of P. R. Ackroyd, “Goddesses, Women, and Jezebel,” in *Images of Women in Antiquity* (ed. A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt; London/Canberra: Croom Helm, 1983) 255, although note that Ackroyd himself does not agree with the conclusions of Ahlström, Albright, and Yeivin.

²² S. M. Olyan, *Asherah and the Cult of Yahweh in Israel* (SBLMS 34; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988) 9.

the same reasons, presumably stood in Yahweh's Temple. The biblical text is indeed explicit that a third 'āšērâ, the one that replaced the statue Hezekiah destroyed, stood in the Jerusalem Temple. Thus 2 Kgs 21:7 describes how Manasseh erected an 'āšērâ in Yahweh's Temple in Jerusalem. This 'āšērâ stood there until destroyed by yet another reformer, Josiah (2 Kgs 23:6). Josiah also removed from the Jerusalem Temple the vessels made for Asherah as part of her sacrificial cult (2 Kgs 23:4) and tore down the structures within the Temple compound where women wove garments to be draped as clothing over Asherah's cult statue (2 Kgs 23:7).

These multiple texts suggest that it was the norm in the southern kingdom in the ninth century, the eighth century, and the seventh century to worship both Yahweh and Asherah in the state temple in Jerusalem. The zeal of the reformer kings, Asa, Hezekiah, and Josiah, to remove the Asherah cult was the exception. This conclusion is supported by archaeological evidence, namely, by the much-discussed eighth-century inscription from Khirbet el-Qôm, some ten kilometers east-southeast of Lachish.²³ While this inscription has proven difficult to read, commentators do agree that paired in it we have from a southern provenance the cult of Yahweh and some allusion to the cult of Asherah.²⁴ The most satisfying attempt at translation is P. D. Miller's:

²³ The *editio princeps* was by W. G. Dever, "Iron Age Epigraphic Material from the Area of Khirbet el-Kôm," *HUCA* 40/41 (1969–70) 158–89. The inscription was restudied by A. Lemaire, "Les inscriptions de Khirbet el-Qôm et l'Ašerah de Yhwh," *RB* 84 (1977) 597–608; idem, "Date et origine des inscriptions hébraïques et phéniciennes de Kuntillet 'Ajrūd," *Studi epigraphici e linguistici* 1 (1984) 131–43; idem, "Who or What was Yahweh's Asherah?" *BAR* 10/6 (1984) 42–51. In his reassessment Lemaire proposed reading in the second and third lines of the text a reference to Asherah, a reading Dever now accepts; see Dever, "Asherah, Consort of Yahweh? New Evidence from Kuntillet 'Ajrūd," *BASOR* 255 (1985) 22; less completely, idem, "Recent Archaeological Confirmation of the Cult of Asherah in Ancient Israel," *Hebrew Studies* 23 (1982) 40; idem, "Material Remains and the Cult in Ancient Israel: An Essay in Archaeological Systematics," in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of his Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. C. L. Meyers and M. O'Connor; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983) 570, 583 n. 17. Other studies of the el-Qôm material include J. M. Hadley, "The Khirbet el-Qom Inscription," *VT* 37 (1987) 50–62; K. Jaroš, "Zur Inschrift Nr. 3 von Hirbet el-Qôm," *BN* 19 (1982) 31–40; W. A. Maier, 'Ašerah: *Extrabiblical Evidence* (HSM 37; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986) 172–73; B. Margalit, "Some Observations on the Inscription and Drawing from Khirbet el-Qôm," *VT* 39 (1989) 371–78; P. D. Miller, "Psalms and Inscriptions," in *Congress Volume: Vienna 1980* (VTSup 32; Leiden: Brill, 1981) 311–32; S. Mittmann, "Die Grabinschrift des Sangers Uriahu," *ZDPV* 97 (1981) 139–52; J. Naveh, "Graffiti and Dedications," *BASOR* 235 (1979) 27–30; M. O'Connor, "The Poetic Inscription from Khirbet el-Qôm," *VT* 37 (1987) 224–29; Olyan, *Asherah*, 23–25; M. S. Smith, *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1990) 88; Z. Zevit, "The Khirbet el-Qôm Inscription Mentioning a Goddess," *BASOR* 255 (1984) 39–47.

²⁴ There have been four main proposals on how to understand the crucial reading 'šrt at Khirbet el-Qôm and also in the closely related inscriptions from Kuntillet 'Ajrūd. The first, to understand 'šrt as "shrine," cognate with Phoenician 'šrt, Aramaic 'trt', and Akkadian aširtu, as proposed by E. Lipiński, "The Goddess Atirat in Ancient Arabia, in Babylon, and in Ugarit," *OLP* 3 (1972) 101–19, is unviable; see particularly J. Emerton, "New Light on Israelite Religion: The

*brk 'ryhw lyhwh
wmšryh l'šrth hwš' lh*

Blessed is Uriyahu by Yahweh;

Yea from his adversaries by his asherah he has saved him.²⁵

Despite Asa's censure, then, we cannot conclude that the *gēbîrâ* Ma'acah introduced a foreign cult into the Jerusalem court. Nor, I would argue, should Jezebel, another queen mother who is often regarded by commentators as introducing an alien cult of Asherah into Israel, be so accused. Instead, I suggest that she, like Ma'acah, worshiped Asherah while *gēbîrâ* as part of the state cult of the northern kingdom.

Here, however, the data are somewhat ambiguous, first because we tend to think of Jezebel only as queen, the wife of Ahab, rather than assigning to her the title of queen mother. But in fact in 2 Kgs 10:13 she is labeled *gēbîrâ* after Ahab's death by relatives of King Ahaziah of Judah. At a minimum, then, Jezebel filled the role of *gēbîrâ* in the minds of the editors who included 2 Kgs 10:13 in the biblical text. If, moreover, 2 Kgs 10:13 is historically reliable, she was considered *gēbîrâ* by members of the southern royal family.

But whether Jezebel as queen mother devoted herself to the cult of Asherah as did Ma'acah is a second ambiguity. Indeed, scholars disagree on whether Jezebel, even when queen, worshiped Asherah in addition to her well-attested allegiance to Baal. The crux of the matter is 1 Kgs 18:19, where Elijah summons to his contest on Mount Carmel the "four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal and the four hundred prophets of Asherah who eat at Jezebel's table." This text seemingly does associate Jezebel with the cult of Asherah; however, subsequent to this passage the four hundred prophets of Asherah do not again appear, at least in the Masoretic tradition. They do appear in v. 22 of the LXX, but as several recent commentators have noted, the phrase *hoi prophētai tou alsous*²⁶ is marked by an asterisk in Origen's *Hexapla*, indicating a secondary addition in the Greek.²⁷

Implications of the Inscriptions from Kuntilet 'Ajrud," ZAW 94 (1982) 2–20, who points out that 'āšērâ never means "shrine" in the Hebrew of the Bible and thus should not have such a meaning in the Hebrew epigraphic corpus. Emerton and others discuss instead two options: (1) to read 'šrt as "asherah," that is, the cult object sacred to the goddess Asherah, or (2) to read 'šrt as "Asherah," the divine name. P. D. Miller ("The Absence of the Goddess in Israelite Religion," HAR 10 [1986] 246) and P. K. McCarter ("Aspects of the Religion of the Israelite Monarchy: Biblical and Epigraphic Data," in *Ancient Israelite Religion*, 149) have further suggested that 'šrt should be understood as a hypostatized aspect of the female side of Yahweh. To choose between these options, while an important task for those concerned with the morphology of the el-Qôm and 'Ajrūd inscriptions, need not overly concern us here. For the historian of religion, the attempt to differentiate between asherah a sacred symbol, Asherah the goddess, or Asherah a female hypostasis of Yahweh is again, as in n. 20, to quibble over semantics. I believe that in the ancient Israelite imagination the cult symbol of the goddess or a female hypostasis would have been perceived as Asherah herself.

²⁵ Miller, "Psalms and Inscriptions," 317.

²⁶ The Greek text almost always renders Hebrew 'āšērâ as *alsous*, "grove," evidence that supports our understanding of the 'āšērâ or cult symbol as a stylized tree (see n. 17 above).

²⁷ J. Day, "Asherah in the Hebrew Bible and Northwest Semitic Literature," JBL 105 (1986)

But this evidence simply means that *nēbī'ē hā'āšērâ* in 1 Kgs 18:19 is most probably a gloss; it need not mean that Queen Jezebel did not worship the goddess Asherah. Certainly there were opportunities in Samaria for her to do so. As we have already noted, 1 Kgs 16:33 reports that Ahab erected an *'āšērâ* in Samaria. Moreover, since 1 Kgs 16:33 occurs at the beginning of the long cycle of narratives concerning Ahab, we can presume that he erected the *'āšērâ* early in his reign. There was, that is, an Asherah cult of some sort in Samaria during the bulk of Ahab's monarchy, and the king participated in it. Jezebel, as Ahab's wife, may well have also participated in it as part of her obligations of marriage.

The inscriptional evidence from Kuntillet 'Ajrūd in the eastern Sinai, fifty kilometers south of Kadesh Barnea, also locates a cult of Asherah contemporaneous with Ahab's reign (the inscriptions are ninth or eighth century) in Samaria.²⁸ An Asherah cult in the northern capital is at least strongly implied by the inclusion of the geographical name Samaria in one of the inscriptions found on the site: *brkt 'tkm lyhwh šmrn wl'šrth*, "I bless you by Yahweh of Samaria and by his Asherah/asherah."²⁹ This inscription, so like the Khirbet

400–401; Emerton, "New Light," 16; Lipiński, "Atirat," 114; these references are pointed out by Olyan, *Asherah*, 8 n. 24.

²⁸ The bibliography is vast. Preliminary reports can be found in Z. Meshel and C. Meyers, "The Name of God in the Wilderness of Zin," *BA* 39 (1976) 6–10; Z. Meshel, "Kuntillet 'Ajrūd—An Israelite Site from the Monarchical Period on the Sinai Border," *Qadmoniot* 9 (1976) 118–24 (Hebrew); idem, "Kuntillet 'Ajrūd—An Israelite Religious Center in Northern Sinai," *Expedition* 20 (1978) 50–54; idem, *Kuntillet 'Ajrūd: A Religious Center from the Time of the Judean Monarchy* (Israel Museum Catalogue 175; Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1978); idem, "Did Yahweh Have a Consort? The New Religious Inscriptions from Sinai," *BAR* 5/2 (1979) 24–35. Significant studies include P. Beck, "The Drawings from Ḥorvat Teiman (Kuntillet 'Ajrūd)," *Tel Aviv* 9 (1982) 3–86; Dever, "Asherah," 21–37; idem, "Archaeological Confirmation," 37–43; Emerton, "New Light," 2–20; D. N. Freedman, "Yahweh of Samaria and his Asherah," *BA* 50 (1987) 241–49; M. Gilula, "To Yahweh Shomron and to his Asherah," *Shnaton* 3 (1978/79) 129–37 (Hebrew); J. M. Hadley, "Some Drawings and Inscriptions on Two Pithoi from Kuntillet 'Ajrūd," *VT* 37 (1987) 180–211; Lemaire, "Date et origine," 131–43; idem, "Yahweh's Asherah," 42–51; Lipiński, "Atirat," 101–19; McCarter, "Aspects of the Religion," 137–49; Maier, *'Ašerah*, 168–72; Miller, "Absence of the Goddess," 239–49; Olyan, *Asherah*, 25–37; Smith, *Early History*, 85–88; J. Tigay, "Israelite Religion: The Onomastic and Epigraphic Evidence," *Ancient Israelite Religion*, 173–75; idem, *You Shall Have No Other Gods: Israelite Religion in the Light of Hebrew Inscriptions* (HSS 31; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986) 26–30; M. Weinfeld, "A Sacred Site of the Monarchic Period," *Shnaton* 4 (1980) 280–84 (Hebrew); idem, "Further Remarks on the 'Ajrūd Inscription," *Shnaton* 5–6 (1981–82) 237–39 (Hebrew); idem, "Kuntillet 'Ajrūd Inscriptions and their Significance," *Studi epigraphici e linguistici* 1 (1984) 121–30.

²⁹ In the original announcements of the 'Ajrūd materials ("Kuntillet 'Ajrūd—An Israelite Site," 118–24; "Kuntillet 'Ajrūd—An Israelite Religious Center," 50–54; *Kuntillet 'Ajrūd*), the excavator, Z. Meshel, understood *yhwh šmrn* as "Yahweh our guardian" (*šōmērēnū*). But in 1979 M. Gilula ("Yahweh Shomron," 129–37) proposed reading instead "Yahweh of Samaria" (*šōmērōn*), and almost all commentators, including now Meshel ("Consort," 31), prefer this translation. See in particular Emerton, "New Light," who points out that a second 'Ajrūd inscription reading *yhwh tmn*, which can only be translated "Yahweh of the South," gives credence to the translation "Yahweh of Samaria." Emerton also assembles other evidence suggesting that our traditional understanding of Hebrew

el-Qôm material, has also suggested to many that at least among certain religious circles in Samaria the cult of Yahweh and the cult of Asherah were paired; this pairing is also suggested by two other inscriptions found at Kuntillet 'Ajrûd, *lyhwh htmn wl'srth*, "by Yahweh of the South and by his Asherah/asherah," and *brtk lyhwh tmn wl'srth ybrk wyšmrk wyhy 'm 'dny*, "I bless you by Yahweh of the South and by his Asherah/asherah. May he bless and keep you and may he be with my lord."³⁰

Again, moreover, Olyan has argued that this pairing of Yahweh and Asherah at Kuntillet 'Ajrûd and in Samaria should not be regarded as "syncretistic" or "heterodox" within Israelite religion; he proposes instead that the worship of Asherah was a part of the normative religion of the northern kingdom.³¹ Olyan notes several data in support of this conclusion: first, that Jehu in his purge of Samaria is not described as destroying the 'ăšērâ that Ahab had previously erected; indeed, according to 2 Kgs 13:6, this 'ăšērâ remained standing in Samaria after Jehu's death. Since Jehu's targets in his reform were non-Yahwistic elements in the cult, the fact that the 'ăšērâ was allowed to survive suggests it was perceived as appropriate within official Yahwism.³² That there was an 'ăšērâ in the state temple devoted to Yahweh at Bethel according to 2 Kgs 23:15 likewise suggests the 'ăšērâ was considered legitimate in the Yahwism of the northern monarchy.³³ Olyan also suggests that despite the virulent attacks on non-Yahwistic cult elements in the northern prophet Hosea, the cult of Asherah is never condemned,³⁴ implying that the prophet had no objections to an Asherah cult as part of the official religion of the north. Olyan argues that Amos's silence with regard to Asherah worship is equally of significance.³⁵ He concludes, "Based only on an examination of the biblical sources, we argue that the asherah was a legitimate part of the cult of Yahweh . . . in the north . . . in state religion and in popular religion."³⁶

If Olyan is correct that the biblical evidence does suggest that the cult of Asherah was paired with the cult of Yahweh in the state religion of the

grammar, which would not permit proper names such as Yahweh to serve as the *nomen regens* in a construct phrase, is flawed.

³⁰ The official publication of the Kuntillet 'Ajrûd material has not yet appeared, and various commentators differ on the number of relevant inscriptions and their precise readings. We rely here on Tigay, "Israelite Religion," 173–74, and 189 n. 85. Tigay's sources are Meshel's remarks in *Kuntillet 'Ajrûd* and information provided by Meshel to M. Weinfeld and published by Weinfeld in "Further Remarks" (Hebrew), and in "Kuntillet 'Ajrûd Inscriptions."

³¹ Olyan, *Asherah*, passim.

³² See also on this point Ackroyd, "Goddesses," 255–56; Ahlström, *Aspects of Syncretism*, 51; Freedman, "Yahweh of Samaria," 248.

³³ Ahaziah in Amos 7:13 calls the Bethel temple "a king's sanctuary" and "a dynastic temple" (for notes on translation, see Albright, *Archaeology*, 139).

³⁴ Hos 4:13 does describe the daughters of Israel who play the harlot "under evergreen oak, styrax tree, and terebinth," but the 'ăšērâ is not explicitly mentioned.

³⁵ Olyan, *Asherah*, 6–8.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

northern kingdom, and if in particular the cults of Asherah and Yahweh were paired in Ahab's Samaria, as indicated by the Kuntillet 'Ajrûd material in addition to the biblical text, then Jezebel may well have participated in the cult of Asherah as part of her obligations to state Yahwism. Note here that despite the Deuteronomistic condemnations of Ahab's state cult as syncretistic or even non-Yahwistic because it incorporated Jezebel's worship of Baal, the state religion of Ahab's monarchy in fact remained Yahwism: the sons of Jezebel and Ahab, Ahaziah and Jehoram, both bore Yahwistic names ('*ăḥazyāhû*, "Yahweh has grasped"; *yêhôrām*, "Yahweh is exalted"), as did their daughter,³⁷ Athaliah ('*ătalyāh*, "Yahweh is great"),³⁸ Athaliah's son Ahaziah, her daughter Jehosheba (*jêhōšēba*, "Yahweh is abundance"),³⁹ and her grandson Joash (*yô'ăš*, "Yahweh has given").

There is every possibility, in short, that Jezebel participated in an Asherah cult during her tenure as Ahab's queen both as part of her marital responsibilities and as part of her obligations of state. Moreover, although we can only speculate, I would argue that it is not unlikely that Jezebel continued to participate in an Asherah cult after Ahab's death when she assumed the role of queen mother. To be sure, the only narrative in Kings that describes the widowed Jezebel is the story of her death in 2 Kings 9. But it may be significant for our purposes that Jezebel is lodged during that scene in her royal residence in Jezreel (1 Kgs 18:45–46) and not in Samaria. She is distanced, that is, from the Baal temple in Samaria most typically associated with her religious allegiances.⁴⁰ Her cultic attentions in Jezreel thus may have been focused on the state religion of the northern kingdom that paired the cult of Yahweh and the cult of Asherah. It is at least possible, we conclude, that Jezebel as *gēbîrâ* participated in the worship of Asherah.

It is also possible that one of the most memorable *gēbîrôt* described in the Hebrew Bible, Athaliah, the daughter of Jezebel and Ahab, participated in the cult of Asherah. Athaliah was given by her parents to Jehoram, the king of Judah, as wife, presumably as part of a treaty between the northern and southern kingdoms (2 Kgs 8:18). She became *gēbîrâ* to their son Ahaziah after Jehoram was killed in battle against the Edomites (2 Kgs 8:20–24), but this

³⁷ There has been some debate on the relationship of Athaliah to Ahab and Jezebel; in 2 Kgs 8:26 and 2 Chr 22:2, Athaliah is called the *bat* 'omrî, "the daughter of Omri," whereas in 2 Kgs 8:18 and 2 Chr 21:6, she is called the *bat* 'aḥ'āb, "the daughter of Ahab." It is generally conceded that *bat* in *bat* 'omrî should be understood in a more general sense of female descendant; the NRSV, in fact, translates "granddaughter." But cf. H. J. Katzenstein, "Who Were the Parents of Athaliah?" *IEJ* 5 (1955) 194–97.

³⁸ Based on Akkadian *etellu*, "to be great, exalted"; the root 'tl is otherwise unknown in Hebrew.

³⁹ Jehosheba is the daughter of Joram, Athaliah's husband, according to 2 Kgs 11:2. Her mother's name is not given. But since the names of no other wives of Joram are known, it is reasonable to presume that Jehosheba was Athaliah's daughter.

⁴⁰ But cf. Y. Yadin, "The 'House of Ba'al' of Ahab and Jezebel in Samaria, and that of Athaliah in Judah," in *Archaeology in the Levant* (Kathleen Kenyon Festschrift; Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1978) 127–29.

arrangement was short-lived since Ahaziah was killed while on a visit to Jezreel as part of Jehu's bloody coup (2 Kgs 9:27–28). Athaliah then assumed the throne of Judah for six years until she was deposed as part of a popular uprising led by the high priest Jehoiada (2 Kgs 11:1–20).

Part of Jehoiada's popular uprising involved destroying the Baal temple that was in Jerusalem⁴¹ and killing its priesthood. Although the text does not specify that it was in fact Athaliah who was responsible for having this temple built, commentators unanimously assign it to her reign and are also unanimous in suggesting that Athaliah promoted the Baal cult in Judah under the influence of Jezebel and her patronage of the Baal cult in the north. If this is indeed the case, then we might as well expect that Athaliah allied herself with other cults favored by her mother. If, moreover, we have been correct in our assumptions above that Jezebel both as queen and queen mother participated in the cult of Asherah, we can suggest that Athaliah would have done the same. Indeed, we would expect as much, given our earlier conclusion that devotion to Asherah was a normative aspect of Yahwistic religion in the south. Note in this regard that, as in the case of Jezebel, the Yahwistic names of Athaliah's descendants prove that she participated as required in the state cult.

One final queen mother may have been a participant in the cult of Asherah: this is Nehushta, the queen mother of Jehoiachin (2 Kgs 24:8). The primary piece of evidence here is the *gēbîrâ*'s name. *nēḥuštā*' derives most probably from the root *nāḥāš*, "serpent."⁴² (The alternative, which would derive *nēḥuštā*' from *nēḥōšet*, "bronze," is much less likely,⁴³ for while human names taken from the animal kingdom are common in the Semitic world for both males and females, male names based on metals are rare⁴⁴ and female names are to my knowledge unattested.) Moreover, as the "serpent lady," the *gēbîrâ* Nehushta bears, I would suggest, an epithet of Asherah, whose associations with snakes are attested in multiple sources. From Egypt comes a Nineteenth-Dynasty plaque showing a goddess, identified as "Qudšu, the beloved of Ptah," astride a lion and holding serpents in both hands;⁴⁵ a similar stele reads "Qudšu, lady of the sky and mistress of all the gods" and shows a goddess standing astride a lion holding a serpent in her left hand.⁴⁶ These data suggest that the lion-straddling, snake-bearing goddess depicted on the plaque from the Winchester College collection published by I. E. S. Edwards, although identified as a

⁴¹ Or possibly in its outskirts; see Yadin, "House of Ba'al," 130–32.

⁴² See D. Harvey, "Nehushta," *IDB* 3. 534b.

⁴³ *Pace* BDB 639a, s.v. *nḥš* III. *Pace* also HALAT 3. 653b, s.v. *nēḥuštā*', which derives *nēḥuštā*' from an Akkadian root otherwise unattested in Hebrew, *nḥš*, "to be luxuriant."

⁴⁴ In the Hebrew Bible, see only the three individuals named Barzillai (*barzel*, "iron"): the first an ally of David in 2 Sam 17:27–29; 19:31–40; and 1 Kgs 2:7; the second a priest according to Ezra 2:61 (= Neh 7:63); and the third the husband of Merab according to 2 Sam 21:8.

⁴⁵ ANEP #470.

⁴⁶ ANEP #474; see also #473.

composite deity Qudšu-Aštar-Anat, is Qudšu.⁴⁷ Qudšu, “the holy one,” is well known from Ugaritic sources as a standard epithet of Asherah. Numerous other Egyptian and some Canaanite representations of a snake-bearing goddess astride a lion, while uninscribed, presumably also depict Qudšu/Asherah;⁴⁸ even without the inscribed *comparanda*, indeed, we would suggest this because of Asherah’s well-known associations with lions⁴⁹ (at Ugarit the children of Asherah are called her “pride of lions,” *šbrt ary* [CTA 3.5.45; 4.1.9; 4.2.25–26]; F. M. Cross has argued that Asherah herself is called *labi’tu*, “lion lady”;⁵⁰ the naked goddess on the bottom register of the tenth-century Ta’anach cult stand who grasps lions with her right hand and her left is surely to be taken as Asherah).⁵¹

Inscriptional evidence also demonstrates Asherah’s association with serpents. In the proto-Sinaitic texts she is called *dt bṭn* “Lady of the Serpent”;⁵² Cross has interpreted her standard epithet at Ugarit, *rbt atrt ym*, similarly, translating “the Lady who treads on the Sea (-serpent).”⁵³ If, moreover, Cross is correct in identifying Phoenician/Punic *tnt* as Asherah,⁵⁴ and if he is further

⁴⁷ I. E. S. Edwards, “A Relief of Qudshu-Astarte-Anath in the Winchester College Collection,” *JNES* 14 (1955) 49–51; pictured also in *ANESTP* #830.

⁴⁸ Egyptian: Edwards lists a total of thirteen *comparanda*, now in museums in Cairo, Turin, Vienna, Moscow, Copenhagen, Paris, and London, to the Qudšu-Astarte-Anat plaque (“Relief,” 49). See also *ANEP* #471 and #472. Canaanite: See, e.g., the reference in K. R. Joines, “The Bronze Serpent in the Israelite Cult,” *JBL* 87 (1968) 246–47 and 247 n. 12; cf. J. B. Pritchard, *Palestinian Figurines in Relation to Certain Goddesses Known Throughout Literature* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1943) #36. See also P. Amiet, *Art of the Ancient Near East* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1980) pl. 511; S. Mitchell, “Archaeology in Asia Minor, 1985–1989,” *Archaeological Reports for 1989–90* (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Supplement) 86 fig. 5.

⁴⁹ In addition to the discussion here, see W. G. Dever, “Archaeological Confirmation,” 39–40 and figs. 3–4; idem, “Asherah,” 28.

⁵⁰ J. T. Milik and F. M. Cross, “Inscribed Arrowheads from the Period of the Judges,” *BASOR* 134 (1954) 8–9; F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973) 33. But cf. idem, “The Origin and Early Evolution of the Alphabet,” *Eretz-Israel* 8 (1967) 13* and n. 33; idem, “Newly Found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite and Early Phoenician Scripts,” *BASOR* 238 (1980) 7, where Cross suggests that *labi’tu* should be understood as a title of Anat or perhaps refers to a fusion of Anat and Asherah. See further on this Dever, “Asherah,” 28.

⁵¹ The stand has four registers; on its bottom register is depicted the lion-grasping goddess. The lions are represented again on the third register from the bottom, but in that register they flank a sacred tree. These two lion-flanked icons are best understood as variant representations of the same divine power. That the divine power in question is Asherah is indicated by her association with sacred trees (above, nn. 17 and 26).

⁵² Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 33.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ There is much doubt here. Certain first-millennium evidence argues that *tnt* may be Astarte, in particular the reading *ltnt štrt*, “to *tnt*-Astarte,” in the Sarepta inscription (for discussion, see Day, “Asherah,” 396–97, 401). Or *tnt* may be a conflation of Asherah and Astarte (see R. A. Oden, *Studies in Lucian’s De Syria Dea* [HSM 15; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977] 98). Cf. the identity of the goddess of Sidon, who is identified as Elat (= Asherah) in the Ugaritic texts (CTA 14.4.198–199, 201–202) and as Astarte in the Hebrew Bible (1 Kgs 11:5, 23; 2 Kgs 23:13). Also

correct that *tnt*, which he vocalizes *tannit*, means “serpent” (⋀**tannīn*), this too would demonstrate Asherah’s association with serpents.⁵⁵ Finally, we note KAI 89, a Punic devotional tablet on which Asherah bears the epithet *hwt*.⁵⁶ It is possible that *hwt* as an epithet means “serpent,” cognate with Old Aramaic *hwh* (Sefire I, A, 31), later Aramaic *hîwâ*, *hîwyā*, *hewyā*, and Arabic *hayya*. If such an etymology is correct, it would surely connect Asherah with snake imagery.⁵⁷

These materials showing the association of Asherah and serpents suggest, as we posited above, that the queen mother Nehushta, “the serpent lady,” is like Ma‘acah, Jezebel, and Athaliah to be understood as a devotee of Asherah. She shows her allegiance to the goddess through the very name she bears.

III

Of the four queen mothers in the Hebrew Bible whom we have identified as devotees of Asherah, three — Ma‘acah, Athaliah, and Nehushta — are queen mothers in the southern kingdom of Judah. Moreover, while the fourth, Jezebel, is a northerner, it is important to realize that it is in the words of southerners that she is labeled *gēbîrâ* (2 Kgs 10:13). Also significant in this regard is that Jezebel reigns in a court much more characterized by a “southern” style of kingship than by typical “northern” fashion: a court, that is, based on a principle of dynastic succession rather than charismatic leadership, a court that builds itself a royal citadel in Samaria modeled after the Davidic/Solomonic fief in Jerusalem, a court involved in foreign alliances and foreign marriages, a court that persecutes dissenters (Elijah), and a court known for its palace

note the way in which Astarte and Asherah interchange as consorts of Baal in the Deuteronomistic history.

⁵⁵ Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 32–33.

⁵⁶ See, most recently, H. N. Wallace, *The Eden Narrative* (HSM 32; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985) 152–57; see also M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* 3 (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1915) 284–85.

⁵⁷ Even if this etymology is incorrect (an alternate etymology would associate *hwt* with the root *hyh*, “to live”), Asherah’s association with serpents on the basis of KAI 89 is not severed, since Punic *hwt* is the equivalent of Hebrew *hawwâ*, Eve. This is significant since it has been argued that Eve in Gen 2:4b–3:24 is a demythologized Asherah figure (Wallace, *Eden Narrative*, 111–14, 158). At a minimum Eve, like Asherah, represents fertility (“the mother of all the living”; Gen 3:20). And significantly for our thesis, this Asherah-cum-Eve is associated with a serpent.

A second biblical text might also be adduced in support of Asherah’s association with serpents: 2 Kgs 18:4. 2 Kgs 18:4 describes Hezekiah’s reforms as he purges the cult of elements he perceives to be non-Yahwistic. Two of these elements are the *’āšērâ*, which we argued above sat in the Temple in Jerusalem, and Nehushtan, “the bronze serpent that Moses had made” and to which “the Israelites made offerings.” This Nehushtan must, like the *’āšērâ*, have been located in the Temple, given its Mosaic origins and its place in the sacrificial cult. Can it be that these two objects singled out by Hezekiah as non-Yahwistic elements within the Temple are unrelated? I am inclined to think not. Both the *’āšērâ* and Nehushtan, I would suggest, are cult images devoted to Asherah (see similarly Olyan, *Asherah*, 70–71).

intrigues (the trumped-up charges of the Naboth incident, for example).⁵⁸ Furthermore, Jezebel is the only northern queen mother whose name we know. Conversely, we know the names of the queen mothers of all the Judean kings except for Ahaz and Jehoram. To put it another way, of the nineteen queen mothers who are named in the Bible, one comes from the period of the united monarchy (Bathsheba), one is a northerner whose court is more "southern" in style than northern and who is called *gēbîrâ* by visitors from the south (Jezebel), and the remaining seventeen are *gēbîrôt* in Judah during the period of the divided monarchy. The names of the seventeen *gēbîrôt* of Judah, moreover, are routinely preserved for us as part of the Judean royal archives. The names, that is, are included in the formulaic notices that begin the description of the reign of each king of Judah. For kings who reigned before the fall of Samaria, the standard pattern reads, "In the XX year of King PN of Israel, PN began to rule over Judah. He reigned for XX years in Jerusalem; his mother's name was PN, daughter of PN" (1 Kgs 15:1-2, 9-10; 22:41-42; 2 Kgs 8:25-26; 12:1; 14:1-2; 15:1-2, 32-33; 18:1-2; similarly, 1 Kgs 14:21). After the fall of Samaria, the basic pattern remains, although the synchronization with the king of Israel is obviously eliminated (2 Kgs 21:1, 9; 22:1; 23:31, 36; 24:8, 18). We should compare to these texts the archival notices for the kings of the northern kingdom (1 Kgs 14:20; 15:25, 33; 16:8, 15, 23, 29; 22:51; 2 Kgs 3:1; 10:36; 13:1, 10; 14:23; 15:8, 13, 17, 23, 27; 17:1), which in the main parallel their southern counterparts, but fail to name an Israelite queen mother.

These data, as many commentators have noted, suggest that the queen mother figured much more prominently in the royal court in the south than she did in the north. To explain this, I propose to turn to the differing ideologies of kingship found in Israel, on the one hand, and in Judah, on the other. These two contrasting ideologies were initially described by A. Alt in his 1951 article "Das Königtum in den Reichen Israel und Juda."⁵⁹

To be sure, in the forty years since Alt's article first appeared, there have been modifications and refinements of his thesis. Of particular interest to us is the work of F. M. Cross and the description he offers of sacral kingship as one feature in the contrasting ideologies of north and south. Here, in addition to depending on Alt for a theory of north/south dichotomy, Cross also draws profitably on basic descriptions of sacral kingship in Israel provided by the British and Scandinavian "myth and ritual" schools (while prudently ignoring these schools' more controversial conclusions concerning, for example, the annual New Year's festival).⁶⁰ Cross's synthesis argues that part of the ideology

⁵⁸ See A. Alt, "The Monarchy in the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah," in *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967) 321-26.

⁵⁹ A. Alt, "Das Königtum in der Reichen Israel und Juda," VT 1 (1951) 2-22; reprinted in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (Munich: Beck, 1959) 2. 116-34; English trans. "Monarchy," in *Essays*, 313-35.

⁶⁰ The debate concerning the "divine" character of Judean kingship is, of course, an extensive one; for bibliography and for the history of scholarship, see P. D. Miller, "Israelite Religion," in

of Judean but not Israelite kingship involved seeing the Davidic king as the adopted son of Yahweh, the divine father;⁶¹ the pertinent texts, all of which Cross assigns to a Jerusalem provenance, are well known: 2 Sam 7:14a; Pss 2:7; 89:20–38 (Hebrew); 110:1–7; Isa 9:5 (Hebrew). We quote only the adoption formula of Ps 89:27–28, to Cross the “ultimate statement”⁶² of the Judean royal ideology:

He [the king] will cry out to me [Yahweh], “You are my father,
My god and the rock of my salvation.”
I surely will make him my first-born,
the highest of the kings of the earth.

It is this motif of divine sonship in Judean royal ideology that I believe can provide a clue for understanding the role of the queen mother in the southern monarchy. For if the Judean royal ideology holds that Yahweh is the adopted father of the king, then is it not possible that the adopted mother of the king is understood to be Asherah, given, as we have noted above, that Asherah was seen by many—in both the state and popular cult—as the consort of Yahweh? The language of divine adoption, that is, may imply not only Yahweh, the male god, as surrogate father, but also Asherah, the female consort, as surrogate mother.

If this is so, the implications for the Judean queen mother are enormous. As the human mother of the king, the queen mother could be perceived as the earthly counterpart of Asherah, the king’s heavenly mother. The queen mother might even be considered the human representative, even surrogate, of Asherah. Assuming such a correspondence would explain why those queen mothers for whom cultic allegiances are described or hinted at in the Bible are depicted as patronesses of the goddess Asherah. Indeed, according to the logic we have described, it is nothing but appropriate that these women direct their homage to their divine alter-ego. To do so could in fact be construed, within the royal ideology of Judah, as their cultic obligation.

In addition, I would argue that if my hypothesis is correct, we should see the cultic functions undertaken by the Judean queen mothers on behalf of the goddess Asherah as standing in close relationship to the political responsibilities assigned to the *gēbîrôt* within their sons’ courts. As I have already indicated, I do agree with Andreasen, against Ben-Barak, that the queen mother in Judah did have an official position within the palace, and I would further agree with Andreasen’s description of that position as “lady counsellor.”

The Hebrew Bible and Its Modern Interpreters (ed. D. A. Knight and G. M. Tucker; Philadelphia: Fortress; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985), 218–20; more fully but less up-to-date, the survey of A. R. Johnson, “Hebrew Conceptions of Kingship,” in *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Kingship in the Ancient Near East and in Israel* (ed. S. H. Hooke; Oxford: Clarendon, 1958) 204–35.

⁶¹ Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 241–65.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 258.

I would, however, differ with Andreasen by suggesting that one reason the queen mother can fulfill this official role of counselor may stem from the belief that she represents the goddess Asherah within the monarchy. An identification of the queen mother with Asherah, that is, could give to the *gēbîrâ* power and authority which, like the king's, originate in the world of the divine. Such a divine legitimization would then allow the queen mother to function as the second most powerful figure in the royal court, superseded only by her son, the king. Consider in this regard the issue concerning which the queen mother most often exercises her authority: the matter of the royal succession. Could not the crucial role the *gēbîrâ* plays in this transition of power be intimately connected to the cultic function I have proposed for the queen mother as devotee of Asherah? More specifically, if the queen mother is considered the human representative of Asherah in the royal court, she should be able to legitimate her son's claim to be the adopted son of Yahweh. Indeed, the queen mother, assuming that she speaks as the goddess and thus as Yahweh's consort, is uniquely qualified to attest to her son's divine adoption. Thus the right to determine the succession would most naturally and properly fall to her.

I conclude, then, that it may be artificial to seek to divorce the political role of the Judean queen mother from a cultic function. I also suggest that it may be artificial to deny the primacy of the queen mother's cultic responsibilities.

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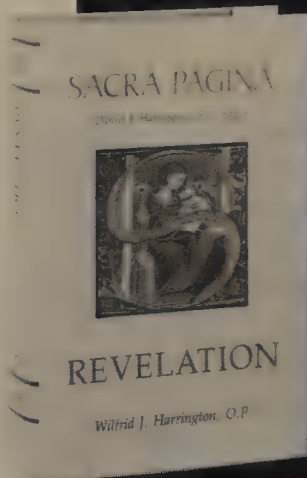
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JUDAH UNDER ASSYRIAN HEGEMONY: A REEXAMINATION OF IMPERIALISM AND RELIGION

MORDECHAI COGAN

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Israel

Close to two decades ago, John McKay and this writer independently took up the study of Assyrian imperial policy regarding cult and religion;¹ scholarly discussion concerning their findings was recently reopened following the publication of the thesis of Hermann Spieckermann, a work that has prompted the present reexamination of the question.²

McKay and Cogan both studied a long-held position among biblical historians concerning the nature and source of the cultic innovations during the reigns of Ahaz and Manasseh reported in 2 Kings. Of Ahaz it is said that he was the first king of Judah who "made his son pass through fire" (2 Kgs 16:3); moreover, he had an altar built in Jerusalem after "the fashion of the altar that was in Damascus" (16:10-16). Manasseh's many activities in the cultic sphere included introducing the worship of the host of heaven and the setting up of "the graven image of Asherah which he had made in the house of the Lord" (21:7). Accepted teaching in most histories and textbooks of ancient Israel took these introductions for "elements of the Assyrian state religion," that the reforms of Josiah (and perhaps earlier, those of Hezekiah) removed "from the royal sanctuary . . . (in) complete revocation of the vassal relationship."³ But McKay found "that extant Near Eastern writings offer no evidence to support the thesis that imposition of the cult of Ashur was a regular feature of any importance in the Assyrian religio-political ideal."⁴ My own research concurred with this assessment and further suggested that a distinction is observable between administration of annexed territories and that of vassal states; in the latter, there is no evidence of imposition upon or interference with native cults. I concluded that "the foreign innovations reported of the reigns of Ahaz and Manasseh are attributable to the voluntary adoption by Judah's ruling class of the prevailing Assyro-Aramaean culture."⁵

¹ J. McKay, *Religion in Judah under the Assyrians 732-609 B.C.* (SBT 2/26; London: SCM, 1973); M. Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion: Assyria, Israel and Judah in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.E.* (SBLMS 19; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1974).

² H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit* (FRLANT 129; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982).

³ So, e.g., M. Noth, *The History of Israel* (2d ed.; New York: Harper, 1960) 272.

⁴ McKay, *Religion in Judah*, 67.

⁵ Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion*, 113.

Among Assyriologists and historians of the ancient Near East, this revised view of Assyrian imperialism found acceptance. For indeed, no clear-cut support can be mustered from the documents for the idea that the idolatrous practices denounced by biblical writers stem from "Assyrian policy and its alleged religious coercion."⁶ Among biblicists, on the other hand, the reception was rather mixed. Many did adopt the McKay-Cogan thesis outright;⁷ thus, Manasseh's "sins" were now interpreted as reflecting one side of an internal struggle within Judah on the question of cultic syncretism. Others, however, took a middle stance; thus, John Bright admitted that "though we are not told that Assyrian kings compelled their vassals to worship Assyria's gods, it is understandable that many a vassal should have felt it politic to do so."⁸ Only a scholarly minority held to the old line and continued to speak of Assyrian constraint over religious affairs in conquered territories.⁹

A new stage in the discussion was reached with the publication of H. Spieckermann's reexamination of the issues. For Spieckermann, there is no distinction between provinces and vassal states as far as religious practice is

⁶ See, e.g., W. L. Moran, review of M. Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion*, *CBQ* 38 (1976) 222–24; W. G. Lambert, review of M. Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion*, *OLZ* 74 (1979) 128–29; idem, "Assyrien und Israel," *TRE* 4. 275; E. J. Bickerman, "Nebuchadnezzar and Jerusalem," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 46–47 (1979–80) 69–85; H. Tadmor, "Treaty and Oath in the Ancient Near East, A Historian's Approach," in *Humanizing America's Iconic Book: SBL Centennial Addresses 1980* (ed. G. M. Tucker and D. A. Knight; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982) 151; H. W. A. M. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Medes and Persians: To what extent was Cyrus the heir of Astyages and the Median Empire? Some remarks," *Persica* 10 (1982) 279; R. J. van der Spek, "Cyrus de Pers in Assyrisch perspectief," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 96 (1983) 1–27; J. Pečirková, "The Administrative Methods of Assyrian Imperialism," *ArOr* 55 (1987) 162–75. Cf. also, too, the earlier remarks of M. Smith, *Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old Testament* (New York/London: Columbia University Press, 1971) 221 n. 179.

⁷ See, e.g., B. Oded, in *Israelite and Judaeon History* (ed. J. H. Hayes and J. M. Miller; London: SCM, 1977) 453–54; B. Otzen, "Israel under the Assyrians," *ASTI* 11, *Festschrift G. Gerleman* (1978) 106–7; M. Greenberg, "Religion: Stability and Ferment," in *The Age of the Monarchies: Culture and Society* (WHJP 5/2; Jerusalem: Massada, 1979) 116–18; M. J. Mulder, "Was war die am Tempel gebaute 'Sabbathhalle' in II Kon 16,18?" in *Von Kanaan bis Karala: Festschrift für Prof. Mag. Dr. J. P. M. van der Ploeg O.P. zur Vollendung des siebzigsten Lebensjahres am 4. Juli 1979* (AOAT 211; ed. W. C. Delsman, J. T. Nelis, J. R. T. M. Peters, W. H. Ph. Römer, A. S. van der Woude; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982) 164; T. R. Hobbs, *2 Kings* (WBC 13; Waco: Word Books, 1985) 213–18, 306; N. P. Lemche, *Ancient Israel: A New History of Israelite Society* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988) 168; N. Na'aman, "Population Changes in Palestine following the Assyrian Deportations," *Cathedra* 54 (1990) 62 n. 65 (Hebrew), and now M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11* (AB 5; New York: Doubleday, 1991) 70.

⁸ See J. Bright, *A History of Israel* (3d ed.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1981) 276, 312; cf. idem, *Covenant and Promise* (London: SCM, 1977) 80, 124–25. A. Soggin (*A History of Ancient Israel* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1985] 228), who notes Spieckermann's work, opts for the noncoercive position. See, too, R. D. Nelson, "The Altar of Ahaz: A Revisionist View," *HAR* 10 (1986) 267–76.

⁹ See H. Jagersma, *A History of Israel in the Old Testament Period* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983) 159, 163.

concerned; all areas under Assyrian hegemony were constrained to worship Assyria's gods. Evidence for this was found in the statement in the vassal treaties that Ashur is "your [i.e., the vassal's] god" and in the oft-reported deportation of native gods and the installation of the "weapon of Ashur" in the provinces. Wherever Assyrians lived, their court ritual followed them. Judah was no exception. Therefore, in order to avoid the harsh punishments meted out to disobedient vassals, Ahaz and Manasseh adopted a compromising position, "rendering to Yahweh what was Yahweh's, and at the same time, satisfying the Assyrian king and his gods."¹⁰

Spieckermann's conclusions, though diametrically opposed to those of McKay and Cogan, were adopted with alacrity by several commentators.¹¹ Thus it was appropriate, and perhaps even a bit overdue, that the present writer review his earlier work, especially in view of the recent critical retreat to old positions.¹²

It should be stated at the outset that Spieckermann, like all the investigators who had preceded him, made use of the same basic corpus of biblical and Assyrian texts; thus, it is not some newly discovered document but rather differing emphases and interpretations of the extant corpus that separate the two camps. Accordingly, the two text collections, their characteristics, and their testimony, will be the focus of the following remarks. The order of presentation of the material set forth in the earlier study *Imperialism and Religion*, in which the Assyrian data is analyzed first, independent of the biblical text, is retained. This procedure is still to be preferred to its reverse, in as much as the Bible makes no mention of Assyrian requirements in the cultic sphere, and if such requirements are to be discovered, evidence for them would have to be shown from the extrabiblical documentation.¹³

¹⁰ Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur*, 371.

¹¹ See, e.g., E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige* (ATD 11/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984) 391, 443, 455–62; J. M. Miller and J. H. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986) 345–46, 372; N. Lohfink, "The Cult Reform of Josiah of Judah: 2 Kings 22–23 as a Source for the History of Israelite Religion," in *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987) 467–68. The latest discussant of these issues, R. H. Lowery, sought the common ground between McKay-Cogan and Spieckermann; in the end, he concluded that the distinction between "imitation" and "imposition" is a matter of perspective and cannot be definitively settled at this time (Lowery, *The Reforming Kings: Cults and Society in First Temple Judah* [JSOTSup 120; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991] 134–41).

¹² A recent reviewer of the commentary by M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *2 Kings* (AB 10; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1988) (C. Begg, *CBQ* 51 [1989] 712), mildly chided this writer for reiterating his views in the commentary without reference to Spieckermann.

¹³ Spieckermann turned this procedure on its head; he began with an exhaustive (and often exhausting) analysis of 2 Kings 22–23, Josiah's reform, in which a coercive Assyrian religious policy is assumed, before having presented any of the cuneiform material.

I

Assyrian historical inscriptions are first and foremost ideological statements, aimed at promulgating Assyrian imperial ideology. The royal scribes, working under conceptual constraints and supported by a rich store of traditional style and language, presented the "official interpretation of events" surrounding the valorous deeds of the king and his gods.¹⁴

Now ideological texts are not entirely devoid of historical information; yet the reader must constantly beware of the pitfalls of ideological conformity. Thus, historians have long known that behind a description of an Assyrian victory may, in fact, lie a military setback. As examples of this phenomenon, likely to be familiar to biblicists, one may point to the following: the enemy blood flowing in the plain at Qarqar on the Orontes covers up the setback suffered by Shalmaneser III;¹⁵ or Sennacherib's boasting of having received an inordinately heavy indemnity payment from Hezekiah leaves unexplained why he did not replace Hezekiah or occupy Jerusalem after the successful Assyrian campaign in 701 BCE.¹⁶ Yet the stereotyped descriptions of the political and social arrangements imposed on conquered territories recorded in the royal inscriptions are accepted at face value; at times, single items concerning distant regions and distinct reigns are combined by some historians in a pastiche, as if a unitary, consistent imperial policy prevailed.

But in truth, a refinement of the nomenclature used to describe the political relationships within the Assyrian empire and without is called for. Both Spieckermann and earlier investigators including myself adopted the commonly used terms "vassal," "vassal state," and "province," assuming the operation of a system developed by Tiglath-pileser III and followed by his successors, whereby "step by step, the political independence of these petty states" was destroyed in three stages: (1) a vassal relationship was established, marked by the payment of annual dues and tribute and the enlistment of national troops for Assyrian campaigning; (2) upon the discovery of disloyalty, military action to remove the unreliable vassal was undertaken, followed by his deportation and that of his supporters; a new ruler over a reduced territory, bearing increased obligations, was appointed; (3) in the end, and after further rebellion, even this vassal might be removed, his kingdom incorporated and provincialized after Assyrian fashion.¹⁷ Of course, historians left room for exceptions to this paradigm of imperial rule.

¹⁴ For a programmatic working paper on this subject, see M. Liverani, "The Ideology of the Assyrian Empire," in *Power and Propaganda: A Symposium on Ancient Empires* (ed. M. T. Larsen; Mesopotamia 7; Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1979) 297–317.

¹⁵ See *ANET*, 278–79.

¹⁶ See *ANET*, 287–88. For a detailed study of this scribal "cover-up," see H. Tadmor, "Sennacherib's Campaign to Judah: Historical and Historiographical Considerations," *Zion* 50 (1985) 65–80 (Hebrew).

¹⁷ For this model, often cited in the literature, see H. Donner, *Israel unter den Völkern* (VTSup

Yet now, upon renewed examination of the texts, it seems that the reconstructed rule and the terms associated with it do not do justice to the wide spectrum of arrangements that developed between the conqueror and the conquered, especially in border and peripheral areas, particularly in the west. The degree of induction and absorption into the empire changed several times over the long century from Tiglath-pileser III's first appearance on the Mediterranean coast in 734 BCE until Ashurbanipal's withdrawal back to the confines of the Assyrian homeland, and was determined anew as circumstances changed. This means that historians must carefully define the relationships in each case in accordance with the data. Neat categories may be easily grasped by the uninitiated reader, but hardly ever do they reflect the complex realities of life.¹⁸

Gaza is a case in point. After the conquest of Gaza in 734 BCE and the ensuing deportations, Tiglath-pileser reinstalled Hanun, the city's former king, who, having failed to find refuge in Egypt, pledged once again his loyalty to Tiglath-pileser. Gaza was proclaimed an "Assyrian customs station" (*būt kari ša Aššur*), a sign that a permanent Assyrian presence was to be stationed in the region. That we are dealing with a political status beyond regular vassaldom but not yet full incorporation as a province is clear. This yet-to-be-named status was accompanied by the erection of a royal stela with symbols of the gods in Hanun's palace and another one on the banks of Naḥal Mišraim, south of the city on the border of the Sinai.¹⁹ Without speculating here as to the rationale for this arrangement, it did prove lasting; even after Hanun's rebellion against Sargon, little more than a decade later, Gaza maintained its special status.

The relations with another Philistine city, the city of Ashdod, also exemplifies ad hoc arrangements. Sargon's conquest and spoliation of Ashdod in 712 BCE were followed up with resettlement of foreign nationals in the city and the appointment of an Assyrian administrator (*šūt rēši*) over the "new Assyrians," who shouldered all the pertinent rights and privileges — but mostly

11; Leiden: Brill, 1964) 1–3; and idem, in *Israelite and Judaeen History*, ed. Hayes and Miller, 418–21. On the policy of population transfer and its use, see B. Oded, *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1979).

¹⁸ This should not be construed as a call for literalism, which can lead to similarly unsatisfying results. For example, N. Na'aman, noting that the texts of Tiglath-pileser III and Sennacherib report the deportation of exiles from Israel and Judah, without the corresponding importation of new settlers, suggests that the Galilee and Shephelah were, as a matter of policy, left vacant by their respective conquerors ("Population Changes," 49, 59). Yet for Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, whose texts also omit mention of resettling foreigners in Israel, there is evidence for such a policy in Ezra 4:2, 9–10 (acknowledged by Na'aman). Would it not be wiser, given the very fragmentary state of the Tiglath-pileser texts and the obvious incompleteness of the texts of the other monarchs to err on the side of caution when discussing policy issues.

¹⁹ See ANET, 283. Naḥal Mišraim is Wadi el-Arish; the suggestion to identify it with Wadi Besor, some 50 km. to the north, close by Gaza (N. Na'aman, "The Brook of Egypt and Assyrian Policy on the Border of Egypt," *Tel Aviv* 6 [1979] 68–90) lacks clear textual (see A. F. Rainey, "Toponymic Problems (cont.): The Brook of Egypt," *Tel Aviv* 9 [1982] 131–32) and geographical warrant.

duties. Yet just a decade later, a king of Ashdod, Mitinti, is known to have paid homage to Sennacherib.²⁰ Does this mean that Ashdod the province had revolted and regained its independence? Though the records are all completely silent on this matter, such a scenario hardly seems likely. Rather, at the time of its formal incorporation under Sargon, or soon thereafter, Ashdod was permitted to reinstall a king, who reigned alongside the Assyrian governor. This dual rule is attested as late as the reign of Ashurbanipal, when, in 669 BCE, *Šamaš-kāšid-ayābi šakin Ašdudu* served as eponym and Ahimilki was king of Ashdod.

And not only cities on the Philistine coast enjoyed monarchical privileges, while under direct Assyrian control. Esarhaddon's reorganization of Egypt following its conquest included the appointment of Assyrian administrators and officials, a vast bureaucracy, as well as the recognition of numerous local kings. In this case, the payment of dues to support a cult of Assyria's gods in Egypt is recorded.²¹

Royal inscriptions report that, in a number of instances, the statues of the gods of defeated nations were subject to pillage by the Assyrian army; in most cases, however, they were deported and held hostage, so to speak, for the good behavior of the vassal and his kingdom. With reference to the images of several Arab tribes, their repatriation, after long exile and much negotiation, was achieved; the only requirement imposed upon their renewed cult was the incising upon the images of a cuneiform inscription proclaiming the "might of the god Ashur, my lord and my [i.e., the king's] name," a daily reminder in the recesses of north Arabian desert of continuing Assyrian hegemony.²²

If we turn to the *adê*, or so-called vassal treaties, for a statement on Assyrian control over conquered areas, we observe that these documents, known mostly from the reigns of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, deal only with political matters, serving "as a means of protecting the king and his heir-designate against potential conspiracies and uprisings."²³ Thus, in the largest

²⁰ See ANET, 285–87.

²¹ See ANET, 292–93.

²² For a full discussion of this episode from the reign of Esarhaddon, which was replayed some years later under Ashurbanipal, see Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion*, 35–37. It should be kept in mind that during the absence of the cult statue(s) in Assyria, native rites were not suspended, as some means was found to rationalize the absence of the god from his shrine and a surrogate object fashioned, until the venerated statue(s) returned home.

²³ See the discussions of S. Parpola, "Neo-Assyrian Treaties from the Royal Archives of Nineveh," *JCS* 39 (1987) 161–83; A. K. Grayson, "Akkadian Treaties of the Seventh Century B.C.," *JCS* 39 (1987) 127–60; and earlier, H. Tadmor, "Treaty and Oath," 127–52.

The suggestion (*Imperialism and Religion*, 46–47) to identify the treaty partners in Media as ruling in incorporated territories, partly on the basis of the gods invoked in the treaty oaths, needs to be revised. From the study by K. Watanabe (*Die adê-Vereidigung anlässlich der Thronfolgeregelung Asarhaddons*, *Baghdader Mitteilungen Beiheft* 3 [1987] 3–4) it appears that as political instruments, *adê* could be concluded with any partner, on most any aspect of imperial interest, with the gods of both parties represented. See further the discussion in S. Parpola and K. Watanabe,

extant *adê* from the reign of Esarhaddon, the Median princes, now and throughout future generations, are sworn to unflinching loyalty to King-designate Ashurbanipal; in another *adê*, the Arab Qedarite tribe is sworn to hunt down their disloyal king, Yauta, who had become a political nuisance to Assyria; and in the case of King Baal of Tyre, he is saddled with commercial and trade restraints which served Assyrian interests (—a most unusual subject to be taken up in an *adê*).²⁴ The extant oaths never refer to any cultic act to be performed within vassal territories. The statement in the Esarhaddon *adê* that the oath taken with Ashur as god and Ashurbanipal as king was to be respected now and in the future, and that the tablet sealed with the seal of Ashur was to be guarded, and that Ashur and other Mesopotamian and West Semitic gods²⁵ are invoked as guardians of the oaths, in no way means that an Assyrian cult was established in the cities of the Medians, in Tyre, or in any other territory.²⁶ Nor does the fact that Assyrian subjects and their native gods were required to take part in *adê* ceremonies, likely conducted in the presence of the imperial gods, mean that such official state ceremonies were acts of religious coercion, which implied any modification of native cultic practice.

With this in mind, if one wishes to speak of the terms of Judah's vassaldom, this can only be done in the most general fashion; for just what was required of Ahaz after his voluntary submission in 734 BCE is not reported in Assyrian sources. To interpret the laconic statement in 2 Kgs 16:15b, referring to the king's private sacrifice upon the old bronze altar which had made way for the new Damascene-style altar, as evidence for the worship of the imperial god of Tiglath-pileser III, is to spin a tale out of whole cloth.²⁷ Similarly, the terms of Hezekiah's renewed vassalage after his defeat in 701 BCE are simply unknown.

Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths (State Archives of Assyria II; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1988) xv–xxv.

²⁴ For the texts of these treaties, see now Parpola and Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties*, nos. 5, 6, 10.

²⁵ See the restoration of the text in Watanabe, *Die adê-Vereidigung*, 196, on par. 54A and 55; and Parpola and Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties*, 49.

²⁶ As Spieckermann would have it (*Juda unter Assur*, 335).

²⁷ So Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur*, 362–69. In older works, it was the new Aramean altar that was taken to be the symbol of cultic imposition; but inasmuch as the service performed upon that altar as described in 2 Kgs 16:13 was exclusively Israelite (as shown in Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion*, 73–77; idem, “The Ahaz Altar: On the Problem of Assyrian Cults in Judah,” in *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies, August 1973* [Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1977] 1. 119–24 [Hebrew]; acknowledged by Spieckermann, 365–67), those who asserted a policy of Assyrian cultic coercion were forced to shift their attention to the old altar. And because the text lacks specifics concerning its use, the a priori suggestion of foreign worship practiced in secret conveniently filled the void. Moreover, such claims disregard the fundamental distinction between the nonsacrificial cult as practiced in Mesopotamia and the bloody ritual operative in the West, along the Mediterranean coast. See A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964) 186–92; Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion*, 75–76; see too Cogan and Tadmor, *2 Kings*, 192–93.

And, in fact, doubt has even been raised as to whether Judah, at any stage of its relations with Assyria, was bound by a formal, written *adê* treaty; rather the more traditional terms of dependence – the “performance of servitude” (*epiš ardūti*) – may have been in force.²⁸ Only the “tyranny of a construct” could lead one to suggest that Hezekiah had to live with Assyrians stationed in Jerusalem who practiced an Assyrian cult in YHWH’s Temple.²⁹

II

Biblical historical works represent a distinct historiographic-ideological corpus, whose terms of reference and testimony address issues and phenomena that the Assyrian texts do not consider. Thus, the Deuteronomistic censure of Ahaz and Manasseh in the book of Kings is not concerned with whatever political arrangements were enforced upon Judah or whether these were accompanied by an etiquette that acknowledged the imperial god Ashur. That censure is of a different sort; it reflects the Deuteronomic demand for whole-hearted loyalty to the God of Israel.

The cultic activities of Ahaz and Manasseh are described in standard Deuteronomic terms (e.g., 2 Kgs 21:6//Deut 18:10–11), and both kings are compared to the sinful monarchs of the kingdom of Israel (2 Kgs 16:3), particularly Ahab (21:3). At the same time, note should be taken of the innovations: Ahaz was the first “to pass his son through fire” (16:3); no earlier king of Judah had installed an image of Asherah in YHWH’s Temple as did Manasseh (2 Kgs 21:7); he also introduced service of the heavenly host (21:3, 5).³⁰ The grounds for these acts is not stated, but there is no reason to think that the Deuteronomistic historian avoided recording their true source. Would unmasking their imperial roots have mitigated in some way the grave indictment he directed at these apostates? Would this have detracted from the praise he heaped upon the reform-minded Hezekiah and Josiah? Not at all. One should consider the following. With reference to King Solomon, the historian did not shy away from naming the foreign deities and their cults introduced into Jerusalem for his many wives; Ashtoreth, goddess of Tyre; Milcom, god of Ammon; Chemosh, god of Moab (1 Kgs 11:1–8). That Solomon’s behavior likely followed accepted

²⁸ Hezekiah’s surrender to Sennacherib is couched in these terms; see H. Tadmor, “Treaty and Oath,” 149–51.

²⁹ So Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur*, 374. I acknowledge my indebtedness for the felicitous turn of phrase “tyranny of a construct” to E. A. R. Brown, who, in “The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism and the Historians of Medieval Europe,” *American Historical Review* 79 (1974) 1063–88, described her uneasiness with the terms “feudalism” and “feudal system” as used in current historical studies.

³⁰ G. W. Ahlström prefers to view Manasseh as a “traditionalist in religious matters” and cautions against the use of the term “apostate” (*Royal Administration and National Religion in Ancient Palestine* [Leiden: Brill, 1982] 75–81). But Ahlström did not consider that, besides restoring the high places closed down during the reform of Hezekiah, Manasseh is credited with new installations, the key to understanding the temper of the king and his era. See further n. 39 below.

political norms was of no interest to him; rather, it was the king's enthusiasm for those cults that came in for round criticism. Thus, in like fashion, the Deuteronomist could have named the Assyrian cult in his depiction of the apostasy of Ahaz, if that is what it was. Or Manasseh's ready worship of Ashur and Ishtar, even if only to please his overlord, could have been stated in plain words. There was no reason whatsoever to hide behind the list of deities said to have been worshiped by the Canaanites: Baal, Asherah, and the Host of Heaven (see 2 Kgs 21:3).³¹ Moreover, if politically motivated cultic impositions were disguised by the Deuteronomist, then what effect could his charges of cultic wrongdoing possibly have had on his audience, who would have known that this presentation was distorted? What is scored in the description of Manasseh's reign in 2 Kings 21 is the service of a mixture of Canaanite and Aramean gods, not an imperial cult, which that renegade king introduced into the national shrine and sponsored throughout Judah. It was against such features, as well as sundry non-Israelite cults which had survived from the early days of the monarchy (23:13), that Josiah directed his reform.

Complementing this outlook of the Deuteronomist is the view preserved in the prophetic corpus—an unsolicited second report, as it were, of the religious state of affairs in Judah prior to the reform of Josiah. The prophet Zephaniah, for example, describes the capital city awash with foreigners and foreign custom freely practiced by Jerusalem's residents (1:4–9). Service of the Canaanite god Baal, rooftop worship of the heavenly host, oaths taken in the name of the Ammonite god Milcom, and leaping over the threshold (after Philistine fashion?), are just some of the acts that raise the prophet's ire.³²

Another prophetic text, particularly illuminating for its depiction of popular religious practice, is Jeremiah 44. Though set in Egypt during the early days of the exile, it recalls the atmosphere of prereform days.³³ Jeremiah confronted the exiles to give up their idolatrous behavior, to which they responded:

We will not listen to you in the matter about which you spoke to us in the name of the Lord. On the contrary, we will do everything which we have

³¹ Despite the fact that the biblical texts make no mention of a single Assyrian deity worshiped in Jerusalem or of an Assyrian cultic act performed there, Spieckermann contends that they were nevertheless present. Like H. Gressmann a half century earlier ("Josia und das Deuteronomium," ZAW 42 [1924] 321–22), he claims that behind the traditional list of Canaanite gods, "Baal, Asherah and the entire heavenly host" (cf., e.g., 2 Kgs 23:4), lurk the seventh-century gods Ashur and Ishtar (Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur*, 80 n. 107). See the trenchant review of this aspect of Spieckermann's position by M. J. Mulder, BO 41 (1984) 175–77.

³² B. S. Childs summarizes the view that distinguishes the early prophecies of Zephaniah in chap. 1 (i.e., those dated to the reign of Josiah) from their present redacted form (*Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979] 458–60).

³³ The background of Jeremiah 44 was the subject of debate between M. Greenberg ("Prolegomenon," C. C. Torrey, *Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy, and Critical Articles* [New York: Ktav, 1970] xviii–xxix) and M. Smith ("The Veracity of Ezekiel, the Sins of Manasseh, and Jeremiah 44:18," ZAW 87 [1975] 14–16).

vowed—to make offerings to the Queen of Heaven and pour out libations to her, as we used to do, we and our fathers, our kings and our officials, in the towns of Judah and the streets of Jerusalem. For then we had plenty to eat, we were well-off, and suffered no misfortune. But ever since we stopped making offerings to the Queen of Heaven and pouring libations to her, we have lacked everything, and we have been consumed by the sword and by famine. (Jer 44:16–18)

These exiles argue that their earlier return to YHWH, in which they gave up serving the Queen of Heaven, proved ineffective; in fact, it was even injurious. Their practice is not fetish, nor can they be taken for worshipers of a foreign god whose cult has been forced upon them. Rather these Judeans seem to have been true believers who argue the efficacy of the cult of the Queen of Heaven.³⁴

III

Summing up, then, it should be clear that a more nuanced reading of the Assyrian royal inscriptions, as well as the biblical historical texts, is called for. The view of a monolithic Assyrian imperialism holding sway and enforcing its rule in all areas of the Near East is undocumented. No Assyrian text states or implies that conquered peoples were required to worship the gods of Assyria. Furthermore, no single paradigm can explain the mosaic of political and social relationships that developed between Assyria and its dependents. Biblical texts of the period focus on religious apostasy, as was their wont. There is not the slightest hint anywhere that the adoption of foreign ways was imposed.

This is not to deny that Assyrian power and prestige did not leave its mark on the west. Indeed, Assyria was a new phenomenon in the history of the ancient Near East, unifying for the first time the Nile Valley with Anatolia and the Zagros range. The vast political upheavals brought about by the military and economic forces of the empire—the ceaseless movement of armies and merchants, the massive population exchanges, the flow of taxes, tribute, goods, and services—were followed by the unprecedented opening up of the Near East and precipitated a mixture of styles and fashions in all areas of life. In several newly provincialized areas, the populace underwent instruction in the “proper behavior” (*inu*) befitting Assyrian citizens.³⁵ But in the end, it was a new cultural and technological koine, Assyro-Aramean in derivation, that

³⁴ On the eclectic character of the cult of the Queen of Heaven, with both native Canaanite and Aramean elements, see M. Weinfeld, “The Worship of Molech and the Queen of Heaven and its Background,” *UF* 4 (1972) 148–54; and S. Ackerman, “‘And the Women Knead Dough’: The Worship of the Queen of Heaven in Sixth-Century Judah,” in *Gender and Difference in Ancient Israel* (ed. P. L. Day; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989) 109–24.

³⁵ See Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion*, 50–51.

ultimately dominated the entire region, wherever Assyria appeared. This koine insinuated itself into the very court of Nineveh.³⁶

A glimpse into the process of acculturation may be obtained from the depiction in 2 Kgs 17:24–41 of the development of the Samaritan cultus. Despite the text's acknowledged tendentiousness, an expression of the antagonisms that developed between Israelites and Samaritans early on,³⁷ its report concerning the operation of Assyrian administration in a kingdom annexed as an Assyrian province is sound. The foreigners resettled in Samaria were free to adopt the local Israelite cult of YHWH; their private worship of a panoply of gods—of native gods brought with them from abroad and of the local god—was unencumbered by any public homage that may have been paid to the “weapon of Ashur” set up in the provincial capital. It is even said that the Assyrian masters aided the settlers in their search for the correct cultic form in which to worship YHWH (v. 27)!

Matters in the kingdom of Judah were little different; though of diminished size and importance for most of the long century of Assyrian domination, Judah could not, as it were, “sit on the sidelines,” shielded from the effects of the assimilatory process. The altar of Aramean design imported from Damascus, horses dedicated to the sun god as was common in Assyrian ritual, child immolation popular in Phoenician circles—all these items and more bear witness to the cultural wave that inundated Judah from all sides.³⁸ For those in Judah who viewed their people's fate in the exclusivist terms of the cult of YHWH—as interpreted in prophetic and Deuteronomic circles—the real threat was not from the vassal's appearance before his hegemon at some official ceremony with cultic overtones; favored by the conqueror, such rites would disappear with his eventual disappearance. Rather, it was from native quarters that Israelite tradition was threatened; the religious and cultural disintegration lay at the door of those syncretists in Judah who sought the adoption of foreign ways in a conscious fostering of new gods and new cults when the old one seemed to fail.³⁹

³⁶ Language, art, and architecture are just three of the more noticeable areas in which Assyria yielded to the culture of its subject population. H. Tadmor has treated this phenomenon in “The Aramaization of Assyria,” in *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn* (ed. H. J. Nissán and J. Renger; Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 1; Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1983) 449–70.

³⁷ In an earlier study, the Kings pericope was compared with other biblical reports on Samaritan origins; see M. Cogan, “‘For We, Like You, Worship Your God’—Three Biblical Portrayals of Samaritan Origins,” *VT* 38 (1988) 286–92.

³⁸ The substance, if not the slighting tone of N. P. Lemche's assessment is right on target (*Early Israel: Anthropological and Historical Studies on the Israelite Society* [VTSup 37; Leiden: Brill, 1985] 310 n. 15); while acknowledging the noncoercive “official” Assyrian attitude toward religious practices in subdued areas, Lemche speaks of “considerable Assyrian cultural influence in Palestine, as this almost invariably occurs whenever a superior culture comes into contact with a cultural backwater.”

³⁹ That the official cult of YHWH had been syncretistic for most of the monarchic period, making Ahaz and Manasseh “traditionalists” in religious matters, is a position taken by a number of scholars

(e.g., M. Smith, *Palestinian Parties*, 25; Ahlström, *Royal Administration*, 80); but this question does not bear directly on the issue of the cultural trends that characterized the Neo-Assyrian age. K. Koch, for example, after showing that the goddess Asherah had been accommodated in certain YHWHistic circles prior to the appearance of Assyria in the west, still felt obliged to explain the resurgence of this "Syrian" divinity in seventh-century Judah (see "Aschera als Himmelskönigin in Jerusalem," *UF* 20 [1988] 97-120).

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THE WICKED PRIESTS OF THE GRONINGEN HYPOTHESIS

TIMOTHY H. LIM

St. Hugh's College, University of Oxford, England OX2 6LE

In 1988 Florentino García Martínez proposed a new theory of Qumran origins and early history that situates the community within the wider Essene movement of Second-Temple-period Palestine.¹ A distinctive feature of this Groningen hypothesis is an interpretation of 1QpHab 8–12 that argues for the identification of six high priests from Judas Maccabeus to Alexander Janneus in sequential order.² The interpretation of the *Habakkuk Pesher* was formulated initially and independently by A. S. van der Woude before it became one of the pillars of the Dutch hypothesis.³ Since no one, as far as I am aware, has yet offered a critique of it,⁴ the following will examine this interpretation in some detail.⁵

Van der Woude's literal and historically precise interpretation of five of the last chapters of the *Habakkuk Pesher* is based on a number of grammatical, exegetical, and historical arguments. He rightly confines himself to cols. 8–12⁶ and assumes that the same designation, which in this case is "the wicked priest," can be applied to different figures in the commentary (cf. "the priest" in 2:7 and 11:12). While a plurality of "wicked priests" cannot be ruled out as a theoretical possibility, his identification of six wicked high priests, as will be

¹ Florentino García Martínez, "Qumran Origins and Early History: A Groningen Hypothesis" *Folia Orientalia* 25 (1988) 113–36.

² A. S. van der Woude was subsequently credited as co-author, "A 'Groningen' Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History," *RevQ* 14 (1990) 521–42.

³ A. S. van der Woude, "Wicked Priest or Wicked Priest? Reflections on the Identification of the Wicked Priest in the Habakkuk Commentary," *JJS* 33 (1982) 349–59.

⁴ The dismissive comments of Jerome Murphy-O'Connor notwithstanding ("The Damascus Document Revisited," in *SBL 1986 Seminar Papers* [ed. D. Lull; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986] 245; see also García Martínez, "Qumran Origins," 126–29, 136 n. 67). García Martínez himself has confirmed van der Woude's conclusions in "¿Judas Macabeo Sacerdote Impio? Notas al margen de 1QpHab viii, 8–13," in *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Mathias Delcor* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1985) 169–81.

⁵ While van der Woude's original analysis will be the focus of the present investigation, García Martínez's arguments in support of Judas Maccabeus as *de facto* high priest will also be considered, as it has apparently been given official sanction in the more recent attribution of joint-authorship to the Groningen hypothesis.

⁶ There is no mention of "the wicked priest" in 1:13, although many reconstructions have included it.

shown, is not substantiated. According to him, Judas Maccabeus is the first high priest (*de facto*) in 8:8–13, followed by Alcimus in 8:16–9:2, Jonathan in 9:9–12, Simon in 9:16–10:5, John Hyrcanus I in 11:4–8 and Alexander Janneus in 11:12–12:10. Excluded from here are Aristobulus I, since he reigned for only one year, “the spouter of the lie” (10:9–11:2), who is seen to be distinct from the wicked priests, and “the last priests of Jerusalem” (9:4–7), who are the same as the Hasmonean priests enumerated subsequently.

I. The Sixth Wicked Priest

In his analysis, van der Woude expends much effort in arguing for the contemporaneity of the Habakkuk pesherist with the sixth wicked priest (Alexander Janneus), since, in his view, this would explain the use of the past and present tenses in the commentary and, more importantly, fix his sequence of six Hasmonean high priests, *de jure* or otherwise, to the latter columns of 1QpHab.

The contemporaneity of the Habakkuk pesherist with the sixth wicked priest is proposed by means of a number of grammatical and exegetical arguments. Van der Woude states that אשר within some form of the interpretative formula (e.g., פשר על הכוהן הרשע אשר) refers to the immediately preceding antecedent and defines this priest rather than another one mentioned previously. The use of the relative clause, moreover, is restricted to the comments about the first five wicked priests (8:8–11:8). By contrast, it is claimed that there is no relative clause in describing the sixth wicked priest (11:12–12:10), since he lived at the same time as the author of the *Habakkuk Pesher* and needed no further definition. Thus, this final wicked priest is described simply and “absolutely” as having been paid that which he tendered to the poor (הכוהן הרשע לשלם לו את גמולו אשר גמל על אביונים, 12:3), as having committed abominable deeds in Jerusalem, and as having defiled the Temple of God (אשר פעל בה הכוהן הרשע מעשי תועבות ויטמא את מקדש אל, 12:8–9).⁷

The claim that the relative pronoun is not used with “the wicked priest” in the final columns contradicts the plain meaning of the text: הכוהן הרשע אשר יושפטנו אל לכלה . . . (“the wicked priest . . . whom God will judge for destruction,” 12:2–5). The position of the relative pronoun and clause after some intervening comments in this sentence can be explained by the characteristically complex and intertwined thought of the pesherist (e.g., 10:9–13).

Another argument van der Woude adduces to support his claim that the sixth priest and the Habakkuk pesherist lived concurrently is the putative difference in verbal tenses. He sees the use of the imperfect in connection with the judgment of the wicked priest in 11:12–12:10 to be indicative of a future punishment: “the cup of wrath of God will swallow him up” (תבלענו,

⁷ Van der Woude, “Wicked Priest or Wicked Priest?” 350–52.

11:14–15) and “whom God will judge (יִשׁוּפֹטֵנוּ) for destruction” (12:5). The future is also implied in the infinitive of “the wicked priest inasmuch as he shall be paid (לְשַׁלֵּם) the reward which he himself tendered to the poor”⁸ (12:2–3). What this means, for van der Woude, is that the punishment of the sixth wicked priest (Alexander Janneus) has not yet occurred because he functioned as high priest during the time of the Habakkuk pesherist. It can also be inferred that by contrast the judgments of the first five wicked priests were described in the past tense, since they lived and were punished at a time prior to the Habakkuk pesherist.⁹

The evidence of different verbal tenses, as it stands, does not in any way support van der Woude’s case. Even if one should allow him to explain away the imperfect יִקְבִּיצוּ of 9:5 as describing the habitual action (“they continue to amass”)¹⁰ rather than the future wicked deeds of the last priests—a claim that is by no means necessary¹¹—it will be noted that divine judgment in one form or another is associated with only four of the six wicked priests. There is no mention whatsoever of punishment for the first (8:8–13) or the fifth wicked priest (11:4–8). Of the four wicked priests, the punishments of two of them are described in the past tense (8:16–9:2 and 9:9–12) and the other two in the future tense (9:16–10:2 and 11:12–12:10). Van der Woude has explained away the future punishment of the fourth wicked priest (9:16–10:2) as being influenced by the concept of the last judgment.¹² This exclusion is wholly unwarranted. The fact remains that the fourth wicked priest’s punishment is still to come. In other words, van der Woude’s argument would work only if one allows that the first and fifth wicked priests were also punished in the past and that the use of the motif of the last judgment somehow excludes from consideration the future punishment of the fourth priest. These are considerable assumptions indeed to grant.

The contemporaneity of the sixth wicked priest with the Habakkuk pesherist is vital to van der Woude’s analysis, as it not only helps him to identify Alexander Janneus as the sixth wicked priest but also allows him to work back sequentially to assert that the fifth wicked priest is John Hyrcanus I (ca. 135/4–104 BCE). John Hyrcanus I is identified with the fifth wicked priest, who pursued the Teacher of Righteousness to his house of exile (11:2–8), it would seem, simply because he held the office prior to the *sacerdotium* of Alexander Janneus (and after Simon’s reign). There is no external evidence to suggest that John Hyrcanus I ventured to the regions of Qumran, let alone persecuted the Teacher of Righteousness in exile on Yom Kippur, and no

⁸ Van der Woude’s translation (“Wicked Priest or Wicked Priest?” 351).

⁹ Van der Woude does not explicitly state this, but the implication of his rhetorical questions on pp. 351–52 is evident.

¹⁰ Van der Woude, “Wicked Priest or Wicked Priest?” 352–53.

¹¹ The sentence לְאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים יִתֵּן הוֹנֵם עִם שְׁלָם בִּיד חֵיל הַכַּהֲנִיִּים (9:6) points to the future.

¹² Van der Woude, “Wicked Priest or Wicked Priest?” 351, 356–57.

corroborating historical information that would identify the two as being one and the same person.¹³ In fact, it may be said that Aristobolus I (ca. 104–103 BCE) could have just as plausibly served as van der Woude's fifth wicked priest.¹⁴ These objections against the use of the relative pronoun and verbal tenses in the establishment of the sequence, however, would render any such identification highly doubtful.

II. Judas Maccabeus as *De Facto* High Priest

Another important cog in van der Woude's analysis, one that secures the beginning of his sequence of wicked priests, is the rather involved argument that Judas Maccabeus *could* have been seen by the Qumran community to be functioning in a manner that effectively made him high priest.¹⁵ This suggestion is based on the assumption that Menelaus, the pro-Greek high priest, could not possibly have functioned as high priest after the rededication of the Temple, according to Josephus's report of the transference of the high priesthood to Judas after Alcimus's death (*Ant.* 12.10.6; 12.11.2 §§414, 419, 434) and on the corroboration of this tradition in *b. Meg.* 11A. García Martínez adds that the variant, and to his mind correct, reading of αὐτοῦ διάδοχον ("his successor") in 2 Macc 14:26 is further attestation to the tradition that describes Judas as Alcimus's successor in the high priesthood.¹⁶ Its occurrence in 2 Maccabees, a document that dates to the end of the second century BCE, places this tradition in the time of the Habakkuk pesherist or prior to it.

If Judas Maccabeus was indeed acting in a manner that could be seen to be usurping the function of the high priest, then, van der Woude contends, what is said about the wicked priest in 1QpHab 8:8–13 fits well with him: he was originally reckoned to belong to the party of truth before he became proud in his rule over Israel and he betrayed God. In other words, what van der Woude and later García Martínez argued for is the existence of a tradition, contemporary with or antedating the Habakkuk pesherist, that viewed Judas as the *de facto* high priest, the Qumran version of which also included a negative evaluation of him as "wicked."

The identification of Judas Maccabeus as the first wicked priest in the *Habakkuk Pesher* is fraught with difficulties, the most important of which are the contradictions in the historical sources about the high priesthood of Judas and the establishment of this tradition in the time of the Habakkuk pesherist.¹⁷

¹³ Ibid., 357–58. The identification of the buildings of stratum 1A at Khirbet Qumran with the high priest's "house of exile" is based on nothing more than the sequential order of the wicked priests.

¹⁴ The short duration of his reign is no reason for preferring John Hyrcanus I.

¹⁵ "The possibility therefore cannot be excluded that the members of the Qumran community shared that tradition" (van der Woude, "Wicked Priest or Wicked Priest?" 354).

¹⁶ García Martínez, "Judas Macabeo Sacerdote Impio?" 172–73.

¹⁷ The legitimacy of Onias IV as high priest at Leontopolis is another complex but marginal

It has often been pointed out that the transference of the high priesthood to Judas after the death of Alcimus does not correspond to the evidence of 1 Maccabees and is in fact contradicted by Josephus himself later in *Ant.* 20.10.3 §237. According to 1 Maccabees 9, Judas died a year earlier than Alcimus, and Josephus reports that no one held the office of high priesthood for seven years after Alcimus's death. These contradictions in the sources cannot be dismissed as irrelevant, as García Martínez has done,¹⁸ since they impinge directly on the historical validity of the claim that Judas acted as high priest: if the high priestly office remained unoccupied for seven years after Alcimus's death (*Ant.* 20.10.3 §237), and if Alcimus died after Judas (1 Maccabees 9), then Judas could not possibly have been given the high priesthood after Alcimus's death (*Ant.* 12.10.6 §414). The further question of whether Judas's actions *could* have been seen to be usurping the role of the high priest, which gave rise to the report in *Ant.* 12.10.6 §414, is an issue about Josephus's interpretation of the events in the first century CE and not about the historical situation of the second century BCE or about the Qumran community's perception of it. It will become clear below that the attribution of the high priesthood to Judas is not found in any other source that antedates Josephus, and it is probably best to consider that that tradition originated with his work.

What is more, it seems methodologically contrived, on the one hand, to accept, even if only in part, the report of Judas's high priesthood in *Antiquities* 12 (against the silence of 1 Maccabees and the contradiction of *Ant.* 20.10.3 §237) and, on the other, to reject the order of death and succession of high priesthood in *Ant.* 12.10.6 §414 for the sequence of events in 1 Maccabees 9. That is to say, the order of van der Woude's two wicked priests is first Judas then Alcimus, a sequence that follows 1 Maccabees 9 over *Ant.* 12.10.6 §414,¹⁹ but the argument for the *de facto* high priesthood of Judas is dependent on the same passage in Josephus where the order is reversed.²⁰

The attempt to date this tradition to the time of the Habakkuk pesherist is based on the establishment of a trajectory from the first century forward to the later period and more importantly backward to time of Alexander Janneus. It should be repeated here that the above examination of the grammatical

issue. See, above all, Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (175 B.C.–A.D. 135) (rev. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, et al.; Edinburgh: Clark, 1973) 168–70 n. 31.

¹⁸ García Martínez's distinction between the tradition of Judas's high priesthood and the other historical information is unwarranted: "Sea lo que fuere de esta última afirmación sobre el discutido 'intersacerdocio' y de la base histórica de las afirmaciones de Josefo, lo que aquí nos interesa es que la tradición que atribuía el Sumo Sacerdocio a Judas Macabeo estaba firmamente establecida en su época" ("¿Judas Macabeo Sacerdote Impio?" 172).

¹⁹ Van der Woude, "Wicked Priest or Wicked Priest?" 353–55.

²⁰ *Ant.* 12.10.6 §419 reiterates what is said about Judas in §§414 and 433–34 has no correspondence in 1 Maccabees. For a similar contradiction, see the duration of Jonathan's term as high priest in *Ant.* 13.2.3 §46 (four years) compared with that of *Ant.* 20.10.3 §238 and 1 Macc 10:21 (seven years).

and exegetical arguments of 1QpHab has already cast considerable doubt on the putative date of the Qumran commentator. Both van der Woude and García Martínez argue that the tradition of Judas as *de facto* high priest is also found in an early rabbinic text of *b. Meg.*: בימי יונים שהעמדתי להם ("in the days of the Greeks, when I raised up for them Simon the Just and Hasmonai and his sons and Mattathias the high priest"). In 11A of that tractate Mattathias is described as "high priest." Whether his sons (בניי) are also to be described as "high priest" is not clear from the text.²¹ What is clear, and what undermines this source as corroborating evidence, is that the most important manuscript of the Babylonian Talmud (Munich 95) omits the entire phrase about Mattathias and his sons.²²

To date this tradition to the supposed time of the Habakkuk pesherist, García Martínez further argues that 2 Maccabees (ca. 124 BCE) attests to the same tradition in describing Judas as Alcimus's *de facto* successor (14:26).²³ According to him, "el texto correcto" of 2 Macc 14:26 reads as follows: τὸν γὰρ ἐπίβουλον τῆς βασιλείας Ἰούδαν αὐτοῦ διάδοχον ἀναδείξει. He further argues that the antecedent of αὐτοῦ can only be Alcimus and διάδοχον means "substituto" ("substitute," "replacement," or "successor"). What this signifies, for García Martínez, is that already at the end of the second century BCE there was a tradition that viewed Judas as the successor of Alcimus, who was of course high priest. It may be noted *en passant* that the order here of Alcimus–Judas follows *Ant.* 12.10.6 §414 but is not the sequence of the first two wicked priests (Judas–Alcimus).

There are a number of textual and exegetical difficulties with the dating of this tradition. Of course, the above comments have already raised serious objections against the actual existence of such a tradition. In any case, several other problems are encountered in the arguments for this dating. García Martínez's reading of αὐτοῦ διάδοχον follows the Venice manuscripts, the Lucianic recension, and the Latin versions. The central LXX witnesses, however, read: τὸν γὰρ ἐπίβουλον τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ Ἰούδαν διάδοχον ἀνέδειξεν.²⁴ The

²¹ Even if this phrase is to be understood as referring to the high priesthood of the entire family of Mattathias, its marginal occurrence in the rabbinic literature may be explained by the influence of Josephus's work.

²² García Martínez accepts it as an ancient, albeit "fluctuante," tradition ("Judas Macabeo Sacerdote Impio?" 172 and n. 8). See the critical apparatus of *Der Babylonische Talmud* (ed. L. Goldschmidt; The Hague: Nijhoff, 1933) 573. The ms Munich 95 is characterized by slips and omissions, and although it is possible that this is one of them, there is no clear evidence of homoioteleuton or a similar error of the eye or pen. J. Derenbourg emends the text to read מתתיה כהן גדול חשמונאי ובניו (*Essai sur l'Histoire et la Géographie de la Palestine, d'après les Thalmuds et les autres sources rabbiniques* [Paris: Imprimerie Imperiale, 1867] 58).

²³ "... sino que significa que lo nombró como 'substituto' de hecho de Alcimo" ("Judas Macabeo Sacerdote Impio?" 173).

²⁴ See R. Hanhart, *Maccabaeorum Liber II* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959) 109; and F.-M. Abel, *Les livres des Maccabées* (Paris: Gabalda, 1949) 464. For the importance of the

important difference between the two texts is that in the LXX “his” (αὐτοῦ) qualifies “the kingdom” (τῆς βασιλείας) and not “successor” (διάδοχον). Moreover, the antecedent, even in the variant form of αὐτοῦ διάδοχον,²⁵ most likely refers to Nicanor or Demetrius.²⁶ In other words, the attempt to establish the tradition of Judas’s high priesthood in the second century is dependent on a variant Greek text of 2 Macc 14:26. This is special pleading and falls far short of indicating that Judas was Alcimus’s *de facto* successor.

There is no evidence, antedating Josephus,²⁷ suggesting that Judas acted as *de facto* high priest or even that he was perceived to have done so.²⁸ 1QpHab 8:8–13, on methodological grounds, must be ruled out as corroborating witness in order to avoid circularity in argument: the question of whether Judas could have been seen as the first wicked priest by the Qumran community presupposes the establishment of the tradition, external to the text of the *Habakkuk Pesher*, that he was perceived as the *de facto* high priest. Since the tradition of Judas’s high priesthood probably originated at a later time, then van der Woude’s identification of him as the first wicked priest during the Hasmonean period is highly improbable, if not impossible.

III. Simon as the Fourth Wicked Priest

The identification of Simon as the fourth wicked priest of 1QpHab 9:16–10:5 poses yet another problem. To begin with, the expression “the wicked priest” is not actually used here. In fact, only four of the supposed six wicked priests are explicitly called הכוהן הרשע (8:8; 9:9; 11:4; 12:2; and 12:8). The second wicked priest (8:16–9:2) is described as “the priest who rebelled” (הכוהן אשר מרד, 8:16). The inference that he was a wicked priest is possible, given that he was afflicted “by judgments of wickedness” (במשפטי רשעה, 12:1), but it is not as certain as van der Woude believes.²⁹ In 8:11, those who rebelled

Latin versions, see Donatien de Bruyne and Bonaventure Sodar, *Les anciennes traductions Latines des Machabées* (Maredsous: Abbaye de Maredsous, 1932) 214, but Hanhart notes the difficulties of retroverting from the Latin (*Maccabaeorum Liber II*, 26–27, and *Zum Text des 2. und 3. Makkabäerbuches: Problem der Überlieferung, der Auslegung und den Ausgabe* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961] 427–86).

²⁵ See Abel, *Livres des Maccabées*, 464 n. 26: “Judas aurait été nommé successeur éventuel soit de Nicanor, soit d’Alcime.”

²⁶ See Jonathan A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees* (AB 41A; New York: Doubleday, 1983), 237 and 472, who translates the sentence as “Nicanor had hostile designs against the state: indeed, he had appointed as his deputy Judas, the plotter of Demetrius’ kingdom.”

²⁷ See Goldstein, *I Maccabees* (AB 41; New York: Doubleday, 1976), appendix vi; he argues similarly that tradition about the investiture of Judas in the high priesthood originated with Josephus’s error (p. 570).

²⁸ It is striking that in the praise and recounting of the Hasmonean family and their deeds in 1 Macc 14:24–49, mention is made only of Jonathan’s and Simon’s, but not of Judas’s, high priesthood (vv. 30 and 47).

²⁹ Van der Woude, “Wicked Priest or Wicked Priest?” 355.

In the comment on the first woe, the fragmentary context refers to an unidentified subject becoming *its* stones in oppression and the rafter of *its* timberwork in robbery (10:1). The singular pronominal suffixes attached to both nouns are feminine (עִצָּה and אֲבִנִּיהָ). There is no antecedent for the suffixes, but they could be anticipating עִיר in the following lemma and comment (10:6–13).³⁴ That is to say, becoming Jerusalem's stones in oppression and the rafter of the city's timberwork.

The notion of judgment by fire may also have arisen from an exegetical combination of elements of the two biblical lemmata. It is not found in either of the scriptural citations but seems to constitute a combination of the concepts of judgment and of fire from the two woes. The notions of "cutting off many peoples" (קִצּוֹת עַמִּים רַבִּים) and the "sins of your soul" (חַוְטֵי נַפְשְׁכָה) of Hab 2:10 appear to have been conflated with the "fire" (אֵשׁ) of Hab 2:13. The fact that these elements do not have the meaning of divine judgment of fire in the biblical texts causes little difficulty, since the selection, atomization, and combination of disparate elements out of their biblical contexts are characteristic of pesherite exegesis. An illuminating passage in the first section points toward this type of exegetical reasoning. In col. 10:2, the pesherist singles out the phrase "cutting off many people and the sins of your soul" of Hab 2:10 by re-citation before he reveals the interpretation of the phrase to be the judgment of the guilty one by fire of brimstone (10:5).

There is in fact no need to insist that the Habakkuk pesherist reasoned quite in this manner. It may well be, as van der Woude suggests, that the pesherist was using a common tradition about the last judgment,³⁵ but the elements of "cutting off," "sins," and "fire" in the biblical lemmata must at the very least have prompted him to think along the lines of judgment by fire. Otherwise the characteristic contact, however attenuated, between elements of the biblical texts and the exegetical comments in the pesher would not be maintained in these passages.

It would appear, then, that van der Woude's dissection of 1QpHab 9–10 into a section about the fourth wicked priest (9:16–10:5) and another about the spouter of the lie (10:5–11:1) does not stand up to close scrutiny. By dividing cols. 9–10 into two distinct units, he has imposed a scheme of interpretation which the passages in the *Habakkuk Pesher* will not support. The exegetical continuity between the two sections rather represents a unity of thought and a similarity of subject closer than that which is being argued. A harmonization of the comments from the two sections would describe a figure called the spouter of the lie, who was connected with the building of Jerusalem and who was himself initially judged and punished by God in the house of judgment. He caused many to err in building a city of vanity with blood and in raising

³⁴ So Horgan, *Pesharim*, 45.

³⁵ Van der Woude, "Wicked Priest or Wicked Priest?" 351, 357.

up a congregation in falsehood, the result of which is that they too will enter into judgments of fire.

The identification of Simon as the fourth wicked priest depends on the restoration of [כהן] in 9:16. Even if, for the sake of argument, it is allowed that not only “the priest” but the “wicked priest” is described in 9:16–10:5, the resemblance between him and the immediately following spouter of the lie is undeniable.³⁶ It has been argued elsewhere that the two are one and the same person.³⁷ Moreover, Simon’s identity as the fourth wicked priest rests on a passage of the commentary that is unspecific;³⁸ 9:16–10:5 say nothing about the death of this wicked priest, and the comments may well apply to any one of the Hasmonean priests.³⁹ Caution must always be exercised in the handling of such meager material, but if an identification must be made concerning the passage, it would seem that the allusion to אבנייה (“its [the city’s] stones”) in 10:1 is more appropriate to Jonathan’s than Simon’s building activities.⁴⁰

IV. Conclusion

The Groningen Hypothesis’ interpretation of 1QpHab 8–12 as depicting six wicked high priests in sequential order is based on a number of questionable assumptions which have been exposed in the foregoing pages. While a plurality of figures for “the wicked priest” cannot be ruled out as a possibility, and in my opinion is likely, given the irreconcilably different ways that the figure comes to an end (by bodily afflictions, at the hands of his enemies and through divine punishment), the Groningen Hypothesis’ reconstruction of the sequence of

³⁶ Van der Woude himself seems to have sensed this when he assigns the “Spouter of Lies [*sic*]” to the time of Simon (“Wicked Priest or Wicked Priest?” 357). According to his own chronological scheme, the spouter of the lie (strictly speaking) should have come *after* Simon and *before* John Hyrcanus I.

³⁷ So Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 30, who has argued for the identity of the wicked priest (sg.) and the spouter of the lie. The priest who was called by the name of truth was described as “wicked” because he later lied.

³⁸ Van der Woude’s argument for Simon is based on the sequence of the wicked priests (“Jonathan’s successor as high priest was his brother Simon”) and not on any positive evidence (“Nothing in the extant text militates against the identification of the Priest with Simon” [“Wicked Priest or Wicked Priest?” 356]).

³⁹ So notes William H. Brownlee, “The Wicked Priest, the Man of Lies, and the Righteous Teacher—the Problem of Identity,” *JQR* 73 (1982) 7, who argues for the identification of John Hyrcanus I.

⁴⁰ While it is true that Simon was involved in the completion and fortification of the wall around Jerusalem (1 Macc 13:10; 14:37), much of his building program was outside of the city (1 Macc 13:25–30, 33; *Ant.* 13.5.11 §183). By contrast, Jonathan specifically directed the fortification of Jerusalem’s wall with “squared stones” (ἐκ λίθων τετραπόδων, 1 Macc 10:11) and the building of an additional wall inside the city (*Ant.* 13.5.11 §§181–82).

six wicked priests, its suggestion that the pesherist shared a tradition about Judas as *de facto* high priest, and its dissection of closely related passages of the *Habakkuk Pesher* are open to criticism and alternative explanations.⁴¹

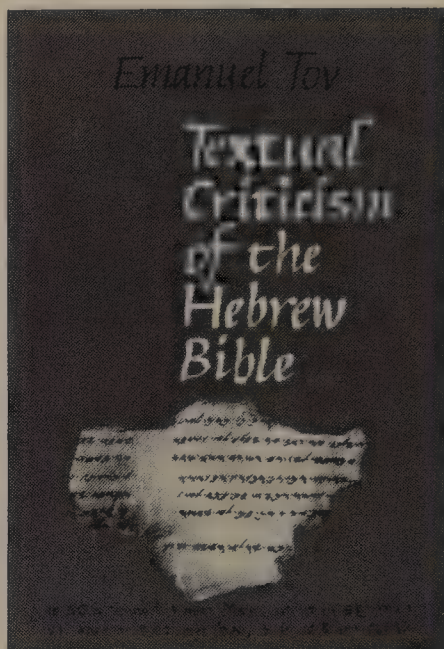
⁴¹ I am grateful to John Collins for his acute comments on earlier drafts of this article. Responsibility for the opinions expressed here rests solely with me.

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AN ABSENT COMPLEMENT AND INTERTEXTUALITY IN JOHN 19:28-29

Robert L. Brawley

McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, IL 60637

The significance of John 19:28-29 lies obscure under a veil of brevity. Jesus' saying could hardly be more succinct: διψῶ. Clues to guide interpretation are rather meager. Nevertheless, the narrator's observation that the incident completes scripture rules out two standard interpretations. One takes the thirst of Jesus as a sign of agony, the other as a sign of his solidarity with humanity.¹ But what have Jesus' agony and his humanity to do with completing scripture? The narrator's commentary unmasks these interpretations as misinterpretations.²

These misreadings aside, obscurity remains. Scholarship has provided scant relief. Rudolf Bultmann observes correctly that Jesus' thirst fulfills scripture as a sign of the completion of the work to which he was commissioned. Although fulfillment of scripture is a recurrent motif in John, 19:28 is the only case in which the verb τελειῶ expresses the motif. Reduplications of the close cognate τελέω in vv. 28 and 30 bracket the unique formula. This dense occurrence of the cognates at the moment of Jesus' death echoes the previous commitments of Jesus to complete God's work.³ Thus, the completion of scripture is also the completion of the work God gave Jesus to do. Bultmann's brief commentary, however, does not adequately catch the significance implied in the narrator's express observation that the incident completes the scripture.⁴

Brevity is hardly the problem of Raymond Brown's commentary. In a thorough discussion he agrees with Bultmann that the fulfillment of scripture is related to the completion of Jesus' work.⁵ In addition, he devotes considerable attention to the identity of the scripture implicated. He suggests an allusion to the total voice of scripture. But if the reference is to a specific text, Brown

¹ So J. Wilkinson, "The Seven Words from the Cross," *SJT* 17 (1964) 76-78.

² R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971) 674 n. 2.

³ E.g., John 4:34; 5:36; 17:4. Bultmann, *John*, 673-74, 673 n. 6.

⁴ E. Haenchen points out that "to fulfill the scripture" was inserted by the narrator in order to emphasize an important point (*John 2: A Commentary on the Gospel of John Chapters 7-21* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984] 193).

⁵ R. E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John (xiii-xxi): Introduction, Translation and Notes* (AB 12A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970) 929.

nominates Ps 69:21 (LXX 68:22):⁶ "They gave me poison for food, and for my thirst they gave me vinegar⁷ to drink." But because he discusses other candidates and suggests potential symbolic meanings, obscurity persists under the veil of multiple possibilities.

This article attempts to peek under the veil by employing recent advances in theories of intertextuality. What does an understanding of intertextuality have to do with the allusion to scripture in John 19:28–29?

I. Intertextuality

Allusions belong to what Roland Barthes calls the cultural voice of the text.⁸ Texts say more than they express because they draw on common knowledge, assumed but unstated. The cultural repertoire of antiquity can be the ordinary presuppositions of everyday experience, such as assumptions regarding reckoning time.⁹ Or it can include literature that is popular enough to generate allusions.¹⁰

Scripture constitutes a notable part of the cultural repertoire for John. In fact, the way John cites scripture is tacitly to view itself as part of the same story.¹¹ Thus, readers of John read scripture through John. The immediate context of 19:28–29 introduces some allusions by formulas and cites the text. But in 19:28–29, the recovery of the allusion is left to the reader. It is part of the unformulated text.

One conventional way to analyze citations of scripture in the NT has been to assess how faithfully a successor text cites its precursor on the basis of the contextual meaning of the original. According to such a convention, we may judge that some NT citations respect the original context, some are detached from the context, and some violate the context.¹² To take an example, the claim in John 19:36 that the failure of soldiers to break Jesus' legs fulfills Exod 12:46

⁶ Brown, *John*, 929; cf. Bultmann, *John*, 674 n. 1.

⁷ "Οξος is ambiguous. It can mean inferior sour wine or it can refer to the vinegar made from such wine. See BAGD and LSJ. In the Hebrew, Ps 69:21 refers unambiguously to vinegar (BDB, KB). Thus, the likelihood is that ὄξος as an allusion to Psalm 69 means vinegar. But in cases such as Luke 23:36 it more likely means sour wine.

⁸ R. Barthes, *S/Z* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1974) 17–18, 100. See W. Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978) 69. Iser speaks of a similar concept as the "repertoire" of the text.

⁹ See R. Alan Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983) 219; cf. n. 30.

¹⁰ On the popular literature in German culture behind the allusions of E. T. A. Hoffmann, see H. Meyer, *The Poetics of Quotation in the European Novel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968) 128–29.

¹¹ See F. Kermode, *The Genesis of Secrecy: On the Interpretation of Narrative* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979) 98–99.

¹² These categories are used by R. Mead, "A Dissenting Opinion About Respect for Context in Old Testament Quotations," *NTS* 10 (1963–64) 279–89.

necessitates construing αὐτοῦ as masculine and therefore as a reference to Jesus. But in Exod 12:46 (LXX), the antecedent of αὐτοῦ is τὸ πάσχα, and αὐτοῦ must be neuter. Thus, according to this convention, John 19:36 violates the context of Exod 12:46.¹³ Clearly the Gospel of John may cite scripture without implying the literary and historical contexts.¹⁴

There is an alternative way, however, to look at intertextuality. According to Hans-Georg Gadamer, interpretation is a fusion of horizons. Both the text and the interpreter have a horizon that embraces everything that falls within the limits of their own point of view. But every act of interpretation transforms the horizon of both the text and the interpreter.¹⁵ When one text takes on the task of interpreting by appealing to a precursor, each text expresses something in its own voice even as its voice is also altered by the other. The original and the new text hang on each other. They are interdependent. Moreover, there is a tensive interplay between them that recasts the meaning of the independent parts.

This intertextual recasting of meaning fits into a larger aspect of literary theory. Every literary work mixes the old and the new, especially when we consider the unformulated text. Thus, intertextuality is characteristic of all texts.¹⁶ The new is the element that distinguishes creativity. But readers recognize creativity only against the backdrop of the conventional.¹⁷ More particularly, in intertextuality a successor text plays off against a precursor that fills the role of the conventional. Michael Riffaterre dubs the precursor the hypogram, that is, a covert word (or text) that underlies what actually appears in the text and is engaged in an interplay with the text.¹⁸ To illustrate, in order to understand a humorous bumper sticker “A fool and his [sic] money are soon partying,” readers must reify the hypogram “A fool and his money are soon parted.”

Manifestly, then, the successor text transforms or distorts the precursor. Harold Bloom expresses this in a radical way when he claims that every new literary work is a creative correction of a parent work, a correction that he

¹³ See S. Edgar, “Respect for Context in Quotations from the Old Testament,” *NTS* 9 (1962–63) 57–59.

¹⁴ Similarly, midrash may allude to biblical texts without any imperative to reflect the original context. See D. Boyarin, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990) 23.

¹⁵ H.-G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (New York: Continuum, 1975) 269–73.

¹⁶ Boyarin, *Intertextuality*, 14.

¹⁷ W. Iser, *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974) xii–xiii, 34, 183, 288; idem, *Act of Reading*, 18; F. Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967) 19–24; D. Damrosch, *The Narrative Covenant: Transformations of Genre in the Growth of Biblical Literature* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987) 2; Boyarin, *Intertextuality*, 12.

¹⁸ M. Riffaterre, *Semiotics of Poetry* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978) 12–13, and *passim*.

calls a misinterpretation.¹⁹ If in charting connections with previous literary works Bloom accents discontinuity, John Hollander provides something of a corrective in stressing continuity. For Hollander, there is an echo between the new work and its predecessor, a reverberation bouncing back and forth, producing a new figuration. Such a figuration distorts the meaning of the original in order to understand it anew.²⁰ Thus, tensive interplay between the two texts recasts the meaning of its independent parts. The new text revises the meaning of its precursor. But the precursor alters the meaning of the new text as well. This is similar to Bloom's concept of a "lie against time." Because an allusive text claims for its meaning a text that is a temporal antecedent possessing meaning apart from its successor, allusions perpetrate a lie against time.²¹ Or to switch to spatial imagery, Paul Ricoeur envisions the incongruity between the otherness of the antecedent text and its efficacy for a later time as a tension between proximity and distance.²²

Allusions may evoke uncanny correspondences at the same time that they conceal other components or even stand in antithesis as a correction of the precursor.²³ In this manner the new text may transform the sense of the original text substantially while holding onto it irrevocably. Thus, to claim a revisionary relationship is to retrieve the precursor through the successor, whereas the conventional methodology breaks the two apart by insisting on the historical and literary context of each. By the criteria of intertextuality, therefore, the question is no longer how faithful the repetition is to the original. Rather, a reference to an old text locates the modern interpreter in a tensive ambience of echoes between the two texts, and the question is how the two texts reverberate with each other.²⁴

¹⁹ H. Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973) 94. Bloom goes so far as to claim that reading is defensive warfare where interpretation is a battle to revise. See H. Bloom, *Kabbalah and Criticism* (New York: Seabury, 1975) 64, 79, 88, 126.

²⁰ J. Hollander, *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981) ix, 31, 43, 111. See also R. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989) 16–19; Boyarin, *Intertextuality*, 24–26. A similar view of revision in the transition from oral tradition to written literature is the burden of W. Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983).

²¹ H. Bloom, *The Breaking of the Vessels* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982) passim; see also Bloom, *Kabbalah and Criticism*, 112.

²² P. Ricoeur, *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences: Essays on Language, Action and Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) 61; idem, *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1976) 43–44.

²³ Bloom, *Anxiety of Influence*, 14; M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985) 421.

²⁴ See Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 20.

II. Intertextuality and the Metaphorical

The way intertextuality functions bears conspicuous similarity to the way metaphors function. Hollander identifies a figurative echo or dialectic between the two texts: “The dialectic might be called the field of combat between synchrony and diachrony.”²⁵ Intertextuality alters what two texts mean in their own independent contexts by both conflict and consonance. That is, they stand in tension with and extend each other simultaneously. This dialectical relationship is metaphorical, figurative. In other terms, the play between the texts, like wordplay, produces a meaning that is figurative because it goes beyond the independent meaning of either text.

The nonfigurative referent of a metaphor is what some philosophers of language call the subsidiary subject, whereas the figurative referent is the principal subject.²⁶ Metaphors may produce an epiphoric effect: they may expand meaning beyond the subsidiary subject. But metaphors may also generate a diaphoric effect: they may create meaning by evoking a new way of construing what we comprehend.²⁷

This double-edged character of metaphor is a part of its suasive effect. One side of the metaphor presents a conventional view in order that the other side may transform the conventional into something novel.²⁸ Metaphor locates readers at a familiar point and leverages them over the fulcrum of the borderline between subsidiary and principal subjects to a new level of meaning. Intertextuality partakes of such characteristics of metaphor. Intertextuality forms a new figuration that, like metaphor, alters the interpreter’s perspective and hence also the range of understanding. Thus, like metaphor, intertextuality cannot be replaced without a loss of effect.²⁹

The complex figure of intertextuality can be viewed from the perspective of either the precursor or the new text. From one viewpoint, the precursor

²⁵ Hollander, *Figure of Echo*, 62, 113.

²⁶ D. Berggren, “The Use and Abuse of Metaphor,” *Review of Metaphysics* 16 (1962) 238. M. Black initially uses “principal” to refer to the nonfigurative component and “subsidiary” to the figurative (*Models and Metaphors: Studies in Language and Philosophy* [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1962] 39–41), but then reverses himself and uses “principal” to mean what the metaphor is really about and “subsidiary” to refer to what the expression would be about if read literally (p. 47 n. 23). Cf. W. Jeanrod, *Text and Interpretation as Categories of Theological Thinking* (New York: Crossroad, 1988) 41. J. Soskice shows that metaphors do not invariably have two subjects, primary and subsidiary (*Metaphor and Religious Language* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1985] 20). But the structural understanding of two subjects does fit the phenomenon of a scriptural allusion in John 19:28–29.

²⁷ Berggren, “Use and Abuse,” 241–50. In theoretical discussion of metaphor, “epiphoric” and “diaphoric” may have other connotations. See, e.g., P. Wheelwright, *The Burning Fountain: A Study in the Language of Symbolism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968) 41–62, 112–17.

²⁸ D. Patte, “A Structural Exegesis of 2 Corinthians 2:14–7:4 with Special Attention on 2:14–3:6 and 6:11–7:4,” in *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* (ed. K. Richards; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987) 24.

²⁹ Black, *Models and Metaphors*, 45–46.

is the subsidiary and the new text the principal subject. The new text has the capacity to extend the meaning of the precursor. John 19:24 expands the original reference to the parting of garments in Ps 22:18 (LXX 21:19) by associating it with the crucifixion of Jesus. But when the perspective is reversed, the new text is the subsidiary and the precursor the principal subject. The precursor has the capacity to unfold meaning beyond the subsidiary subject of the new text. Psalm 22:18 expands the literal meaning of parting Jesus' garments in John 19:24 to correspond to the suffering of a righteous person. Ultimately the complex metaphor can be viewed from the perspective of an interpreter who reads both texts synchronically. Together they constitute the subsidiary subject, and they point to yet another meaning as the principal subject.³⁰

III. The Echo of Scripture in John 19:28–29

Johannine assumptions of a normalized tradition and strategies of interpretation come to light in a wide range of citations and allusions to scripture. For example, John the Baptist identifies himself as the referent of the citation of Isa 40:3 (John 1:23). This implies an interpretive strategy of prediction–fulfillment shared by the author and the authorial audience, and a similar interpretive strategy is presupposed behind most citations in John.³¹ Do these texts establish prediction–fulfillment as an adequate pattern for apprehending the interplay between John and scripture? Not altogether. For one thing, two particular citations do not fit into the prediction–fulfillment schema. John 10:34 and 12:13 construe Pss 82:6 and 118:26 as declarations of established truth specifically applicable to Jesus. For another, in distinction from all other citations in John, the narrator declares that the incident in 19:28–29 completes (τελειόω) scripture. Thus, although the presumed interpretive strategy behind 19:28–29 shares some similarity with the prediction–fulfillment pattern, it is nevertheless distinct. Further, in common with subsidiary and principal subjects in metaphor, successor texts interact with precursors in creative ways that transcend the schema of prediction–fulfillment or of application of propositional truth. Thus, the interplay between John 19:28–29 and its precursor produces a new figuration that goes beyond the independent meaning of the texts.

Not only does intertextuality infer a figurative meaning, so also do two elements of the text that fit what Riffaterre calls an ungrammaticality.³² First,

³⁰ Bloom speaks in a similar way about poetic triads (*Kabbalah and Criticism*, 56–57). The new poem is a sign whose object is the precursor text, and the interpretive reading is a third sign.

³¹ E.g., John 2:17; 6:31, 45; 7:42; 12:15, 38, 40; 13:18; 15:25.

³² An ungrammaticality is a feature of the text that resists interpretation of a literal level and pushes it to a figurative level. See M. Riffaterre, *Text Production* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983) 51.

the soldiers put a sponge filled with vinegar on hyssop and raise it to Jesus' mouth. The small bushy hyssop, however, is no more capable of supporting a sponge full of vinegar than is an Easter lily. This conflict with normal reality creates an inconsistency that drives interpretation to a metaphorical level.³³ To digress momentarily, this ungrammaticality also corresponds to a case of intertextuality. Though "hyssop" is but a single term, it is so unusual and conspicuous as to recall the Passover ritual in Exod 12:2 and the divine deliverance of the people of Israel from oppressors.

The second ungrammaticality is that the claim of completing the scripture is itself incomplete—the scripture is missing. The notice puzzles readers and therefore prods them to search for the completion that the text claims. In what sense does the incident on the cross complete scripture?

The narrator's commentary in John 19:28–29 implies recognition of a tradition normalized by a community. The narrator shares an assumption with the authorial audience of a delimited body of writing designated ἡ γραφή, that is, tradition tested and affirmed by a community of the past and therefore valorized for a community of the present. Further, the narrator assumes an authorial audience that shares normalized strategies for interpreting the tradition valorized by the past.³⁴ The appeal to the scripture privileges it with potential to make sense out of Jesus' thirst. Therefore, John views the crucifixion of Jesus indirectly through scripture.³⁵

Simultaneously, however, there is also an implicit critique of the normalized tradition as deficient. The potential to be completed (τελειόω) makes the tradition incomplete. The fundamental significance of the tradition comes into question the moment its completion comes under consideration. This implication in John 19:28–29 diverges dramatically from notions that attribute a timeless propositional meaning to tradition. Such notions deny a diachronic hermeneutic by asserting that what the text meant is what it means. Moreover, the view of tradition implied in 19:28–29 stands over against the quest for the holy grail of original meaning. In contrast, the narrator recognizes a temporal differentiation—whatever scripture meant, it can be augmented, supplemented, completed.

Thus, John 19:28–29 violates the boundaries of ἡ γραφή at the same time that it values them. It establishes a diachronic continuity with its precursor by breaking with the synchronic sense (thus Bloom's theory of antagonism of successor toward the precursor). For the narrator, the meaning of scripture is not limited to its historical circumstances, although meaning partakes of

³³ J. Trever, "Hyssop," *IDB* 2. 669–70.

³⁴ On authorial audience and normalized strategies for interpretation see P. Rabinowitz, *Before Reading: Narrative Conventions and the Politics of Interpretation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987) 20–29, 212. Rabinowitz defines authorial audience as a hypothetical audience, a social/interpretive community, for which writers design their literary productions.

³⁵ See Bloom, *Map of Misreading*, 18.

historical circumstances such as lexicography, unwritten presumptions in the text, and the original esteem of the text that led to its preservation, continued reading, and valorization.³⁶

Moreover, the narrator's claim that the episode completes scripture also incorporates Jesus' thirst in ἡ γραφή. To assert that this event completes a deficiency in scripture is to redraw the boundaries of ἡ γραφή to include this event. When the narrator extends the meaning of scripture to embrace an incident of a later day, the narrator implicitly claims the latter as essentially ἡ γραφή. In severe tension, the precursor and successor, patently different, are made congruent. In reflecting on what to make of the calamitous death of Jesus by scripture from the past, the Gospel of John also defines anew the scripture of the past in terms of the death of Jesus.

But what is the scripture to which John 19:28 refers? Brown's suggestion that it could be the total witness of the OT to the suffering Messiah is unlikely. John 19:28–29 falls in the middle of a series of formula quotations of scripture. In each of the other cases, the narrator stipulates a specific text (19:24, 36, 37). One of the potential texts that Brown lists as a "noteworthy candidate" for the referent of 19:28–29 is Ps 22:15 (LXX 21:16) "My tongue cleaves to my jaws; you have brought me down to the dust of death."³⁷ But the correlation between this and John 19:28–29 is farfetched. Jesus' thirst may be associated with the tongue that cleaves to the jaws, but even that is weak.

A crucial clue for determining the allusion is that other citations in the context provide variations on the same matrix,³⁸ and they help to interpret John 19:28–29. The matrix is: senselessness becomes significant. Petty detail repeatedly takes on notable importance.³⁹ Jesus' garments and his thirst are mundane details that, aside from verisimilitude, ordinarily would remain trivial. In spite of their vividness, even the blood and water pouring from Jesus' side normally would be insignificant. The crucifixion itself would normally remain as inconsequential as the execution of numerous other insurgents. But the narrator's recourse to completion of scripture shifts the petty detail to a figurative level. The notice that none of Jesus' bones were broken actually conjures up a nonevent that ordinarily would draw no attention. Scripture gives meaning to something that did not happen.

Not only does the text push details to a figurative level, it also resists a

³⁶ Fishbane also sees appropriation and reinterpretation as a part of making the text authoritative (*Biblical Interpretation*, 18).

³⁷ Brown, *John*, 929.

³⁸ The matrix is a minimal, literal, and hypothetical expression—the basic idea—that is actualized in longer, more complex, and nonliteral variants. See Riffaterre, *Semiotics of Poetry*, 19.

³⁹ The insignificance of details can be the other side of their importance as symbols. Riffaterre, *Semiotics of Poetry*, 87; Rabinowitz, *Before Reading*, 66. Moreover, Culpepper suggests that the reader of John is educated by the misunderstandings of secondary characters to look beyond literal, material, worldly, or general meaning (*Anatomy*, 152–65). Thus, characteristics of the text itself prompt a vigilant close reading.

return to the ordinary. The Jews want to prevent the crucifixion from overlapping the sabbath. Their solution is to hasten death by breaking the legs of the three victims on crosses. To get on with the sabbath is to return to the normal world. But the text resists the return to the ordinary and keeps the focus on the figurative significance of the preservation of Jesus' bones and the piercing of his side.

Further, the context is marked by methexis.⁴⁰ On either side of the offer of vinegar, strong visual images duplicate some aspects of the crucifixion. Before we hear of vinegar, the soldiers who crucify Jesus rip his outer garment into four parts but fortuitously preserve the inner garment intact. After the offer of vinegar, the soldiers pierce Jesus' side with a spear, producing a gruesome scene of blood and water, but fortuitously preserve his bones intact. Both of these visual images are interpreted as fulfillment of scripture, which is to say that the fortuitous is also providential. The visual methexes reiterate the matrix, which is the ambiguity between the senselessness of the crucifixion and its significance, or divine care in the confrontation between opponents and God. Opposition corresponds to senselessness, divine care to significance. Thus, the visual methexes help to determine the meaning of the incident. The vinegar falls in between the visual images as a mouth-opening palatal methexis. It smuggles acrid bitterness into the crucifixion, a bitterness heightened all the more by the sentimental scene of Jesus and his mother (John 19:25–27).⁴¹ But the bitterness is simultaneously tempered by the notation that something about the vinegar also completes scripture.

More significantly, beyond the methexes, parallels with the context suggest a resonance with scripture that focuses not only on what Jesus says but also on what the soldiers who crucify him do. When the soldiers divide Jesus' garments and cast lots for his tunic (John 19:24), the narrator relates this *incident* to Ps 22:18 (LXX 21:19). Similarly, vv. 36 and 37 link scripture to an *incident*. The soldiers intend to break the legs of Jesus to hasten his death but discover him already dead. One of them, however, pierces his side with a spear. The narrator correlates this incident with Exod 12:46 and Zech 12:10 (LXX different).

This is to say that the context indicates that the saying of Jesus as such is not the completion of scripture. Rather, as in the formula quotations in the context, the incident as a whole corresponds to scripture. The issue is not merely that Jesus said, "I thirst," but that Jesus said, "I thirst," and for his thirst the soldiers gave him vinegar to drink.⁴²

⁴⁰ Methexis is mutual participation between subsidiary and primary meanings of metaphors. See Wheelwright, *The Burning Fountain*, 76–77.

⁴¹ Riffaterre (*Semiotics of Poetry*, 109) points out that repetition of words with emotional potentialities activates those potentialities. The word "mother" appears five times in John 19:25–27.

⁴² R. Fortna, *The Fourth Gospel and Its Predecessor: From Narrative Source to Present Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) 269–70 n. 82.

What kind of act is it to give someone who is dying ὄξος to drink?⁴³ In antiquity vinegar was used as a tangy spice, and diluted vinegar was regarded as a stimulating beverage.⁴⁴ But it could also be associated with what is harmful (Prov 25:20 LXX). What motives drive those who give the dying Jesus ὄξος to drink?

This depends largely on point of view. All of the Gospels relate something about ὄξος in connection with the crucifixion of Jesus. But each sees it somewhat differently. In Mark Jesus utters the cry of dereliction (Ps 22:1) in Aramaic. Some of the bystanders think that he is calling on Elijah. So one of them offers him ὄξος—presumably a stimulant to revive him long enough for Elijah to rescue him (Mark 15:33–36).⁴⁵

Things are slightly different in Matthew. Matthew and Mark agree essentially that the purpose of the ὄξος is to revive Jesus. But in Matthew bystanders forbid that ὄξος be given to Jesus in order to provide opportunity instead for Elijah to come to the rescue (Matt 27:48–49).⁴⁶ In Luke, however, the offer is part of the soldiers' cruel mockery. They offer Jesus ὄξος instead of the premium libation fit for a king.⁴⁷ In Mark and Matthew dialogue guides the reader's understanding of the ὄξος. In Luke a reliable narrator's evaluation determines its function. But in John the clue to the role of the ὄξος is its intertextuality—in order that the scripture might be completed.

Richard Hays proposes seven criteria for identifying and interpreting intertextual echoes: availability, volume, recurrence, thematic coherence, historical plausibility, history of interpretation, and satisfaction.⁴⁸ Of these, I judge only volume to be crucial. The others provide confirmation on a secondary level. For Hays, volume has to do with how precisely the new text cites the

⁴³ Bultmann argues that this question should not even be raised (*John*, 674 n. 2). But the very failure of the text to specify the purpose of the ὄξος is an invitation to probe its function. Gaps demand interpretation for a coherent understanding of a text. See, e.g., Boyarin, *Intertextuality*, 39–41. Allusions likewise call for the reader to complete the text as it plays against the precursor. See, e.g., Riffaterre, *Semiotics of Poetry*, 5.

⁴⁴ J. Ross, "Vinegar," *IDB* 4. 786.

⁴⁵ H. Heiland, "ὄξος," *TDNT* 5. 288. E. Schweizer thinks, to the contrary, that the offering of ὄξος is likely mockery (*The Good News According to Mark* [Atlanta: John Knox, 1970] 353–54). But here he depends too heavily on the Lucan parallel. In any case irony is at work in Mark because the reader knows that Jesus is not calling on Elijah, and thus the one who offers Jesus ὄξος is operating out of inferior knowledge. See M. Tolbert, *Sowing the Gospel: Mark's World in Literary-Historical Perspective* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989) 282–83.

⁴⁶ Heiland, *TDNT* 5. 289. E. Schweizer sees the offer of ὄξος as originally an act of mercy now turned into mockery in Matthew (*The Good News According to Matthew* [Atlanta: John Knox, 1975] 514).

⁴⁷ F. Danker, *Jesus and the New Age: A Commentary on St. Luke's Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) 376.

⁴⁸ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 29–32. To use these criteria is basically to reconstruct a probable history of composition behind the text, that is, to use the text as the proverbial window. But intertextuality is a historical process involving the relationship of texts to their contexts of generation and perception. D. LaCapra, *History and Criticism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985) 106.

old. By his criterion of verbatim repetition the volume of the echo of Ps 69:21 (LXX 68:22) in John 19:28–29 is quite low. The verb διψῶ in John 19:28 shares a common root with the noun διψα in Ps 69:21, and the word ὄξος appears in both texts (twice in John). It is possible to make a relatively weak case that διψῶ and ὄξος are nuclear words that encompass enough for readers to form an association with Psalm 69.⁴⁹

But Hays's criterion of volume measures repetition only on the phraseological plane and overlooks redundancies on other levels. Allusions may also replicate the form, genre, and story line of their precursor. On the level of the plot, a character in the successor text may repeat the experience of a character in the precursor.⁵⁰ In John 19:28–29, aside from precise citation, there is a conspicuously high volume in pattern when the Johannine allusion is taken as an incident: Jesus thirsts, and for his thirst the soldiers give him vinegar to drink. Jesus repeats rather precisely the experience of the poet in Psalm 69. For the saying "I thirst," there is no decisive candidate for a scriptural allusion. But the incident as a whole resonates profoundly with Ps 69:21 (LXX 68:22).⁵¹

Some of Hays's additional criteria strengthen the probability of an allusion to Psalm 69. (1) Availability. Was Psalm 69 available to the author of John and the original readers? The answer here is a resounding yes. Psalm 69 is the second most frequently cited psalm in the NT.⁵² (2) Recurrence. Does John elsewhere allude to Psalm 69? Yes, John 2:17 interprets the cleansing of the Temple with an explicit citation of Ps 69:9. In another case there is a likely allusion to Ps 69:4 when Jesus says in John 15:25, "They hated me without a cause."⁵³ (3) Thematic coherence. Does the avowed reverberation fit into the thematic development of the text? In John the soldiers are the agents of the crucifixion. As an entire incident, John 19:28–29 forms the pivot in the middle of three incidents where the soldiers act with respect to Jesus, and the narrator links their actions to texts of scripture. Fulfillment of scripture gives figurative meaning to each of the incidents generated by the garments,

⁴⁹ See Riffaterre, *Text Production*, 39. Nuclear words create possibilities for the reader to envision associative networks. Fishbane establishes dense recurrence of terms as an essential heuristic, but not absolute, criterion of implicit citation (*Biblical Interpretation*, 291). R. Dillon makes a stronger case for nuclear words when there is also a recognizable analogy with the setting ("The Psalms of the Suffering Just in the Accounts of Jesus' Passion," *Worship* 61 [1987] 431 n. 3).

⁵⁰ See S. Suleiman, "Redundancy and the 'Readable' Text," *Poetics Today* 13 (1980) 126. Suleiman deals with repetition within the same text rather than intertextual repetition.

⁵¹ Haenchen claims dogmatically that Ps 69:21 does not fit the Johannine context (*John* 2, 193). But B. Lindars shows correctly that when John 19:28 is taken with the following verse the allusion is certainly to Ps 69:21 (*The Gospel of John* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972] 580–81).

⁵² F. Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Psalms*, vol. 2 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1877) 277; A. Weiser, *The Psalms: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962) 493. Moreover, H. Gunkel labels psalms of lament the ground floor of the Psalter (*Einleitung in die Psalmen: Die Gattung der religiösen Lyrik Israels* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966] 173).

⁵³ Similar phrases occur in both Ps 35:19 and Ps 69:4.

the thirst, and the piercing of Jesus' side.⁵⁴ The first of these alludes to Ps 22:18 "They parted my garments among them, and for my clothing they cast lots" (John 19:24). Like Psalm 69, Psalm 22 is also a lament, which is to say that the allusion may recall genre as well as theme. In Psalm 22, because of suffering, the poet mourns the absence of God only to revert to affirmation of God's care for the afflicted.⁵⁵ In addition, immediately before the portion that John 19:24 quotes, Psalm 22 gives some notable parallels to the scene of the crucifixion "Yea, dogs are round about me; a company of evildoers encircle me; they have pierced my hands and feet" (Ps 22:16).⁵⁶ Thus an allusion to Psalm 69 as a part of an attempt to understand how God vindicates Jesus over against adversaries fits into the thematic development. According to these criteria, Ps 69:21 scores as the quite probable precursor of John 19:28–29.

Nevertheless, recurrence and thematic coherence indicate that the route to Psalm 69 is circuitous. Allusions to Psalm 69 elsewhere in John and previous appearances of the theme of thirst make intertextual references complex. In a way that surpasses a Samaritan woman's understanding, Jesus promises to give living water that will overcome all thirst (John 4:10, 14). Similar imagery crops up in 7:37–39 where Jesus offers living water for the thirsty, and the narrator links the living water to the Spirit that believers will receive after the glorification of Jesus. Further, both texts invite complex recollections of living water in scripture including such passages as Jer 2:13, Ezek 47:1–12, and Zech 14:8.⁵⁷ Thus, the way from John 19:28–29 to Psalm 69 visits John 4 and 7:37–39, and other allusions keep intersecting with and diverging from the route to form a rich intertextual complex.

But within this complex, John 19:28–29 splices the incident on the cross into Psalm 69 at the point where foes offer vinegar for thirst. If Ps 69:21 is the branch into which John grafts the crucifixion, how far out do the roots extend? Psalm 69 witnesses acutely to the irony of suffering for God's sake.⁵⁸ "The insults of those who insult [God] have fallen upon me" (Ps 69:9). It also appeals for deliverance from enemies and death (vv. 13–18). Against insulting enemies who break his heart, the poet laments, "I looked for pity, but there

⁵⁴ See Riffaterre, *Semiotics of Poetry*, 63.

⁵⁵ Weiser, *Psalms*, 219–20. It is thematic in the psalms of lament that trust in God is the ground for supplication. Gunkel, *Einleitung*, 232.

⁵⁶ In the crucifixion scene itself John mentions nothing of the piercing of Jesus' hands and feet. But the appearance of the risen Jesus to Thomas presupposes that nails pierced Jesus' hands (John 20:25, 27). Such a presupposition speaks against Dillon's argument ("Psalms," 436) that Psalm 22 entered the passion tradition in an early Aramaic stage so that there is no reference to the piercing of hands and feet, features peculiar to the LXX version of Psalm 22.

⁵⁷ For much of this paragraph I am indebted to S. Moore (*Literary Criticism and the Gospels: The Theoretical Challenge* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989] 160–63) and to R. Alan Culpepper ("A Response to Robert L. Brawley, 'Intertextuality in John 19:28–29,'" paper for the Literary Aspects of the Gospels and Acts Group of SBL, Kansas City, Missouri, 1991).

⁵⁸ Weiser, *Psalms*, 493; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989) 62.

was none; and for comforters, but I found none. They gave me poison (LXX “gall”) for food, and for my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink” (vv. 21b–22). Moreover, Psalm 69 turns into a doxology for God’s attention to the needy and for the restoration of God’s servants in Zion (vv. 30–36).

Because John 19:28–29 makes an allusion without a specific citation, the text leaves it up to the reader to recall the psalm. But the text induces the reader to recall more than simply thirst and vinegar. A part of the larger dimension of the allusion is the citation of the psalm in John 2:17. Even though the cleansing of the Temple occurs at the beginning of Jesus’ ministry, the narrator’s commentary connects it and the citation of Psalm 69 with Jesus’ death. Jesus confronts his opponents in the Temple with a saying that the narrator links to the death and resurrection of Jesus. After the resurrection — after a divine salvific act echoing the restoration of God’s servants in Zion (Ps 69:35) — the disciples recalled Ps 69:9: “Zeal for thy house will consume me.” Similarly, in the last discourse Jesus himself likely alludes to Ps 69:4 to explain his innocence in spite of opposition (John 15:24). Thus, the larger context of John proleptically correlates Psalm 69 with the death of Jesus at the hands of opponents, and the appeal to the wider aspects of the psalm elsewhere in John imply reminiscence of the psalm as a whole. Vinegar for a thirsty Jesus, then, is a synecdochical allusion to the suffering for God’s sake that Psalm 69 reflects.

The recall in the context of two laments (Psalms 69 and 22) may warrant the conclusion that there are echoes of a cluster of psalms of lament. Such a case, however, scores extremely low according to the criteria above.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, these psalms of lament are dominated by the figure of a just person who suffers for being faithful to God and whom God rescues from death.⁶⁰ In the context of John 19, Psalms 22 and 69 together recall a tradition about righteous people suffering specifically for fidelity to God.

Psalm 69, however, does more than lament. It also moves through reversals — from a cry for help (vv. 1, 13–14) to praise (v. 30), from a complaint about the menace of elements of creation (v. 2) to recognition that elements of creation participate in the praise of God (v. 34), and from a protest against exclusion and injustice (vv. 4, 8, 9, 12, 19–21) to a claim of restoration in the community (v. 35).⁶¹ Such inversion corresponds strikingly to the irony in John that God’s Messiah is concealed under the cross.

Psalm 69 ties the destiny of the suffering righteous one to the destiny of a community. First, the psalmist identifies with the oppressed and needy who seek God. The psalm thus moves from an individual lament toward a more universal significance (vv. 32–33). Second, vv. 35–36 connect the destiny of the suffering righteous one with the destiny of Jerusalem. In this fashion, the

⁵⁹ Note the warning of I. Richards against oversensitivity to allusions (*The Principles of Literary Criticism* [New York: Harvest-Harcourt, 1925] 215–19).

⁶⁰ L. Ruppert, *Jesus als der leidende Gerechte?* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1972) 43.

⁶¹ F. Cassou, “En quête de Dieu — Psaume 69: proposition de structure,” *Foi et Vie* 87/5 (1988) 49.

rescue of individual and people signals the cosmic scope of divine salvation.⁶² In the divine rescue of Jesus from death, the Gospel of John affirms such a cosmic dimension of God's salvation, a salvation that can extend particularly to the readers.

The interplay between John 19:28–29 and Psalm 69 is a kind of repetition that exhibits what Riffaterre calls overdetermination. Overdetermination is an overlapping of synonymous systems that helps to control a “correct” reading. Allusions are a particular case in which one text is superimposed on another, and the text that alludes to another is a variant on the allusion.⁶³ In the interplay of Psalm 69 with John 19:28–29, the suffering of a righteous person for God's sake is concretized in the offer of vinegar to a thirsty Jesus. In the interplay of John 19 with Psalm 69, the vinegar for a thirsty Jesus places him in continuity with a tradition dominated by the figure of a just person who suffers for being faithful to God and who depends upon God for deliverance. Further, even in the actions of the opponents of Jesus, the reader may overhear an appeal to the God who delivers the righteous one from enemies, who rescues the one in peril from death, and who restores the rejected one to the community of God's people.

Against the assumption that John uses a christocentric hermeneutic, the appeal to the God who rescues indicates that the hermeneutical stance toward Psalm 69 is theocentric. Granted, the allusion takes Psalm 69 as a reference to Jesus, but it refers equally to opponents. More decisively, the intertextuality frames the confrontation between Jesus and opponents within God's power. The theocentric hermeneutic appropriates Psalm 69 to vindicate the senselessness of the crucifixion and to reverse tragedy into divine triumph. Such a reversal is to reintegrate God into a world where the Messiah is crucified, and thereby to reintegrate the Messiah and messianist readers into a world where the power of God triumphs in ironic ways.⁶⁴

Utilizing Freudian psychology, Bloom delineates a defensive posture whereby texts suppress a painful reality but allow it to surface by projecting it onto another.⁶⁵ There is such a disclosure in John 19:28–29. John 19:28–29 exposes the perplexing limits of meaning of the incident on the cross by repressing its incomprehensibility. By implying that the scripture is incomplete, John 19:28 projects unintelligibility onto the tradition in order to read it in a new way—completed by the incident on the cross. Both Psalm 69 and vinegar for a thirsty Jesus then transcend a deficiency in meaning.

Because the interpretation of Psalm 69 overshoots its synchronic sense, John 19:28–29 tropes Psalm 69. The incident on the cross is not the meaning of Psalm 69 in its literary and historical context. It is the meaning of Psalm

⁶² Kraus, *Psalms*, 64.

⁶³ Riffaterre, *Semiotics of Poetry*, 7–11; idem, *Text Production*, 44–46.

⁶⁴ Cassou, “En quête de Dieu,” 52.

⁶⁵ Bloom, *Map of Misreading*, 88; idem, *Breaking of the Vessels*, 88–89; idem, *Agon*, 119–44.

69 figuratively, metaphorically. In fact, it is a figure of a figure. In Psalm 69 the offer of vinegar for thirst is a metonymy for suffering for God's sake. John 19 refigures the figure so that it gives meaning to opposition to the Messiah.

But what kind of figure is the refiguration? Allegory is a candidate because the significance is resolved by making Psalm 69 represent a different reality. The crucifixion of Jesus is an external schema that is made to correspond to a document from which it is disconnected temporally and textually. To this extent the refiguration exhibits characteristics of allegory. Under further scrutiny, however, the criterion of thematic coherence in John disqualifies allegory. The Johannine Christ who manifests glory in his earthly enterprise can hardly be identified with the suffering righteous one of the Psalm who is stuck in deep mire. In spite of similarities between the incident on the cross and Psalm 69, there are dissimilarities that undermine an allegorical correspondence.

Further, the figuration is distinct from allegory because the incident on the cross completes scripture. Although there is a lie against time, the time of the scripture is not equated with the time of the crucifixion. Rather, the time of the scripture reaches its completion in the time of the crucifixion. Completion means both continuity and discontinuity. John 19 does not overthrow Psalm 69. Rather it depends on it; it includes it. Nevertheless, as a completion John 19 gives Psalm 69 a new twist. Thus, like the suffering righteous one of Psalm 69, Jesus bears reproach for God's sake. Unlike the suffering righteous one of Psalm 69, Jesus bears reproach for God's sake as the Messiah who already reveals his glory.

Bloom labels the revisionary relationship of completion "tessera."⁶⁶ Completion is not merely like the tesserae of a mosaic, distinct and yet to be viewed together to form the whole. Rather, it is more like the broken fragments of an urn pieced back together to make it whole again.⁶⁷ By themselves both the precursor and the successor are shards. Without Psalm 69, the incident centered on Jesus' thirst is part of an execution that shatters the world of messianic hopes senseless. Without John 19, Psalm 69 is an archaeological artifact.

Mere completion, however, does not do justice to the revisionary relationship between John 19 and Psalm 69 as if an arc continues until it traces a circle. Completion comes about when the similarity rises to a new level of intensified discernment, a gain in meaning, like a helix turning back on itself at a higher level—in Bloom's terms, "daemonization" or hyperbole. But the gain in meaning occurs at the expense of a loss of meaning of the precursor, a "kenosis."⁶⁸ John 19 restricts the meaning of Psalm 69 and then elevates it

⁶⁶ Bloom, *Anxiety of Influence*, 14, 66–91; idem, *Map of Misreading*, 71–72, 84, 95–96.

⁶⁷ H. Bloom, *Poetry and Repression: Revisionism from Blake to Stevens* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976) 17–18.

⁶⁸ Bloom, *Anxiety of Influence*, 87–91, 96–114; idem, *Map of Misreading*, 72, 84, 95–96; idem, *Agon*, 238–39; idem, *Breaking of the Vessels*, 17, 24.

to a new level. Viewed through John 19, Psalm 69 no longer expresses the common lot of righteous people who suffer for God's sake but exclusively the lot of the messianic righteous one who suffers for God's sake.

There is no intrinsic relationship between the incident on the cross and the Johannine allusion to Psalm 69. The fact that in Mark and Matthew the ὄξος reflects misguided but not evil intent confirms the lack of an intrinsic relationship. Following Franz Rosenzweig's hint that "as it is written" introduces a commentary on life,⁶⁹ I intuit that the relationship between the incident on the cross and Psalm 69 sprouts out of the life situation of the authorial audience.⁷⁰ Consequently, I venture one step gingerly into source criticism. The appearance of ὄξος in Marcan, Johannine, and special Matthean traditions supports the conjecture that reference to an offer of ὄξος precedes the Johannine passion account. But as a *factum brutum* it is without significance. Mere association of the offer of ὄξος with the crucifixion constitutes a gap to be filled for the disclosure of meaning in the life situation of the authorial audience. The narrator offers the clue of the completion of scripture to fill in the gap and thus supplies motive to an otherwise unmotivated detail of the crucifixion.⁷¹ The offer of vinegar is motivated by the malevolence of people who oppose God.

To return to Bloom and Freudian psychology, there is suppression and projection on yet another level. By using scripture to allude to opposition to Jesus, John 19:28–29 disavows the unmessianic nature of a crucified victim and projects the problem of disbelief onto opponents. This is part of a thematic development that allows the enigma of the rejection of Jesus to surface by projecting it onto adversaries. Jesus is God's agent of judgment in John (5:22, 27; 8:16). But his function as judge depends solely on opponents who refuse to believe (3:18–19; 5:24). The intertextuality in 19:28–29 fits into this apologetic pattern that confronts the unmessianic nature of a crucified one in terms of the problems of the opponents. Thus, from one side the Gospel of John counts on not being believed in order to provide proof from another that it is to be believed.

The vinegar is not merely a metonymy for the opposition to Jesus at his

⁶⁹ F. Rosenzweig as cited by M. Fishbane, *The Garments of Torah: Essays in Biblical Hermeneutics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989) 107.

⁷⁰ Here I enter notoriously disputed territory—whether literary discourse is accountable to historical life or not. See LaCapra, *History and Criticism*, 126–28. One warrant for interpreting from the viewpoint of the authorial audience is the multiple vantage points available to the actual reader. In spite of helpful attempts to distinguish an authorial audience or implied reader from a real reader, there is in actuality only one reader. But the real reader may adopt different perspectives and read more or less informed. The implied reader is the real reader who reads from the perspective of a reader anticipated by the text. Rabinowitz points out that to attempt to read from the perspective of the authorial audience is to attempt to accept the socially constituted interpretive conventions that the author and expected audience shared (*Before Reading*, 20–29). Varieties of perspectives possess their own *perspectival* warrant for reading from their point of view.

⁷¹ On allusions supplying motivation, see Meyer, *Poetics of Quotation*, 178–79.

crucifixion. It is also a metonymy for opposition to Jesus in the sociological setting of the authorial audience. Innocent suffering for God's sake vindicates the suffering of Jesus and transforms his crucifixion from an embarrassing conflict with messianism into a confirmation of it.⁷² If John 19:28–29 tropes Psalm 69 to interpret the opposition to Jesus in his crucifixion, then the trope also interprets opposition to Jesus contemporaneous with the authorial audience. From this point of view, Psalm 69 becomes a proleptic anticipation far beyond the limits of the life of the psalmist. But the transumption of it in John 19 is also a prolepsis of a divine triumph over enemies. Thus, the trope takes on the capacity to interpret resistance to Jesus for readers of a future beyond Jesus and to place that resistance in the context of the universal salvific reality of God (Ps 69:32–33).

The final word is against final words. For all the appeal to Psalm 69, a degree of uncertainty undercuts any vigilantly nuanced interpretation of John 19:28–29. An ironic inversion emerges in that the claim of the completion of scripture is incomplete, and the ironic inversion resists closure. This is to say that although John 19:28–29 induces readers to recall Psalm 69, it also teases them with the paradox of an absent complement—the scripture is missing. This paradox is part of a larger complex of contradictions that emerge under a close reading. The one who claims to be able to satisfy with living water thirsts; hyssop incapable of supporting a sponge filled with vinegar supports a sponge filled with vinegar; a gift in response to thirst is pernicious; drinking the gift in response to thirst provokes thirst; God's Messiah is crucified.⁷³ And so the paradox of an absent complement perpetually withholds a complete meaning. The divine power that embraces the death of Jesus remains a mystery beyond understanding.⁷⁴

⁷² C. Talbert documents the *topos* in the Hellenistic world of the validation of the claims of an innocent victim of martyrdom (*Reading Luke: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Third Gospel* [New York: Crossroad, 1982] 221–24).

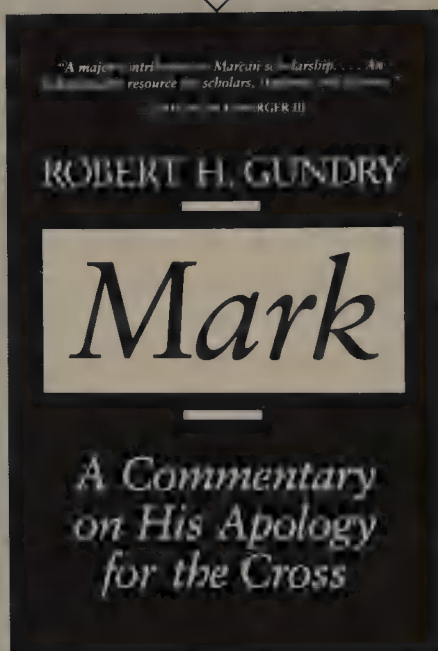
⁷³ Culpepper, "Response," 7; cf. Moore, *Literary Criticism*, 161–63.

⁷⁴ An earlier version of this article was presented to the Literary Aspects of the Gospels and Acts Group of the Society of Biblical Literature, Kansas City, Missouri, November 1991. Some of the suggestions of the group have been incorporated into this version. I am especially indebted to responses from R. Alan Culpepper and James Voelz.

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THE JOHANNINE ORIGINS OF THE JOHANNINE LOGOS

ED. L. MILLER

University of Colorado, Boulder, CO 80309

The Prologue to John's Gospel, but especially the first verses, is surely one of the most traveled of scholarly roads, and the Johannine Logos specifically, introduced in the first line, is one of the most worked and reworked points in all of biblical studies. Nonetheless, we venture boldly that the vast literature on the background and meaning of the christological λόγος, usually rendered "word," is by and large misguided and that notwithstanding the energy consumed on this problem, the simplest, most natural, and thus the most plausible explanation of all has been generally overlooked.

I. Preliminaries

It will be useful to establish, as a framework for the discussion, some of our convictions about the nature of the Prologue and its relation to the rest of the Fourth Gospel.¹ These are immensely complicated and much-debated issues, and we simply state, first, and with a minimum of comment, three points. (1) The Prologue (1:1-18) is a literary and theological unity and, notwithstanding its obvious literary and theological connections with the Fourth Gospel "proper" (1:19-20:30), must be viewed as a separate work (as a third separate piece, chap. 21, an epilogue to the Gospel, does not bear on the present discussion). (2) The Gospel proper was written first,² followed by the First Epistle, and finally the Prologue; here we make only a claim about the chronology

¹ For a somewhat more extended account of these preliminary points, see my *Salvation-History in the Prologue of John: The Significance of John 1:3/4* (Leiden: Brill, 1989) 2-10.

² We mean here the first published version of the Gospel. While we are not in principle opposed to various redaction theories (e.g., R. E. Brown's thesis about five different redactions [*The Gospel according to John* (AB 12, 12A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966, 1970) 1. xxiv-xxix]), such theories, and certainly the more extreme of these, are often riddled with conjecture and speculation and have not in my view derailed the more moderate approach which stresses *unity* of the Gospel even in its final form (see, most notably, Eugen Ruckstuhl, *Die literarische Einheit des Johannes-evangeliums: Der gegenwärtige Stand der einschlägigen Forschungen* [Freiburg: Paulus, 1951]; and Oscar Cullmann's plea for restraint in redactional theories of John in *The Johannine Circle* [trans. John Bowden; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976] chap. 1 *passim*).

of these three pieces relative to one another, though we do, in fact, accept a very early date for the Fourth Gospel proper and thus, possibly, for all three pieces.³ (3) These originated certainly from the same theological circle and were most probably composed by the same individual; the common theological provenance of the three pieces will prove relevant, but their common authorship is mentioned only to complete the picture—in fact, this has little to do with our argument.

Further, while everyone recognizes that the Prologue is logically distinct from the main body of the Gospel, most also believe it to be or to contain a christological hymn, the “Logos Hymn.”⁴ In my view the Prologue originated as an anthology of memorable and polished Johannine lines that in time was grafted into and to some degree superimposed on the opening of the Gospel proper. The original opening of the Gospel was vv. 6–8 in continuity with vv. 19ff., and the overlapping of vv. 15 and 30 should be noted. On the other hand, the poetic-hymnic character of vv. 1–5 is much starker: the exalted tone, the successive parallelisms in vv. 1ab, 3, 4, and 5 (discounting vv. 1c and 2, which seem to me to be later and explanatory intrusions), and the characteristic “staircase” construction (A→B, B→C, C→D) in vv. 1a–b, 4, and 5, suggest a more deliberate design, probably an entire hymn of a salvation-historical character, composed for liturgical (and possibly antiphonal) recitation.⁵

More critical for the argument to follow is the observation that the Prologue bears every mark of being either a preview or a summary. Most of the central themes of the Fourth Gospel are encountered here. This is a well-known observation, but not for that reason any less important or worth documenting.⁶

Preexistence of the Logos: v. 1a//17:5

Identity of the Logos with God: v. 1c//8:58; 10:30; 20:28

(Advent of) life in the Logos: v. 4a7//5:26; 6:33; 10:10; 11:25–26; 14:6

(Advent of) light in the Logos: vv. 4b, 9⁸//3:19; 8:1; 12:46

³ In relation to the recent trend of a minority of scholars toward a radically early dating, see F. Lamar Cribbs, “A Reassessment of the Date of Origin and the Destination of the Gospel of John,” *JBL* 89 (1970) 38; J. A. T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976) chap. 9; and Friedmar Kemper, “Zur literarischen Gestalt des Johannesevangelium,” *TZ* 43 (1987) 247–64.

⁴ For a complete summary of differing attempts to identify these lines, see Gérard Rochais, “La Formation du Prologue (Jn. 1:1–18),” *SE* 37 (1985) 7–9.

⁵ See Miller, *Salvation-History in the Prologue of John*, 7–12; and, in a more concentrated form, Ed. L. Miller, “The Logic of the Logos Hymn: A New View,” *NTS* 29 (1983) 552–61.

⁶ The following list is not exhaustive but merely suggestive.

⁷ Taking *ὁ γέγονεν* not as concluding v. 3 but as introducing v. 4: “What has appeared in him was life. . . .” I have argued the textual and theological issues of this difficult passage extensively in *Salvation-History in the Prologue of John*, and briefly in “The Logic of the Logos Hymn: A New View.”

⁸ Taking *ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον* as modifying not *πάντα ἄνθρωπον* but *τὸ φῶς*: “This was the true light . . . coming into the world,” or “The true light . . . was coming into the world.” Note especially the parallel ideas in 3:19 and 12:46.

Conflict of light and darkness: v. 5//3:19; 8:12; 12:35; 12:46

Believing in the Logos: vv. 7, 12//2:11; 3:16, 18, 36; 5:24; 6:69; 11:25; 14:1; 16:27; 17:21; 20:25

Rejection of the Logos: vv. 10c, 11//4:44; 7:1; 8:59; 10:31; 12:37–40; 15:18

Divine regeneration: v. 13//3:1–7

Glory of the Logos: v. 14//12:41; 17:5, 22, 24

Fullness in the Logos: vv. 14, 17//4:24; 8:32; 14:6; 17:17; 18:38

Moses/Law and the Logos: v. 17//1:45; 3:14; 5:46; 6:32; 7:19; 9:29

Only the Logos has seen God: v. 18//6:46

The Logos's revelation of the Father: v. 18//3:34; 8:19, 38; 12:49–50; 14:6–11; 17:8

A few comments concerning this list. First, it should be apparent that the preview/summary ideas in the Prologue do not imply necessarily long strings of corresponding instances in the Gospel proper. For example, the Prologue reference to divine regeneration, though echoed in the Gospel proper only in a single passage, is no less an anticipation of a major theme than the reference to “believing,” which verb-theme occurs some fifty-five times. Second, such a list of correspondences can hardly capture all of the Johannine themes and certainly not the most important, because they are sometimes so pervasive and involve so many elements as to resist this sort of categorizing, or because Christ does not speak in the Prologue and therefore does not say something like “I am,” or because the Prologue *as a whole* is a preview/summary of the Gospel *as a whole*. Finally, it remains to ask whether these preview/summary ideas are previews *or* summaries. In fact, I believe—what is not evident to all—that the Prologue *recapitulates* the Johannine themes; that is, it is a *summary*. More specifically, my view is that the Prologue material (discounting vv. 1–8 and 15, which, as already noted, we take to be parts of the original Gospel) was composed and compiled subsequent to the Gospel proper, and even after the First Epistle, as was suggested earlier; the chronological ordering, Gospel proper → First Epistle → Prologue, is supportable even aside from our view about the origin and development of the christological λόγος, but inasmuch as our treatment lends further (perhaps decisive) support to it, we will treat it here not as a condition or presupposition but rather as a hypothesis that finds further confirmation in the following discussion.

II. “The Word”

We come now to the Johannine Logos, and specifically to the question of its origin. The explanation I propose is radically different from the prevailing ones. All of the major attempts to account for the origin and background of the Johannine Logos have directed our attention *away from* the Fourth Gospel to some earlier and/or extraneous source. My approach, proceeding in exactly the opposite direction, recalls our attention to the Fourth Gospel itself.

Although the usual theories about the background of John's Logos are well known, it may be useful here to review (at the risk of caricaturing) the most prominent of these:⁹ (1) the OT *dābār*, which often represents the word of God (*dēbar Yahweh*) as eternal, creative, sustaining, healing, redemptive, prophetic, etc., and as increasingly hypostatized and personified as it passed, as the Greek λόγος, into the wisdom literature; (2) the late Jewish Sophia, "Wisdom," by which Rudolf Bultmann first sought to explain the background of the Johannine Logos, and which in the wisdom literature is personified and represented as the first of God's creations and the attendant craftsman in all subsequent creation, a pure emanation of the glory of the almighty, a reflection of eternal light, an image of God's goodness, etc.; (3) Greek philosophy, in which some of the fathers found generally a *preparatio evangelica* and a specific anticipation of the Logos Christology of John in the Logos doctrines of Heraclitus, Epicharmus, and the Stoics, at least the latter of whom employed λόγος to mean the divine Reason which pervades and controls all things in such a way as to produce a beauty, harmony, and unity of the whole, and knowledge of which delivers the soul from ruinous ignorance; (4) Philo Judaeus, who, in his synthesis of Hebrew theology and Greek (especially Platonic, Aristotelian, and Stoic) philosophy, employed λόγος over twelve hundred times and in a bewildering variety of ways as a theological-philosophical *terminus technicus* to designate the mind of God containing the ideal archetypes of the cosmos, the creative instrument of God, the bond and preserver of all existing things, the mediator between the creator and creature, etc., and calls it the Beginning, the Name of God, the Image of God, etc.; (5) the Aramaic *mēmṛā'*, "word," which, some have alleged, occurs in the targums of the OT as a divine hypostasis; (6) rabbinic speculation on the Torah in which the Law is portrayed as interchangeable with "the word of the Lord," and preexistent, eternal, etc.; (7) Gnostic sources, such as the Hermetic literature from Egypt, especially the *Poimandres*, in which the Word functions as a heavenly envoy, an intermediary between the material and spiritual realms; (8) Bultmann's later explanation, which appeared in his celebrated commentary on John, according to which the Johannine Logos and Jewish Wisdom speculation have their

⁹ From the prodigious literature on the background and meaning of the Johannine Logos concept we cite here only a few useful overviews: Brown, *John*, 1. 519–24; William Barclay, "Great Themes of the New Testament: II," *ExpTim* 70 (1958–59) 78–82; Edwin Kenneth Lee, *The Religious Thought of St. John* (London: SPCK, 1950) chap. 4; D. H. Johnson, "Logos," in *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* (ed. Joel Green and Scot McKnight; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1992) 481–84; and the more extended discussion (along with an opening bibliographical note) by Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to John* (trans. Kevin Smyth; New York: Seabury, 1968–82) 1. 481–93. For full discussions of the biblical "word" concept (including but not limited to λόγος), see A. Debrunner et al., "λέγω, λόγος, [etc.]," in *TDNT* 4. 69; and H. Haarbeck et al., "Word, Tongue, Utterance," in *New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology* (ed. Colin Brown; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1975) 3. 1078–1141. Further, see the relevant bibliographical entries in Ernst Haenchen, *A Commentary on the Gospel of John* (ed. Ulrich Busse; trans. and ed. Robert W. Funk; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) 1. 131–35.

common root in the Hellenistic-Gnostic redeemer myth, the Johannine Logos having been mediated through the tradition reflected in the Mandeans and the *Odes of Solomon*; and (9) the view sponsored by J. Jeremias that the Johannine Logos represents the breaking of the divine silence (understood against the backdrop of the Jewish yearning for a new prophet (e.g., Ps 74:9; 1 Macc 4:46), the wisdom image of the divine Word leaping out of silence (Wis 18:4), the Hellenistic hymns to Silence (*deus absconditus*), and as the source of Ignatius's interpretation of Jesus as God's Word proceeding from silence (*Mag.* 8.2).

Such, then, are the main lines along which the background of John's Logos has been sought. Many scholars have espoused one or the other of these proposals; others (perhaps most) have seen in a combination of them the most adequate explanation,¹⁰ but virtually everyone locates the origin of the Johannine Logos as lying somewhere along these lines. We have no illusions about the task of dethroning this standard approach so widely accepted and in which so much ink and argument have been invested. It is, no doubt, so entrenched that it may be difficult even to gain an objective *hearing* for an alternate proposal. Nonetheless, and to begin on the negative side, several facts about the parade of proposals mentioned above suggest the intrinsic implausibility of any one or combination of them, and that they are all on the wrong track altogether. The evidence against them lies cumulatively with five considerations.

First, it should be noted how many theories have been propounded. This is relevant inasmuch as it alerts us to the possibility that a fatal presupposition underlies them all. Second, it is to be noted how divergent and even *incompatible* these proposals often are, which of course heightens the doubt about the methodology involved. Third, there are the inevitable and problematic issues endemic to the standard proposals: the dating of the *Odes of Solomon* and its relation to John; the dating of rabbinic literature; the accessibility of Philo to the NT; the existence of a pre-Christian Gnostic redeemer myth; the interpretation of the Heraclitean Logos; whether *mēmra'* was actually a divine hypostasis; etc. Fourth, many of the standard theories are problematic in that they point to certain parallels between the proposed source and the Johannine Logos but at the same time also involve many striking differences: In contrast to John's Logos, the OT and apocryphal Wisdom is nowhere called λόγος. It is clearly depicted as a created being, and though represented as a personification of a divine attribute, it is never represented as a divine person. Unlike John's Logos, the Stoic Logos can hardly be construed as revelatory. In John, unlike Greek philosophy, the world is inimical to the Logos; etc. Fifth,

¹⁰ Somewhat typical is Brown, who, rejecting Hellenistic influence, finds the most plausible background of the Johannine Logos in a convergence of several strains of Semitic influence, specifically that of word/wisdom themes, Torah (as supplanted by the Logos), and the rabbinic *mēmra'* (*John*, 1. 524).

more general questions may be posed as to the compatibility of these theories with the character of the Fourth Gospel: whether the author of the Fourth Gospel was cognizant of, or even interested in, the wide range of ideas involved in many of the hypotheses; whether the speculative approach is not alien to the spirit of the Fourth Gospel; whether John was really all that much of a Platonist, or Gnostic, or mystic; whether he was a sifter of documents, or a sifter of traditions, or a synthesizer, etc.

Without denying out of hand the possible relevance at some point or other of at least some of the standard views, it is appropriate to ask whether some altogether different hypothesis better accommodates the data. Let us look, then, proceeding now with the more positive and constructive endeavor, in an entirely different direction for the origin of the Johannine Logos, however paradoxical it may sound initially: *the Fourth Gospel itself*. That λόγος and related words and ideas function already in the Fourth Gospel proper in a way that may be relevant for an understanding of the Logos of the Prologue has been observed by several writers.¹¹ But they stop short of the possibility that it is here *primarily, essentially, and exclusively* that we encounter the origin of the Logos concept, any other associations attaching themselves only along the way and in a more or less accidental manner. A good example is C. H. Dodd, who provides an excellent account of the significance of λόγος (and related words) throughout the Fourth Gospel:

... along with quite ordinary uses of the term, the Fourth Evangelist uses the term λόγος in a special sense, to denote the eternal truth (ἀλήθεια) revealed to men by God—this truth as expressed in words (ῥήματα), whether they be the words of Scripture or, more especially, the words of Christ.¹²

But he then turns immediately from this relevant observation to the theologically and literarily far-flung regions of Jewish Wisdom speculation and the Platonism of Philo. My thesis is, quite simply, that λόγος or ῥήμα (the two terms are used interchangeably by John¹³) are employed in the Fourth Gospel proper already in a theologically and christologically suggestive manner, that λόγος assumes a somewhat more technical usage in the opening verses of the First Epistle, and finally is employed as a full-blown christological title in the Prologue.

¹¹ E.g., C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953) 265–68; Oscar Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament* (rev. ed.; trans. Shirley G. Guthrie and Charles A. M. Hall; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963) 259–60; Leon Morris, *The Gospel according to John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971) 88.

¹² Dodd, *Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 267.

¹³ It is simply not possible to maintain that John uses these forms with any real difference in view of such passages as 12:48 (“The one rejecting me and not receiving my words [ῥήματα] has one that judges him. The word [λόγος] which I have spoken, that will judge him on the last day”) and 17:8a, 14 (“... the words [ῥήματα] which you gave me I have given to them. ... I have given to them your word [λόγος]. ...”).

We begin with the statistical observation that, theology aside, the words λόγος and ῥῆμα abound in the Fourth Gospel, occurring specifically 51 times (λόγος, 39; ῥῆμα, 12). This is strikingly more frequent than in Matthew and Mark, and, if we limit ourselves to the more substantive use of the terms (that is, where the terms “word” or “words” themselves are the focus of interest), the Johannine instances far outnumber the Lukan too. The distinction between the ordinary and substantive use of λόγος or ῥῆμα is in certain instances a somewhat subjective one, but surely the substantive occurrences number about 33: keeping the word, hearing the word, abiding in the word, the word of him who sent Jesus, inability to hear Jesus’ word, and references to Jesus’ words themselves—words of the divine Revealer. We must, then, be struck at once by this writer’s penchant for the word “word,” and specifically the frequency with which he employs it in relation to his presentation of the activity and teaching of Jesus.

But, of course, it is not just a matter of the *frequency* with which “word” or “words” occurs in this Gospel but, more important, the *manner* in which they occur. Not only are they concentrated at the center of the Johannine picture of Jesus; they function with an immediate significance for that picture. For example:¹⁴

- He whom God sent speaks the words of God (3:34)
- Jesus’ word enables belief (4:41)
- Hearing and believing Jesus’ word is a condition for eternal life (5:24)
- Jesus’ words are spirit and life (6:63)
- Jesus has the words of eternal life (6:68)
- Jesus’ word is prophetic (7:40)
- Continuing in Jesus’ word is a mark of discipleship (8:31)
- Exclusion of Jesus’ word breeds hostility to him (8:37)
- He that is not of God cannot hear God’s word (8:47)
- Keeping Jesus’ word precludes death (8:51)
- Jesus keeps the Father’s word (8:55)
- Jesus’ word judges unbelievers on the last day (12:48)
- The word that Jesus speaks he speaks not from himself but from his Father dwelling in him (14:10)
- Love of Jesus results in keeping his words (14:23)
- Jesus’ word cleanses (15:3)
- Honoring Jesus’ words results in answered prayer (15:7)
- Jesus’ word is to be kept (17:6)
- Jesus gives to his disciples the words that the Father gives to Jesus (17:8)

¹⁴ For a similar list and emphasis on the centrality of the “word(s)” of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel, see Morris, *Gospel according to John*, 125–26.

The Father's word is truth (17:17)
 The Father's word sanctifies (17:17)

No doubt the best summary of the centrality and power with which "word" functions in the Fourth Gospel is at 6:63: "It is the Spirit that gives life; the flesh profits nothing. The words that I speak to you, they are spirit and they are life."

If also, after the example of 17:17, we were to accept the loose identification of "word" and other ideas such as "truth" and "light," how much longer would the above list be! Then too we should take into account the many discourses of Jesus (the Bread, Water, Resurrection and Life, Good Shepherd, Door, Vine, etc.), each of which constitutes a kind of extended Word and all of which characterize the Johannine Christ and his activity. The Johannine Christ is, perhaps more than anything else, one who is always *addressing* people, *discoursing*, and the fabric of this Gospel is, largely, just this succession of (often lengthy) discourses. We must reckon also with the general Johannine picture of Jesus as the Revealer sent from God with a saving *message*.

Thus, "word" dominates the Fourth Gospel. And we are therefore prepared now to ask whether it is not the case that λόγος and ῥῆμα are strewn throughout the Gospel with a certain christological transparency.¹⁵ More specifically, aside from the relatively few instances in which these terms bear an ordinary and limited meaning, do they not otherwise strive to point beyond themselves to a "Word?" Do they not seem to be a sort of splashover from the pervasive theme of the Gospel, the divine revelation in Christ? Do they not seem at every turn, on every page, in a variety of ways, to point the reader to the saving truth that is in and is Christ?¹⁶

Here, we suggest, is the origin of the Johannine Logos, here in these numerous occurrences of λόγος and ῥῆμα, which may be read at one level as meaning "word," but may transparently point at the same time to a "Word," the saving truth, and thus involve an implicit christological significance. Here, that is, we are on our way to a christological title.

Λόγος is not a christological title in the Fourth Gospel proper, but it is difficult not to feel it taking shape as such in the opening verses of the First Epistle:

¹⁵ For this phrase I am indebted to my *Doktorvater*, the late Prof. Bo Reicke. It strikes me as exactly the right expression. Cf. Cullmann's reference to the "theologically charged" concept of the proclaimed word in John (*Christology of the New Testament*, 260).

¹⁶ Though most obvious in John, the christological transparency of Jesus' words are at least indirectly evident in the Synoptic Gospels also. Aside from the general image of one who proclaims and teaches with authority (Luke 4:22, etc.), the following are relevant: the antitheses of Matt 5:21ff.; the ἀμὴν λέγω formula (Matt 5:26, etc.); the healing words (Luke 7:7, etc.); the forgiving words (Luke 7:48, etc.); the exorcising words (Matt 8:16, etc.); the subjugating words (Mark 4:39, etc.); and, perhaps most notably, the claim for the endurance of Jesus' words at Matt 24:35.

What was from the beginning, what we have heard, what we have seen with our eyes, what we have looked at and touched with our hands, regarding the word of life — and the life was revealed, and we have seen and witnessed and proclaimed to you the eternal life which was with the Father and was revealed to us — what we have seen and heard we declare also to you. . . .¹⁷

This is at all levels one of the most difficult passages in the Johannine literature. For our immediate purpose we limit ourselves to two lines of comment.¹⁸ (1) This passage clearly stands in a relationship to the Johannine Prologue. It itself is part of a brief prologue (1:1–4) to the First Epistle, it begins in a strikingly similar way to the Johannine Prologue with immediate references to “the beginning,” “word,” and “life”; it emphasizes also the empirical, historical manifestation of this life; and it involves much the same, and sometimes identical, vocabulary and construction. The question is, of course, which came first, but even this cannot be discussed here at length. Limiting myself to the three verses quoted above, I wish only to expand by two points our claim, made at the very start, that the First Epistle was composed prior to the Gospel Prologue. First, these verses are notorious for their grammatical incoherence. Brown summarizes the frustration felt by all when he says that “the initial four verses of 1 John have a good claim to being the most complicated Greek in the Johannine corpus,” and that they constitute “a grammatical obstacle course.”¹⁹ Nonetheless, he thinks what I think is unthinkable, namely, that the refined lines of the Gospel Prologue were composed first and then imperfectly echoed by the different author of the First Epistle. Even on the assumption of a different authorship (which I do not in any case accept) it is impossible for me to believe that the first lines of 1 John could have been composed by someone familiar with and controlled by the elegant first lines of the Gospel. Much more plausible is the view that the Epistle Prologue is in some ways a kind of rough draft or outline for, or at least anticipation of, some of the later lines that now, included in the Gospel Prologue, introduce the Fourth Gospel.²⁰ Second, and somewhat related to the first observation, it is also to me unthinkable that, as Brown again nonetheless thinks, λόγος could be used as a christological title in the Gospel Prologue (four times, vv. 1 and 13) and

¹⁷ As we note below, the opening lines of 1 John are notorious for their grammatical problems. In the end, it seems to me best to take *περὶ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς* in v. 1 as modifying the “what”-clauses that precede it, to regard v. 2 as a parenthetical intrusion, to take v. 3 as an anacoluthic resumption of the original thought, and, unlike some, *not* to attempt in the translation to smooth out what in the original is admittedly very rough.

¹⁸ For a full discussion of all the issues, see Raymond E. Brown, *The Epistles of John* (AB 30; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982) 151–88.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 152, 174.

²⁰ See John A. T. Robinson, “The Relation of the Prologue to the Gospel of St. John,” *NTS* 9 (1962–63) 123–24. Of course one cannot mean “rough draft” or even “outline” in a very strict sense if one believes, as we do, that the Gospel Prologue involves a Johannine hymn (vv. 1a–b, 3–5) plus further polished but disparate Johannine lines. Nonetheless, various elements from the unpolished Prologue to the First Epistle are clearly echoed in the Gospel Prologue.

then subsequently be employed in the Epistle Prologue — but *not* as a title — again by one controlled by the Gospel Prologue and writing in the same vein and using similar or even identical expressions, and, most notably, linking ζωή with λόγος, which in the Gospel Prologue is represented as the personal ground of spiritual life (1:4). Given the nontitular use of λόγος in 1 John 1:1 (see below), and on the principle “once a title always a title,” much more plausible is the view that *that* passage came first. There are, naturally, many other relevant considerations, especially if we cast our net beyond the first few verses of the Epistle, but these two “unthinkables” alone dictate for me, at least, the priority of the Epistle Prologue over the Gospel Prologue.²¹

(2) The opening verses of the First Epistle appear not only from a literary standpoint but also from a christological standpoint to be a halfway house between the Gospel proper and the Gospel Prologue. On the one hand, there is reason to believe, with many commentators, that τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς, “the word of life,” in 1 John 1:1 refers to the Logos, preexistent and/or incarnate in Jesus: the empirical-existential language (seeing, hearing, touching), the claim that the life was manifested, and a similar use of language in the Gospel Prologue where the preexistent and/or incarnate Logos is clearly meant (he was in the beginning, he was with God, he was made flesh, we saw him, etc.). On the other hand, this personalistic interpretation is clouded by the use of the four initial neuter pronouns rather than masculine, and that λόγος is not, in any event, intended here as a title is suggested by the qualifying phrase “of life” and also by the claim that it was the life, not the λόγος, that was empirically manifested — as a matter of fact, it is life, not λόγος that dominates these verses. Other commentators, in fact, see in the reference to λόγος no reference at all (at least not directly or specifically) to the preexistent and/or incarnate Logos but rather a reference to the Gospel in general after the fashion of the expression in Phil 2:16, “holding forth the word of life.” But, first, though the reference to hearing lends itself to this interpretation, the references to seeing and touching do not. Second, Pauline or Lukan usage hardly dictates anything for Johannine usage. And, third, in any case it would appear that in the First Epistle John’s word for doctrine, teaching, or message is ἀγγελία, as in 1:5 (“this is the message which you heard from the beginning, that we should love one another”), and the use of διδαχή at 2 John 9 (“the doctrine of Christ”) is, I believe, relevant also. Nor are we helped much by a consideration of the genitive τῆς ζωῆς. To take it as an exegetical or definitional genitive, “the λόγος which is life,” favors of course the personal interpretation of λόγος; an objective genitive, “the λόγος about life,” favors the impersonal interpretation of λόγος; and a qualifying genitive, “the λόγος which gives life,”

²¹ Admittedly, we have done no justice here to the position of most commentators (e.g., Brown, *Epistles of John*, 176–80), who argue for the priority of the Gospel Prologue over the First Epistle, except to say that the evidence does not, in my mind, withstand the force of the above two considerations, and is otherwise found unpersuasive.

accommodates both the personal and impersonal interpretations. The truth is, probably, that of these possible interpretations of the genitive none in particular and all in general may be involved in a passage marked, as we are seeing, less by logical refinement than by evangelical fervor:²²

Our own conclusion concerning the phrase “λόγος of life”—a conclusion based on the above considerations plus a strong subjective impression—is that we have here a somewhat confused and unfocused expression that joins (a) “life,” which refers to the spiritual, eternal, and salvific life that is in Christ, and (b) “word,” which refers to the objective, historical, empirical embodiment and expression of this life in the teaching and activity of Jesus himself. In this respect it may be important to note that the expression “λόγος of life” is bracketed immediately on both sides by language that expresses the empirical manifestation of the life. Is it possible that the word λόγος here is a one-word expression for that manifestation? In view of this possibility, and in view of the phrase “from the beginning,” which, one could argue, refers not only to the historicity but, transparently, also to the preexistence of the life, and in view of the linking (if not equation) of λόγος and the “life,” and in view of the claim that this life was “with God,” certainly we have at the very least a setting of the stage for the employment of λόγος itself as personified, preexistent, and the like.

But what is implicitly and confusedly affirmed of λόγος in the Epistle Prologue is explicitly and unambiguously affirmed of it in the Gospel Prologue where (1) it is employed four times with an *absolute* sense—qualifying phrases such as “of life” (1 John 1:1) or “of God” (Rev 19:13) having dropped aside, (2) it is personified, hypostatized, and historicized throughout, and (3) it is specifically identified as preexistent, identified as God, identified as the creator, identified as the source of spiritual life and light, identified as the object of salvific belief, and identified with the person of Jesus Christ. The christological development of λόγος was, thus, achieved by the time the Gospel Prologue, as we now know it, took shape. The stages were, simply: (1) the christologically transparent usages of λόγος and ῥῆμα in the Gospel proper; (2) a confused but still more elevated and theologically enriched use of λόγος in the opening lines of the First Epistle; (3) λόγος as a full-fledged christological title in the Gospel Prologue.

From the start the Johannine Logos was implicit in the Johannine λόγος, this was gradually recognized, more and more it dawned on the Johannine circle that the word λόγος was an appropriate christological title, and it was finally embraced as such. It could have happened that way; I am persuaded that it did happen that way; and it is a long way from all those other theories. Our hypothesis is simple: it accounts for the facts, not the least of which is the total absence in the Gospel proper of λόγος as a christological title whereas it appears as a title in the Prologue four times; moreover, it explains without

²² See Brown, *Epistles of John*, 165–66.

any surprise why it is said of the Logos that he became flesh inasmuch as the appearance of the Revealing Word in our history is a pervasive theme of John; moreover, it coheres with other traceable developments through the Johannine literature such as that of ἀρχή, which we ourselves have considered, as well as others that we have not, such as John's evolving anti-docetism; moreover, it coheres with the recent and growing opinion about a radically early dating of the Fourth Gospel proper which allows sufficient time for such a development; moreover, it creates no problems in the form of incompatibilities between an alleged source of the Johannine Logos and the Johannine Logos itself—in fact it presents us with no non-Johannine ideas whatsoever.

Five final points. First, though we have not undertaken it here, it is possible, I think, to make a similar case for a christological transparency and development of the Johannine ἀρχή. If so, this would certainly enhance our thesis about λόγος, and so much the more because of the immediate conjunction of ἐν ἀρχῇ with λόγος in v. 1. Second, we have noted that both λόγος and ῥῆμα occur in John's Gospel interchangeably and that both are employed with a christological transparency. In fact, we have cited 6:63 ("The words that I speak to you, they are spirit and they are life") as a striking example of this transparency, though it is not λόγος that is employed there but ῥῆμα. Why, then, did λόγος rather than ῥῆμα emerge finally as the christological title? The answer surely lies to some degree with the intrinsically greater richness and adaptability of the word λόγος over the word ῥῆμα, and thus also (it must have been felt) its greater ability to assimilate and echo relevant extraneous traditions. And this brings us to the third point. Though we have argued for the Johannine origin of the Johannine Logos, we have nowhere denied the possibility that the christological development of the Johannine λόγος may have been aided and abetted and *reinforced* by an awareness of the role played by the word λόγος (or its equivalent) in other traditions, though we believe that insofar as this may have been the case it was surely the *dābār*/σοφία strain of the biblical tradition that wielded the greatest influence. Fourth, and nonetheless, our treatment labors not at all under the spell of a *religionsgeschichtlich* approach, and certainly does not subscribe a priori to the view that ideas, motifs, and images cannot have a birth and life of their own independently of similar ones in other traditions. One may think here—to take an example from a very different context—of the inevitable temptation, indulged by some, to explain similarities between certain Pre-Socratic philosophical ideas and Eastern ideas by positing an actual contact between the two and a borrowing of the former from the latter. This fails, of course, to take into account the *universal* power and appeal of the ideas, motifs, and images involved. Finally, we have left out of account the more theological question of how the title Logos, rooted in reflection on the work of the historical Jesus, applies to the *pre-incarnate* Logos. Suffice it to say that the Johannine community would have had no more difficulty in this application than did the earlier Jewish tradition in conceiving the Word of God, though perceived primarily as historically

creative, active, etc., as "forever . . . firmly fixed in heaven" (Ps 119:89), or Wisdom, though perceived primarily as historically creative, active, etc., as preexistent (Prov 8:22ff.).

III. Conclusion

I have attempted to show that it is not necessary to look beyond the Johannine literature for the origin of the Johannine christological title "Logos." Rather, the λόγος of the first line of the Johannine Prologue represents the end of a christological development that began with numerous but already suggestive uses of this term in the Fourth Gospel proper itself, and an intermediate stage of usage and reflection concerning this term is represented in the opening verses of the First Epistle. The one of whom it was said in John 7:46, "Never has a man spoken like this!" eventually came to be called, appropriately, "the Word." This thesis, if sound, may hold various implications for issues in Johannine study, though one of these implications is immediately apparent: The Johannine origin of Logos, the Johannine christological title par excellence, underscores the relative independence and originality of this Gospel.

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ECHOES OF INTRA-JEWISH POLEMIC IN PAUL'S LETTER TO THE GALATIANS

JAMES D. G. DUNN

University of Durham, Durham DH1 3RS, U.K.

No one will need to be reminded that Galatians is one of the most polemical documents in all the Bible. The typically polite thanksgiving of the normal letter opening is replaced by the indignation and fiery anathema of 1:6-9. The Jerusalem Christian leadership is four times referred to with the distancing formula οἱ δοχοῦντες (2:2, 6, 9) and dismissed with a shrug—"what they once were makes no difference to me." The Jerusalem opposition is described with a series of weasel words—"false brothers smuggled in, who sneaked in to spy on our freedom" (2:4). Jerusalem itself is identified with Hagar and dumped in the slavery column in the opposing columns of 4:21-27, and the Galatians are encouraged to throw out the other missionaries as Sarah encouraged Abraham to throw out Hagar and Ishmael, alike expelled from the heritage of Abraham (4:30). The sharpness of polemic poses Christ and circumcision, grace and law as mutually exclusive antitheses (5:2-5) and reaches its climax in the coarse sexual humor of 5:12. And even in the postscript Paul cannot refrain from cheapening the motives of his opponents and denying their integrity (6:12-13).

Such language and tactics are typical of factional polemic the world over. In spirit and tone at least, it is not particularly Jewish or Christian.¹ At the same time, there are some elements that seem to echo more specifically intra-Jewish polemic, and it is these on which this paper focuses. Peter von der Osten-Sacken has already noted the parallel between 1:6-7 and CD 1:14-17 with its fierce polemic against "the congregation of traitors" and "the Scoffer."² But others are still more striking and call for more attention than they have hitherto received. It will suffice to refer to the most noteworthy passage and two others.

¹ See, e.g., L. T. Johnson, "The New Testament's Anti-Jewish Slander and the Conventions of Ancient Polemic," *JBL* 108 (1989) 419-41.

² P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Die Heiligkeit der Tora: Studien zum Gesetz bei Paulus* (Munich: Kaiser, 1989) 142.

I. Galatians 2:11–17

Hints of Intra-Jewish Polemic

The polemical character of the section is clear from the first. To say that Cephas “stood condemned” (2:11) means, of course, condemned from the perspective of Paul’s position: typical of the polemicist is the attempt to prejudice the audience by implying that the view propounded has a universal validity. But the indications of more specifically Jewish character soon begin to appear.

(a) 2:12: *Cephas “separated himself.”* Is there here an echo of the nickname by which one of the main “sects” within contemporary Judaism was commonly designated (Pharisees = “separated ones”)?³ Pharisees and Essenes were known within Jewish circles as those who separated themselves from others precisely in the matter of table fellowship, for reasons of purity—even from others who no doubt regarded themselves as Torah faithful, but who were not so regarded by Essenes and Pharisees.⁴ Cephas, like these other factions within Second Temple Judaism, had now made table fellowship a test case of covenant identity and faithfulness, and in concluding that the Gentile believers failed that test (or rather that their company caused *him* to fail that test) had withdrawn from table fellowship with them. In a verbal exchange between Jews on the subject of table fellowship such an echo would not have been difficult to hear. We might even paraphrase, “Cephas played the Pharisee.”

(b) 2:12: *“because he feared those of the circumcision.”* The verb here will be at least partly polemical in force: even if Peter was in fact concerned about his personal safety, the reduction of his motives solely to those of fear is a polemical stratagem to discredit the action so described. More remarkable here, however, is the description of those “feared” as “of the circumcision.” It is remarkable because Paul can thus describe them in summary fashion by reference to the act and fact of “circumcision.” Elsewhere Paul can describe Jews at large as “the circumcision,” in contrast to the rest of humanity,

³ See, e.g., E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. and ed. G. Vermes et al.; Edinburgh: Clark, 1979) 2. 396–97; A. J. Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes and Sadducees in Palestinian Society* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1988) 215, 220–21. That Paul’s use of the same word in 1:15 carries a similar echo has been suggested, e.g., by T. Zahn (*Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater* [Leipzig: Deichert, 1905] 61–62) and F. Mussner (*Der Galaterbrief* [HTKNT; 3d ed.; Freiburg: Herder, 1977] 83 n. 31).

⁴ The point is disputed as to its detail, but the broad picture is hard to dispute. In addition to those cited in the first part of n. 3 above, see also, e.g., A. F. Segal, *Rebecca’s Children: Judaism and Christianity in the Roman World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986) 124–28; S. J. D. Cohen, *From Maccabees to the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987) 119, 129–32, 154–59, 162; and the several contributions by J. Neusner on the subject.

characterized simply as “the uncircumcision” (2:7–8; similarly Rom 2:25–27; 3:30; 4:9–12). This characterization indicates clearly an identity determined by or focused in the act and fact of circumcision—hence the metonymy “the circumcision,” not “the circumcised”—circumcision providing the fundamental and sufficient principle of classification. And equally clearly it indicates a Jewish perspective: “the uncircumcision” is hardly a self-designation by Gentiles. But here the term is used by a Jew in reference to another Jew and must indicate still other Jews distinguished from the likes of Peter and Paul in a way analogous to the distinction between Jew and Gentile. That is to say, they were a faction within Judaism who gave such emphasis to circumcision that they could even be distinguished from other Jews as “the circumcision.”

(c) 2:13: “*they played the hypocrite.*” In Greek the verb meant simply “to play a part.” But in Jewish use it gained a regularly negative note—“pretend,” “deceive” (as in Sir 32:15; 33:2; *Pss. Sol.* 4:20, 22). A particularly poignant parallel is the memory of Eleazar, the Maccabean martyr, who *refused* to pretend to eat pork and food sacrificed to idols as a way of escaping execution (2 Macc 6:21, 24; 4 Macc 6:15, 17).⁵ If Paul, in addressing Peter, was looking over his shoulder at the “group from James,” he could well have intended to evoke this classic example of covenant faithfulness. Peter and the other Christian Jews ought to have had the strength of character (to resist the temptation to abandon the truth of the gospel) which Eleazar had shown. Since one would have expected the example of the Maccabean martyrs to be cited by the people from James rather than by Paul, there is at least the suggestion here that Paul was trying to counter the sort of factional argument which in the two hundred years following the Maccabean revolt must regularly have appealed to the example of the Maccabean martyrs.

(d) 2:13: “. . . *their hypocrisy.*” The charge is, of course, once again polemical: in polemic a genuine disagreement can easily be represented as hypocrisy by those who see the issues either differently or more intensely. More to the immediate point, U. Wilckens notes that ὑπόκρισις in diaspora Judaism was used as equivalent to the Hebrew רַחֲקָה, denoting “a wickedness which alienates from God.”⁶ Here too, given the context of bitter denunciation, the overtone may have been present to Paul and his Jewish disputants.

(e) 2:14: “*they were not walking straight toward the truth of the gospel.*” The verb (ὀρθοποδεῖν) is a *hapax legomenon* for this period, but the imagery is obvious and would hardly have been misunderstood. More significant here is the fact that the metaphor “walk” = conduct oneself was typically Jewish

⁵ See also U. Wilckens, ὑποκρίνομαι, *TDNT* 8. 563–65; and H. D. Betz, *Galatians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979) 109–10.

■ Wilckens, ὑποκρίνομαι, *TDNT* 8. 564.

(הלך) and atypical of Greek thought. Moreover, the characteristic Jewish use was in commendation of a “walk in the law/statutes/ordinances/ways of God” (hence “halakah”).⁷ In no doubt deliberate contrast, Paul speaks of a walk toward the truth of the gospel. Evidently he was implying with polemical intent that “the truth of the gospel” provided a different and superior beacon for conduct; but in effect he was engaged in a halakic dispute.

(f) 2:14: “*how is it that you compel the Gentiles to judaize?*” “To judaize” was a quite familiar expression, in the sense “to live like a Jew,” “to adopt a distinctively Jewish way of life”—with reference to Gentiles taking up Jewish customs like observance of the sabbath.⁸ The polemical note sounds in the verb “compel.” Judaism at that time was notably uninterested in evangelism, though open to and accepting of Gentile God-fearers and proselytes.⁹ The element of compulsion would enter because there were Gentiles who were making claims, or for whom claims were being made, to enter into what generations of Jews had always regarded as their exclusive privileges (in terms of the argument of Galatians, into the direct line of inheritance from Abraham). To safeguard the character of these privileges it was evidently seen as necessary to ensure that such claimants conformed fully to the traditional notes of the covenant people.¹⁰ This Paul regarded as compulsion. There is no doubt an echo of the earlier usage in 2:4, and the implication that Peter was being as coercive, and on an equivalent issue, as the “false brothers” Peter himself had resisted earlier on in Jerusalem.

All these are at best hints. In themselves they would not be sufficient to demonstrate that Paul was using and echoing characteristic intra-Jewish polemic. But there are clearer indications than these, and when taken together with these the case becomes very strong.

Echoes of Intra-Jewish Polemic

(a) 2:15. The most obvious of these is the reference in 2:15 to “Gentile sinners.” The word “sinner” is, of course, characteristic Jewish language: רשע = “the one guilty of sin, the wicked.”¹¹ As regularly in the Psalms (e.g., Pss 50:16–20; 109:2–7; 119:53, 155), it denoted those who disregarded the law and whose conduct was condemned by it. This was why it could be used, as here, as more or less synonymous with “Gentiles” (Ps 9:17; Tobit 13:6; *Jub.*

⁷ See, e.g., the data illustrated in my *Romans* (WBC 38; Dallas: Word, 1988) 315–16.

⁸ See the data, e.g., in my *Jesus, Paul and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians* (London: SPCK; Louisville: Westminster, 1990) 149–50.

⁹ See now particularly S. McKnight, *A Light Among the Gentiles: Jewish Missionary Activity in the Second Temple Period* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991); P. Fredriksen, “Judaism, the Circumcision of Gentiles, and Apocalyptic Hope: Another Look at Galatians 1 and 2,” *JTS* 42 (1991) 537–40.

¹⁰ The classic parallel is, of course, the episode of Izates in Josephus, *Ant.* 20.2.4 §§38–46.

¹¹ See, e.g., BDB s.v. רשע.

33:23–24; *Pss. Sol.* 2:1–2; Matt 5:47//Luke 6:33).¹² For Gentiles were by definition “law-less,” without (outside) the law, and in consequence their conduct was inevitably in breach of the law (sinful).

More to the point here, however, the same epithet was evidently often used in the intra-Jewish factional disputes that seem to have wracked the last two hundred years of Second Temple Judaism, at least if our sources from that period are anything to go by. Typically one faction would claim to be “righteous” and condemn others as “sinners” (e.g., 1 Macc 1:34; 2:44, 48; 1 *Enoch* 5:4–7; 82:4–5; 1QH 2:8–12; 1QpHab 5:4–8; *Pss. Sol.* 4:8; 13:6–12). Here clearly the usage was polemical. For while “sinner” still denoted sustained disregard for and breach of the law, the disregard and breach were evidently more often in the eye of the beholder than not. The point is underlined when we recall that the targets of such criticism in the texts just cited include, by general consent, both Sadducean and Pharisaic parties.¹³ What was at issue, in other words, was sectarian (or factional) interpretation of the law, halakic dispute of such intensity that the issues were regarded by the “righteous” as make or break, as determinative of the others’ acceptability or unacceptability to God.

One of these great issues was what can be summed up most simply as the issue of table fellowship—not surprisingly, since a number of concerns regarding clean and unclean foods, eating blood, food contaminated by idolatry, and potentially other purity issues all came to focus in the meal table. We need only recall the way the Maccabean crisis brought such concerns to the fore as tests of covenant loyalty (1 Macc 1:62–63), and the degree to which the heroes and heroines of the Second Temple period were lauded in the popular literature of the time precisely for their refusal to eat “the food of Gentiles” (Dan 1:8–16; Tobit 1:10–13; Jdt 10:5; 12:1–20; Add Esth LXX 14:17; *Jos. Asen.* 7:1; 8:5). The clear implication for those who used the vocabulary is that fellow Jews who maintained these standards were “the righteous” and that those other Jews who failed to maintain these standards, who failed the test issues posed by table fellowship, were “sinners.”

Jesus himself had evidently been caught up in disputes in this area and had come under the critical lash of “the righteous.” To accuse (the tone is one of accusation and criticism) someone of “eating with sinners” and of being

¹² See K. H. Rengstorff, ἀμαρτωλός, *TDNT* 1. 325–26, 328. This, to the Jew, self-evident association of the words “Gentile” and “sinner,” undermines the attempts of H. Neitzel (“Zur Interpretation von Galater 2,11–21,” *TQ* 163 [1983] 16–30) and A. Suhl (“Der Galaterbrief—Situation und Argumentation,” in *ANRW* 2.25.4 [1987] 3099–3106) to introduce a break between ἐξ ἐθνῶν and ἀμαρτωλοί: “We, of course Jews by nature and not stemming from the Gentiles, are nevertheless sinners (as much as them)” (Suhl). In the historical context, the antithesis is much more naturally taken as between “by nature *Jews*” and “from Gentiles *sinners*,” a contrast of status by reason of origin—Jews by birth, sinners because Gentiles.

¹³ See, e.g., R. B. Wright, “Psalms of Solomon,” in *OTP* 2. 642, and those cited in Saldarini, *Pharisees*, 279 n. 6.

a "friend of sinners" (with reference to table fellowship), as in the traditions of Mark 2:16 and Matt 11:19//Luke 7:34, was to accuse him of consorting with those regarded by the critics as law-breakers. To be noted once again is the fact that the accusation is factional polemic: those so accused might well have included individuals who were wholly law-abiding in their own eyes; but because they did not conform to the halakah of the critics on the sensitive issue of food and purity laws, they were categorized as "sinners" no less than the much more obviously "wicked." The implication is also clear: for Jesus to consort with such people in precisely the area of such halakic sensitivity (table fellowship) was to tar himself with the same brush—"sinner" by association, equally disregarding of important halakot.¹⁴

We need simply recall the evidence of Acts 10–11 that the issue of table fellowship had also been very sharp among the earliest Jerusalem Christians (Acts 10:14; 11:3). Presumably, then, whatever the earlier agreement in Jerusalem amounted to (Gal 2:6–9), it had not clarified, or at least not clarified sufficiently, questions relating to table fellowship. Only at Antioch did it become clear to more conservative believers from Jerusalem what was happening—that fellow Jews were sitting light to or actually departing from one of the central traditions of Torah piety, a tradition hallowed by the blood of the martyrs and fully sanctioned by the examples of the great heroes and heroines of Israel's history.

This then is the context of the incident at Antioch¹⁵ and fully explains the atmosphere of suspicion, bitter accusation, and savage denunciation. The language ("Gentile sinners") is the language of Jews who regarded the law as definitive of righteousness and who therefore took it for granted that Gentiles "by nature" were outside the law, out-laws, and therefore "sinners," unacceptable to God by definition. As such it is hardly likely to have been Paul's own choice of language, given his own much more pro-Gentile stance. Almost certainly, therefore, he is echoing the language of more traditional Jews. And in the case in point (the Antioch incident) that must mean the group from James. In other words, Paul here is probably echoing in ironic fashion the accusation and criticism brought by James's people against Peter and the other Jewish believers in Antioch "How can you, Peter, being a trueborn Jew, eat with Gentile sinners?"

¹⁴ For fuller treatment of these and related points, I refer to my "Pharisees, Sinners and Jesus," *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, chap. 3; also *The Partings of the Ways between Christianity and Judaism* (London: SCM; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1991) chap. 6. It should perhaps be noted that E. P. Sanders has not yet responded to my critique of his treatment of Jesus and "the sinners" in his *Jesus and Judaism* (London: SCM, 1985) chap. 6. In contrast, despite criticism on specific points, Sanders agrees with the main thrust of my earlier analysis of the Antioch incident (see below n. 15) in his "Jewish Association with Gentiles and Galatians 2:11–14," in *Studies in Paul and John In Honor of J. Louis Martyn* (ed. R. T. Fortna and B. R. Gaventa; Nashville: Abingdon, 1990) 170–88.

¹⁵ See further my "The Incident at Antioch (Gal 2:11–18)," *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, chap. 6.

To be noted once again is the fact that, as in the case of Jesus, the accusation was being brought by Jews against fellow Jews. Although the language referred to non-Jews ("Gentile sinners"), the issue was still an intra-Jewish one—the issue of covenant loyalty, of Torah piety, of avoiding contamination by the "sinner." And since it involved disagreement between Jews on what was and what was not permissible in associating with Gentiles, the issue was in fact one of intra-Jewish factional dispute. The issue and language used were of a piece with similar language and polemic present in such as 1 Maccabees and *Psalms of Solomon*, where "sinner" can be used both of Gentiles as such and of other Jews who were regarded by the writers as apostates but who were actually other Jewish factions. The dispute at Antioch could carry such echoes of intra-Jewish polemic, precisely because it was a further example of the same kind of intra-Jewish polemic which characterized that period.

Finally here we should observe the likelihood that the same language of the group from James is probably echoed again in 2:17: "if in seeking to be justified in Christ we find that we too are 'sinners' . . ." Evidently the James faction's insistence that the Gentile believers at Antioch were still to be categorized as "sinners" drew the corollary, obvious to all the Jewish factions represented, that those Jews who consorted with such "sinners" and thus conducted themselves in ways repugnant to Torah loyalists would find themselves regarded by the Jewish "righteous" as equally "sinners."¹⁶ In which case, Paul points out, the Christ who accepted Gentile (sinners) by faith would have to be described as "a servant of sin!"¹⁷ Impossible!

In short, Paul's use of the term "sinners" in 2:15 and 17 is best explained as an echo of the language used by the group from James when they successfully persuaded Peter to withdraw and separate himself from the table fellowship of the Christian Gentiles in Antioch. And the term itself is clearly used with the same polemical thrust as in the intra-Jewish factional polemic of the time.

(b) 2:16. A second fairly clear echo of intra-Jewish factional polemic is present in the phrase "works of the law." There is no need to recall in detail here how this phrase has traditionally been understood by Christian

¹⁶ The point is taken by, e.g., E. D. Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Galatians* (ICC; Edinburgh: Clark, 1921) 125, 129; H. Feld, "'Christus Diener der Sünde': Zum Auslegung des Streites zwischen Petrus und Paulus," *TQ* 153 (1973) 126; Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, 176 n. 41; and J. Rohde, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater* (THKNT 9; Berlin: Evangelische Verlag, 1988) 113. Whereas J. Lambrecht ("The Line of Thought in Gal 2:14b–21," *NTS* 24 [1977–78] 493), F. F. Bruce (*Commentary on Galatians* [NIGTC; Exeter: Paternoster, 1982] 140–41), and Suhl ("Galaterbrief," 3108–9) assume too hastily that the issue is simply one of justification by faith in its classic terms.

¹⁷ The possibility that Paul and the Galatians were aware of the tradition of Jesus eating with "sinners" can by no means be excluded, especially in view of the other possible allusions to Jesus' self-accepted "servant" role in the same verse (cf. Mark 10:45 par.; Rom 15:2–3, 7–8).

commentators as a description of human effort and achievement.¹⁸ I have argued the point elsewhere, sufficiently I hope, that the phrase denoted for Paul rather the acts of obedience required by the law of all faithful Jews, all members of the people with whom God had made the covenant of Sinai—the self-understanding and obligation accepted by practicing Jews which E. P. Sanders encapsulated quite effectively in the phrase “covenantal nomism.”¹⁹

In the immediate context here it is evident that the phrase had in view the obligations accepted by the group from James and assumed by them to be binding on all Jews—that is, in particular, the food laws and other traditions that gathered round the whole practice of table fellowship within a Jewish context. What Peter and the other Christian Jews in effect were affirming—that observance of such obligations (“works of the law”) was a continuing necessity for them (hence their conduct in 2:12–13)—Paul now emphatically denies (2:16).²⁰ This is not to say, as I have been understood to say, that by “works of law” Paul meant only such obligations as the food laws (and circumcision and sabbath observance).²¹ It is simply that the larger commitment and sense of obligation to live within the terms laid down by the law, to perform “works of the law,” came to focus in particular test cases like circumcision and food laws (as here).²²

¹⁸ E.g., Betz, *Galatians*, 117: “any and all works as works-of-merit”; R. N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC 41; Dallas: Word, 1990) 86: “merit-amassing observance of Torah”; D. Georgi, *Theocracy in Paul's Praxis and Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) 38: “social and cultural achievements . . . brought about by law—in principle, by any law.”

¹⁹ See my “The New Perspective on Paul” and “Works of the Law and the Curse of the Law (Gal 3:10–14),” both with additional notes in *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, chaps. 7 and 8; also *Romans*, 153–55; *Partings*, 135–38; and below n. 22. The reference is to E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (London: SCM, 1977) 75, 420, 544. See also R. Heiligenthal, “Soziologische Implikationen der paulinischen Rechtfertigungslehre im Galaterbrief am Beispiel der ‘Werke des Gesetzes,’” *Kairos* 26 (1984) 38–53; J. Lambrecht, “Gesetzesverständnis bei Paulus,” in *Das Gesetz im Neuen Testament* (ed. K. Kertelge; Freiburg: Herder, 1986) 114–15; J. Barclay, *Obedying the Truth: A Study of Paul's Ethics in Galatians* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1988; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) 78, 82; G. W. Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians: Epistolary and Rhetorical Contexts* (JSNTSup 29; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989) 102–3, 114. In 1968 K. Kertelge was a lone voice in maintaining that “works of the law” were an expression of “Jewish consciousness of election” (“Zur Deutung des Rechtfertigungsbegriffs im Galaterbrief,” *BZ* 12 [1968] 215–16; reprinted in his *Grundthemen paulinischer Theologie* [Freiburg: Herder, 1991] 115–16).

²⁰ However the syntax of 2:16 is construed, Paul's concern was evidently to move the argument from a position where “works of the law” could be insisted on (as at Antioch) to a position where faith and works would be seen as standing in antithesis. See also my *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, 212; and “Once More” (below n. 22).

²¹ As particularly by C. E. B. Cranfield, “‘The Works of the Law’ in the Epistle to the Romans,” *JSNT* 43 (1991) 89–101; D. Moo, *Romans 1–8* (Wycliffe Exegetical Commentary; Chicago: Moody, 1991) 210–11, 214–15; F. Thielman, *From Plight to Solution: A Jewish Framework for Understanding Paul's View of the Law in Galatians and Romans* (Leiden: Brill, 1989) 63.

²² See now my “Yet Once More—The Works of the Law: A Response,” *JSNT* 46 (1992) 99–117. Contemporary issues which function in the same way to bring to focus larger attitudes and perspectives include women's ordination, inerrancy, and speaking in tongues.

Here however it is the factional overtones of the phrase which call for most attention. For it is now clear that the closest parallels to the Pauline phrase are to be found in the Qumran literature, in the phrase *מעשי תורה*, “deeds of Torah,” and others similar to it. Presumably, as with “works of the law,” the Qumran phrase denotes the obligations laid upon the Qumran covenanters by the Torah. What is significant for the present discussion, however, is that these phrases are actually used to denote the specific obligations laid on the covenanters by their membership of the (Qumran) covenant or, to be more precise, the interpretations put upon the Torah by the Qumran covenanters which marked them out in their distinctiveness from other Jews and Jewish factions. Thus it is by reference to his “deeds,” his “deeds with regard to the law,” his “observance of the law” as understood within the community, that the individual’s membership of the covenant was tested (1QS 5:21, 23; 6:18). And it was precisely their “deeds of the Torah” (*מעשי התורה*) which marked out their community in its distinctiveness from outsiders and enemies (4QFlor = 4Q174 1:1–7). Most striking of all is the fact that the recently publicized 4QMMT, entitled *מקצת מעשי התורה*, “some of the deeds of the Torah,” contains a series of distinctive halakic rulings.²³ “Deeds or works of the law,” then, was evidently itself a factional phrase, embodying both the claim that the conduct therein called for was required by God and the denial that alternative conduct was acceptable to God; or, alternatively expressed, embodying the claim that the group’s interpretation of the Torah at disputed points was the correct and only legitimate enactment of what the Torah laid down at these points.

But this is precisely where we find ourselves in the dispute between Paul and Peter, and behind him the James faction, at Antioch – a dispute over what the law actually required as essential for the Jewish sect of the Nazarene. There is no need to argue that Paul or the group from James were influenced by Qumran usage.²⁴ It is sufficient that Qumran usage expresses a similar attitude in similar circumstances of halakic dispute. Whether the phrase was more widely current need not be determined. Either way it remains significant that in just such a context of dispute over the extent and detail of Torah obligation binding on Christian Jews, Paul uses a phrase that was used elsewhere in the Judaism of the time in similar intra-Jewish factional dispute over points of halakah.

In short, here too we catch a distinct echo of the sort of intra-Jewish factional claims and counterclaims that evidently were a feature of this period

²³ The description was drawn primarily from L. H. Schiffman, “The Temple Scroll and the Systems of Jewish Law of the Second Temple Period,” in *Temple Scroll Studies* (ed. G. J. Brooke; Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 7; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989) 245–50; but see now R. Eisenman and M. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (Shaftesbury: Element, 1992) 182–200.

²⁴ The fact that Paul uses the phrase as self-evident in meaning suggests that it had not been peculiar to the Qumran covenanters.

in Second Temple Judaism. What Paul characterizes by this phrase, in other words, is in effect a sectarian interpretation of the obligations laid by the law on members of the covenant people—the attempt to define, too narrowly in Paul's perspective, what membership of the seed of Abraham necessarily involved.

(c) 2:14. The third and most interesting echo of intra-Jewish polemic in this section comes in the phrase “live like a Gentile”—Paul's actual words to Peter at the confrontation in Antioch: “If you, a Jew, live like a Gentile and not like a Jew . . .” Two features have proved difficult for generations of commentators. The first is the present tense of the verb: Why does Paul speak as though Peter was still “living like a Gentile” when by that time Peter had withdrawn from Gentile company? The second is the force of the phrase: Does Paul imply that Peter had totally abandoned all characteristic and distinctive Jewish practices?

Some have attempted to explain the present tense by taking it literally as a reference to Peter's continuing conduct at the time Paul spoke to him, after he had abandoned mixed table fellowship. In particular, T. Zahn, R. Kieffer, and G. Howard have suggested that even after withdrawing from table fellowship Peter had continued to “live like a Gentile” in other matters.²⁵ But since the Jewish way of life was a total package in the eyes of conservative Christian Jews, such a compromise would have been most unlikely to satisfy the group from James. The characteristic Jewish perspective at this point is given by the quotation from Deut 27:26 in Gal 3:10 and was almost certainly shared by the Christian Jews from Jerusalem, if Matt 5:18–19 and Jas 2:10 are any guide.

The second puzzling feature, that Peter “was living like a Gentile,” has been seen as a decisive rebuttal of any suggestion that prior to the coming of the James people, the table fellowship at Antioch had in fact shown respect for the principal Jewish scruples against, say, eating blood and pork. Against my own earlier thesis at this point the question can be fairly asked: How could even a modest degree of Torah observance of the food laws be described as “living like a Gentile”?²⁶ As D. R. Catchpole had put it earlier: “It would be quite impossible to describe existence under the (apostolic) Decree as living like a Gentile.”²⁷

The solution to both difficulties probably lies along the lines of the present thesis: that the language is the language of factional polemic, and that in

²⁵ Zahn, *Galater*, 118; R. Kieffer, *Foi et Justification à Antioche: Interprétation d'un conflit* (Ga 2.14–21) (Paris: Cerf, 1982) 33; G. Howard, *Paul: Crisis in Galatia. A Study in Early Christian Theology* (SNTSMS 35; 2d ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) xxi–xxii.

²⁶ T. Holtz, “Der antiochenische Zwischenfall (Galater 2:11–14),” *NTS* 32 (1986) 351–52.

²⁷ D. R. Catchpole, “Paul, James and the Apostolic Decree,” *NTS* 23 (1976–77) 441. P. C. Böttger gives up the attempt to understand the phrase in its context at this point (in relation to table fellowship) and attempts to find a solution most implausibly by reference to 1 Thess 4:5 (“Paulus und Petrus in Antiochien: Zum Verständnis von Galater 2.11–21,” *NTS* 37 [1991] 80–81).

using it Paul was again echoing what the group from James had said to Peter. The fact is that accusations by one group of Jews against other Jews, that the actions of the latter group were like those of the Gentiles, were not uncommon within intra-Jewish factional dispute. So the author(s) of *Jubilees* condemn(s) both the sons of Israel who failed to circumcise their sons as “making themselves like the Gentiles,” and also those Jews who used a different calendar to calculate the feast days for “forgetting the feasts of the covenant and walking in the feasts of the gentiles, after their errors and after their ignorance” (15:33–34; 6:15). And the *Psalms of Solomon* condemn in even stronger terms their opponents (probably Sadducees): “Their lawless actions surpassed the gentiles before them”; “there was no sin they left undone in which they did not surpass the gentiles” (1:8; 8:13).²⁸

None of this should occasion any surprise. As experience of religious sectarian infighting from all periods of history shows, feelings can run so high over particular test issues, that failure to conform to a sect’s interpretation of disputed points can easily result in total and wholesale denunciation of those who hold the “false” interpretation. Indeed it is characteristic of sectarian polemic generally that when a group’s boundaries are threatened, a wholly natural response is to attack those who pose the threat as beyond the pale, as polar opposites, with the aim thereby of reinforcing the group’s own identity and boundaries. So, for example, the tendency of the conservative right at all times (whether political or theological) has been to characterize the whole spectrum of those who disagree with them as far to the left—in current polemics, “communists” and “liberals.”

So here, the key to the most plausible solution to the phrase “live like a Gentile” probably lies in the recognition that this was *not* the language of objective description but, once again, the language of inter-Jewish factional dispute. To the traditionalists among the group from James, Peter’s action in eating with Gentiles was tantamount to his living like a Gentile: in their perspective Peter had abandoned key distinctives which (in their perspective) should continue to mark out the Jew from the Gentile. In other words, when Paul says “If you, a Jew, live like a Gentile and not like a Jew,” he was probably deliberately picking up the actual words used by the James group in their rebuke of Peter, “How can you, Peter, a Jew, live like a Gentile?”

We may most simply conclude by reading Gal 2:11–17 with the polemical features italicized and the echoes of the language of the James group in bold type:

But when Cephas came to Antioch I opposed him to his face, because he stood *condemned*. For before certain individuals came from James, he used to eat with the Gentiles. But when they came, he gradually drew back and *separated himself, fearing* those of the circumcision. And the other Jews also

²⁸ We may compare CD 12:8–11 and 13:14–16, where commerce with “the sons of the Pit” is almost as tightly controlled as commerce with Gentiles.

joined with him in *playing the hypocrite*, so that even Barnabas was carried away with *their hypocrisy*. But when I saw that they were *not walking straight* towards the truth of the gospel, I said to Cephas before everyone "If 'you being a Jew, live like a Gentile and not like a Jew,' how is it that you *compel* the Gentiles to judaize?" We are "Jews by nature" and not "Gentile sinners," knowing that no human being is justified by *works of the law* but only through faith in Jesus Christ, so we have believed in Christ Jesus, in order that we might be justified by faith in Christ and not by *works of the law*, since by *works of the law* shall no flesh be justified. But if in seeking to be justified in Christ we find that we too are "sinners," is then Christ a servant of sin? Surely not.

II. Galatians 4:10

Gal 2:11–17 provides the fullest echoes of intra-Jewish factional polemic. But two other passages are worthy of note in the same connection. The first is 4:10—Paul's rebuke to the Galatians for "observing days and months and special times and years." Here too insufficient weight has been given to two factors: that Paul clearly has particularly Jewish festivals in mind; and that disagreements regarding the proper observance of such festivals was a regular feature of intra-Jewish factional dispute. The claims can be easily documented.

By "days" Paul would no doubt mean particularly the sabbath, but also other special days like the Day of Atonement. The sabbath was another of the Jewish laws that was seen to mark out Israel as distinctive and to function as a boundary between Jew and Gentile (e.g., Exod 31:16–17; Deut 5:15; Isa 56:6). Indeed, it was probably one of the main "works of the law" which Paul presumably had had in mind earlier (2:16). Already before the Maccabean crisis, at least from Josephus's first-century CE perspective, "violating the sabbath" ranked with "eating unclean food" as the two chief marks of covenant disloyalty (Josephus, *Ant.* 11.8.7 §346). And the increasingly elaborate halakah attested in *Jubilees* (2:17–33; 50:6–13), in the *Damascus Document* (CD 10:14–11:18) and in the Gospels (Mark 2:23–3:5 par.), indicates the importance of the sabbath as a test of covenant righteousness within the factionalism of late Second Temple Judaism.²⁹

"Months" almost certainly refers to the new moon festival which was part of the Jewish cult (Num 10:10; 28:11; 2 Kgs 4:23; Ps 81:3; Ezek 46:3, 6–7),³⁰ as the parallel with Col 2:16 certainly confirms. Since the moon was one of the "elemental forces" (understood to include the planets, 4:3), a parallel between pagan religious practice³¹ at this point and nomistic covenantalism could readily be drawn.³² The "special times" were probably the "appointed

²⁹ See further, e.g., my *Romans*, 805–6.

³⁰ See G. Delling, *μήν*, *TDNT* 4, 639–41.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 638–39.

³² See also Bruce, *Galatians*, 204.

feasts" (regularly linked with "sabbaths and new moons" in 1 Chr 23:31; 2 Chr 2:4; 31:3; Neh 10:33; Isa 1:13–14; Hos 2:11), that is, the three pilgrim festivals in particular, presumably called "(special) times" or "festal seasons," from the regular usage in the Pentateuch (Exod 13:10; 23:14, 17; 34:23–24; Lev 23:4; Num 9:3). Since the degree to which diaspora Judaism observed such feasts is still disputed (almost no one could have made the three annual pilgrimages to Jerusalem), this text provides a valuable indication that some sort of observance was maintained in the diaspora (cf. Col 2:16). More puzzling is the reference of the final item on the list—"years." The sabbatical year of Lev 25:1–7 is unlikely: it would hardly seem to be relevant outside Palestine; though it could possibly have had relevance as part of sectarian dispute (cf. 1QS 10:6–8). But the analogy of "months" for new moon festivals suggests that annual festivals were in mind, presumably (on the analogy of "month" denoting "first of the month") the disputed new year festival (cf. 1QS 10:6).³³

Here again it must be noted that, as with the sabbath, the issue of the right observance of these feasts was a matter of sectarian dispute within the Judaism of the period. This was principally because the calendar by which the dates of these feasts were reckoned (solar or lunar) was not agreed on by all parties. Hence the polemical denunciation already noted above: to observe a feast on the wrong date was *not* to observe the feast, but to "forget the feasts of the covenant and walk in the feasts of the gentiles, after their errors and after their ignorance" (*Jub.* 6:32–35), to commit "sin like the sinners" (*1 Enoch* 82:4–7; see also 1QS 1:14–15; CD 3:14–15). That such disagreement lies behind the present passage is suggested by such parallels as *Jub.* 2:9 ("The Lord set the sun [solar calendar] as a great sign upon the earth for days, sabbaths, months, feast (days), years . . . and for all the (appointed) times of the years") and *1 Enoch* 82:7, 9 ("True is the matter of the exact computation of that which has been recorded . . . concerning the luminaries, the months, the festivals, the years and the days. . . . These are the orders of the stars which set in their places seasons, festivals and months").³⁴ In view of the *1 Enoch* passage, it is probably also significant that the verb used ("observe") would usually have the force of "watch closely, observe carefully, scrupulously observe,"³⁵ so that Paul may very well have chosen it in order to evoke the careful calculations of feast dates ("calendar piety")³⁶ which such disputes entailed.³⁷ Of particular relevance for us here is the evident integration of "Torah piety" and "calendar piety"

³³ See further, e.g., Burton, *Galatians*, 234; Rohde, *Galater*, 181–82; J. Morgenstern, "New Year," *IDB* 3. 544–46; Schürer, *History*, 3.2 (1987) index "New Year."

³⁴ See further H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Galater* (KEK; 4th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1965) 204–5; Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, 298–301.

³⁵ J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (1865; 10th ed. 1890; London: Macmillan) 172; BAGD s.v. παρατηρέω; Schlier, *Galater*, 203 n. 3.

³⁶ Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, 301.

³⁷ Josephus, however, also uses it for observance of sabbath and festival days (*Ant.* 3.5.5 §91; 11.6.13 §294; 14.10.25 §264).

achieved within such Jewish groups, and the importance of the heavenly bodies in determining the right dates for such Torah observances (Josephus could even claim that the Essenes prayed to the sun [J.W. 2.8.5 §128]). Against such a background Paul's association of the Torah with "the elemental forces of the world" becomes an inviting and plausible rejoinder on his part: "under the law" = too dependent on the movements of the heavenly bodies.

Here too, then, as in 2:14–15, we probably have to allow for an element of Jewish factionalism to have been in play in the Galatian crisis.³⁸ In particular, the proper observance in the diaspora of a festival whose correct timing depended on the actual sighting of the new moon³⁹ was likely to add a further twist to the disputes reflected in *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* (above), even though tradition has it that the responsibility for fixing such dates during the final decades of the Second Temple rested with the Sanhedrin (*m. Roš Haš.* 2:5–3:1). In other words, Paul was not necessarily confronting a uniform Jewish position on such matters. His was a further alternative (observance not necessary) *within* the spectrum of Jewish opinion, as Paul would have insisted, itself part of the factionalism that marred the latter decades of Second Temple Judaism.

If these insights to the climax of Paul's line of argument in 3:19–4:11 are sound, then they also help explain Paul's line of argument through the section. As already indicated, Paul was arguing in effect that for the Gentile Christians in Galatia to put themselves "under the law" was tantamount to putting themselves back in their old (Gentile) position of slavery under the elemental forces (4:9). In other words, Paul was doing what other Jewish factions of the time did: he was accusing those who disagreed with his understanding of God's purpose and God's law of "living like Gentiles," that is, in this case, of reverting to their old Gentile status (see above on 2:14).

This in turn enables us to see more clearly the force of Paul's earlier argument in 3:19ff. For there he was arguing in effect that the law functioned in relation to Israel in the role of a heavenly power: Israel was "under the law," "under a slave custodian," "under (slave) stewards."⁴⁰ In Paul's perspective that was essentially a positive role (3:19, 23, 24; 4:1–2).⁴¹ His criticism, however, was that Israel had overemphasized that role: clinging to it when they ought to have been maturing to the fuller inheritance of heirs (4:1–7) and in effect treating the law as a kind of guardian angel which defended and kept Israel separate from the other nations. Here too, it would appear, Paul was taking up a traditional Jewish theologoumenon and turning it to his own account

³⁸ See Schlier, *Galater*, 205–7; H. Riesenfeld, (παρὰ)τηρέω, *TDNT* 8. 148; Mussner, *Galater-brief*, 301–2; the possibility is dismissed too quickly by Bruce (*Galatians*, 205).

³⁹ T. C. G. Thornton, "Jewish New Moon Festivals, Galatians 4:3–11 and Colossians 2:16," *JTS* 40 (1989) 97–100.

⁴⁰ D. B. Martin notes that in the Roman Empire as a whole at this time the οἰκονόμοι were usually of servile origin (*Slavery as Salvation: The Metaphor of Slavery in Pauline Christianity* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990] 15–17).

⁴¹ See further my *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, 262 nn. 41, 42.

in polemical fashion. Israel was accustomed to the thought that Yahweh had appointed angels over the *other* nations but had kept Israel for himself (Deut 32:8–9; Sir 14:17; *Jub.* 15:31–32; *1 Enoch* 20:5; *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Gen 11:7–8). Paul's argument is to the effect that Israel's overevaluation of the law had interposed the law between God and Israel and, far from distinguishing Israel from the other nations, had simply made Israel like the other nations, as being under a heavenly power which limited and prevented its entering into the full maturity of its sonship to both Abraham and God.⁴²

However much individual points in the above may be open to debate, the basic point seems to be sound enough: that the polemical character of the argument of 3:19–4:11, particularly in its climax in 4:10, reflects typical elements of the intra-Jewish factional disputes of the period and is itself of a piece with such dispute.

III. Galatians 4:17

The other passage on which light can be shed by recognizing the echoes of factional polemic is 4:17: "They [the other missionaries opposed to Paul] are zealous over you for no good purpose, but wish to shut you out, in order that you might be zealous over them." The puzzle comes with the twice-repeated verb—ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς . . . ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε. Bauer offers the meanings "strive, desire, exert oneself earnestly," and with a personal object, "be deeply concerned about, court someone's favour," or negatively, "be filled with jealousy or envy towards someone," and modern translations follow this lead.⁴³ But the negative tone which the verb conveys in reference to the Torah loyalists in Galatia, together with the use of the corresponding noun ("zealot") in 1:14 to indicate the characteristic attitude of the Torah loyalist, which Paul himself had once embraced, suggests the strong possibility that Paul had in mind the same attitude here. We may also note the parallel of Rom 10:2, with a similar qualification:

Gal 4:17: "They are zealous over you for no good purpose. . . ."

Rom 10:2: "They have a zeal for God but not in accordance with knowledge."

It may even be that the language had been used by the other missionaries themselves: in Acts 21:20 "zealot" is used by James in effect in self-definition, just as Paul had used it in self-definition in Gal 1:14.

In other words, Paul may well have had in view the kind of zeal that characterized the unique relation Israel claimed to exist between Yahweh and his people—Israel's zeal for Yahweh corresponding to Yahweh's own zeal

⁴² For fuller treatment of this much-disputed section I must refer to my forthcoming commentary on Galatians (Black NT Commentary; London: Black, 1993).

⁴³ BAGD s.v., ζηλόω. I refer particularly to RSV/NRSV, NEB/REB, NJB, NIV.

(jealousy) in regard to Israel (Exod 20:5; 34:14; Deut 4:24; 5:9; 6:15)—in each case denoting a burning desire to preserve the uniqueness of that relationship. In Jewish tradition such zeal for God was best exemplified by Simeon and Levi (Genesis 34; Jdt 9:2–4; *Jub.* 30:5–20), by Phinehas (Num 25:6–13; Sir 45:23–24; 1 Macc 2:54; 4 Macc. 18:12), by Elijah (1 Kgs 19:10, 14, 40; Sir 48:2; 1 Macc 2:58), and by Mattathias, the father of the Maccabean rebellion (1 Macc 2:19–27; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.6.2 §§270–71). The Maccabean rebels prized highly this “zeal for the law” and themselves epitomized it (1 Macc 2:26, 27, 50, 58; 2 Macc 4:2), as had Paul in his persecution of “the church of God” (Gal 1:13–14; Phil 3:6). The common denominator in each case was unyielding refusal to allow Israel’s distinctiveness as Yahweh’s alone to be compromised, whether by intermarriage, which breached Israel’s ethnic identity, or by syncretistic influences, which diluted Israel’s dedication to Yahweh alone and the purity of the cult. It was evidently such fear of the compromises involved in the spread of the Nazarene teaching to Gentiles that had provoked Paul’s zealot-inspired attempt to stamp out the Hellenist wing of the new sect.

The suggestion is close to hand, then, that Paul saw the other missionaries in Galatia as motivated by the same zealotlike concerns to maintain and defend Jewish covenant prerogatives.⁴⁴ The claim made for and by Galatian Gentiles to full participation in the covenant of Israel, without regard for the distinctive “works of the law,” would be precisely the challenge likely to arouse a Phinehas-like zeal—a challenge met, in the case of the other missionaries, by the attempt to eliminate such a breach of covenant boundaries by fully incorporating the Gentile converts in question.⁴⁵ The fact that an intransitive verb is being used transitively (“to be zealous in relation to”) would cause Paul’s readers no problem.⁴⁶

The case, however, does not depend on the occurrence of the motif of “zeal” alone, and indeed would not be very strong if that was all there was to it, since other possible meanings of the verb make more immediate sense. But the case becomes immeasurably stronger as soon as the other clause of the verse is brought into consideration—“they wish to shut you out.” At first the objective seems surprising: Was the aim of the other missionaries not precisely the reverse—to draw the Galatians more fully *into* the people of Israel through circumcision? The key, however, is the stated objective: “to shut out.” Most ignore this meaning or find it too difficult and opt instead for the sense “exclude you (from Paul and other Gentile Christians),”⁴⁷ or “that you should

⁴⁴ The possibility is again dismissed too quickly by Bruce (*Galatians*, 211).

⁴⁵ As A. Oepke notes, the description rules out the hypothesis that the leaders of the opposition to Paul were Gentiles (*Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater* [THKNT 9; 2d ed.; Berlin: Evangelische Verlag, 1957] 107).

⁴⁶ See BDF §148.

⁴⁷ So NJB, NIV, and, e.g., H. Lietzmann, *An die Galater* (HNT 10; 3d ed. 1932; 4th ed. Tübingen: Mohr, 1971) 29; Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, 311; R. Y. K. Fung, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988) 200; Rohde, *Galater*, 188; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 194.

exclude Paul.”⁴⁸ But that involves a less natural use of the metaphor or a more forced sense for the Greek.⁴⁹ For the metaphor is clearly that of being shut out or excluded, as from a city or an alliance,⁵⁰ and is in fact complementary to that used in 3:23: the law that “watched over, guarded (the city)” was the law that shut out the aliens.

The metaphor is thus very well suited to describe the typical attitude of the Jewish zealot—that is, the burning desire to defend Israel’s distinctiveness by drawing the boundary line sharply and clearly between the people of the covenant so as to exclude those not belonging to Israel; or, in particular, of the Jewish Christian zealot—to exclude all Gentiles other than proselytes from Christ, the Jewish Messiah, and from the eschatological community of his people.⁵¹ It was in fact another way of describing the consequence of the action of Peter and the others at Antioch: by withdrawing from table fellowship they effectively excluded the Christian Gentiles from the one covenant community (2:11–14). In the Galatian churches, then, the tactic of the other missionaries had clearly been to draw again these firm boundaries as laid down by the Torah and to point out the (to them) inevitable corollary: that the Gentile converts were still outside them.

Their hope, however, was not so negative, as in the classic models of such “zeal”; they were missionaries! Their intention was to raise the barriers between Jew and Gentile “in order that you might be zealous over them.” That is to say, by demonstrating what membership of the covenant people actually involved (“the works of the law”), they hoped to incite a godly desire for that membership in those whose God-fearing had already shown the seriousness of their wish to be numbered among Abraham’s heirs. They hoped to convert the Galatians not simply to Judaism but to Judaism as they understood it. By showing “zeal for the covenant” themselves, they hoped to spark off an equivalent zeal among the Galatians.⁵² Or, more precisely, by showing such zeal with regard to the Galatians, their hope was that the Galatians would come to show a similar zeal with regard to them—so that, apart from anything else, each could share fully in the other’s table fellowship without compromising the other and in a mutually sustaining way. This reading gives more weight to Paul’s language and recognizes greater point in his charges than most of the current alternatives.

⁴⁸ See Betz, *Galatians*, 230–31.

⁴⁹ As Burton notes (*Galatians*, 246).

⁵⁰ LSJ s.v. ἐκκλείω 2; so RSV/NRSV and NEB.

⁵¹ See Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 177; M.-J. Lagrange, *Épître aux Galates* (EBib; 3d ed.; Paris: Gabalda, 1926) 116; P. Bonnard, *L’Épître de saint Paul aux Galates* (CNT 9; Neuchâtel: Delachaux, 1953) 94; Schlier, *Galater*, 212–13; J. L. Martyn, “A Law-Observant Mission to Gentiles: The Background of Galatians,” *SJT* 38 (1985) 316. J. Bligh suggests an allusion to the imagery of the bridal feast as in Matt 25:10–12 (*Galatians* [London: St Paul, 1969] 388 n. 27).

⁵² Since converts to a religion or movement often put themselves among its most committed and even extreme members, the strategy and hope of the other missionaries were quite realistic.

In short, Paul's use of the language of "zeal" here, and his description of the other missionaries' zeal as aimed at "excluding" the Galatian believers strongly suggests the strange but powerful mixture of dedication and distrust which is so often a feature of out-and-out loyalists for their cause, and which was evidently a feature of at least some of the factions within Second Temple Judaism. The debate itself, between two groups of Christian Jews (Paul and the other missionaries), was itself part of the intra-Jewish factional arguments on what Israel's unique relation with God meant for relations with non-Jews in particular.

IV. Conclusions

The picture, then, is about as clear as anything can be in exegesis. Particularly in Gal 2:11–17, where Paul harks back to the incident at Antioch, but at other points too, Paul's argument and appeal reflect the concerns and language of intra-Jewish polemic. At each point the basic concern was the same: a Jewish fear lest the purity of Israel's relationship with God be compromised or adulterated—especially by eating with Gentiles and failure to observe the designated feasts. At each point the response (whether by the group from James or the other missionaries in Galatia) was the same: to reinforce the boundaries between Jew and Gentile, whether by withdrawal from table fellowship with "Gentile sinners," or by insistence that Gentile converts to the Jesus movement came fully "under the law," or by provoking would-be participants in the heritage of Abraham to greater "zeal" by reinforcing the barriers of exclusion.

To be noted is the fact that these fierce debates were not Jewish versus Christian arguments. They were between Jews, Christian Jews to be sure, but Jews nonetheless—including the disputes that feature in the letter to the Galatians itself, where the real target of Paul's polemic is the other (Jewish) missionaries. And the issues are not (yet) Jewish versus Christian issues. They are about what it means to be a practicing Jew, what it means to be an heir of Abraham, what differences the coming of Messiah Jesus has made for Israel's self-understanding and for Jewish relations with Gentiles. These "echoes of intra-Jewish polemic" are a clear indication of a series of issues still thoroughly within the spectrum of Second Temple Judaism, of an awareness that what was at stake was in fact the character and continuity of God's choice of and purpose for Israel.

Of course, the whole question requires more extensive analysis than is possible or appropriate here. In particular, the debate with J. L. Martyn needs to be pursued.⁵³ For he sees such a line of exegesis as in effect a surrender

⁵³ See, e.g., his "Events in Galatia," in *Pauline Theology: Volume I, Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon* (ed. J. M. Bassler; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) 160–79. For fuller interaction with Martyn, see my forthcoming *The Theology of Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

to the theology of the other missionaries (whom he calls "the Teachers"), whereas the cross has meant for Paul a quantum shift into a wholly new and different perspective (especially 6:14–15). Martyn does indeed give cause for pause at several points (especially Paul's use of "covenant" theology in Galatians), and it is also true that Paul's argument against maintaining the old boundaries between Jew and Gentile is radically at odds with the attempts of his fellow Christian Jews to maintain them. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the whole dispute is entirely in Jewish terms. Moreover, it is clear from chaps. 3–4 that the desirability and necessity of sharing in sonship to Abraham and in the blessing of Abraham (3:6–14, 29) were common ground for all parties to the Galatian controversy (whoever introduced the specific topic in the first place). And our findings above do indicate a movement still in process of coming to terms with itself regarding its identity as heirs of the promises to Abraham, where the differences between Christian Jews were of a piece with and the extension of polemical disputes elsewhere among the factions of Second Temple Judaism.

It will have been no accident, then, that Paul concludes this, his most sustained polemical letter, with a blessing on "the Israel of God" (6:16), itself a final polemical shot summing up the claim (chaps. 3–4) that the Israel of covenant promise is the Israel defined by that promise as including Gentiles as well as Jews.⁵⁴ The "echoes of intra-Jewish polemic in Paul's letter to the Galatians" thus confirm that the fiercest debates within first-generation Christianity were among (Christian) Jews conscious of the traditional boundaries marking off Jew from Gentile, over the question of whether or to what extent these boundaries should still be maintained.

⁵⁴ See Schlier, *Galater*, 283; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 298–99.

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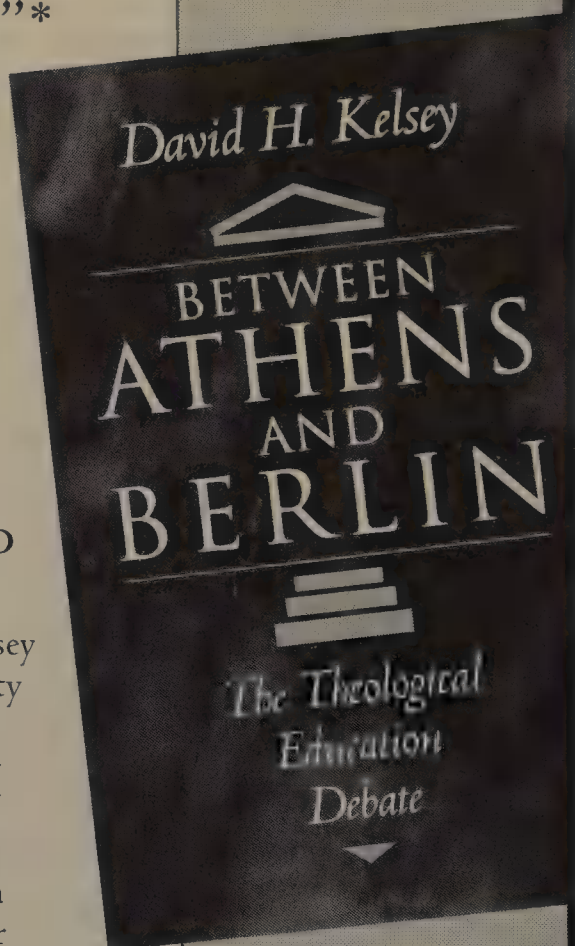
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WORDPLAY AND NARRATIVE TECHNIQUES IN DANIEL 5 AND 6

BILL T. ARNOLD

Ashland Theological Seminary, Ashland, OH 44805-4099

With the rise of narratology, it has become clear that meaning in a text cannot be separated from an analysis of its literary techniques.¹ The use of paronomasia as a rhetorical technique is pervasive in Biblical Hebrew poetry, but it is possible for Israelite authors of narrative to use wordplays, especially as “theme words,” which may be used to connect several units of material.²

The examples discussed here are either metaphonic paronomasia (i.e., the play is created by slight vowel changes in the root) or antanaclastic (i.e., a single word is repeated with a different sense).³ I hope to demonstrate that these wordplays in Daniel 5 and 6 are not only subtle literary devices but that they also bear significant theological content. The narrative techniques of these chapters are not typical of the entire book, though I believe they illustrate the literary artistry of the whole.

I. Daniel 5

Of course, Dan 5:25–28 contains an obvious wordplay in the form of the message that was mysteriously inscribed on the wall, rudely disrupting Belshazzar’s *soirée*. But the esoteric message on the wall is not the only paronym in Daniel 5.⁴ The opening verses of the chapter tell of Belshazzar’s banquet and his command to use the sacred vessels from Jerusalem. In the narrator’s description of the vessels, we are twice told they were “brought forth” (haphel of *nēpaq*, vv. 2 and 3). Then in v. 5, the same verb is employed, this time in

¹ L. Alonso-Schökel, “Hermeneutical Problems of a Literary Study of the Bible,” in *Congress Volume: Edinburgh 1974* (VTSup 28; Leiden: Brill, 1975) 1–15.

² Gary Rendsburg has discussed the possibilities of paronomasia as an important connecting technique (*The Redaction of Genesis* [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1986] 5).

³ For the terminology used here, see J. J. Glück’s widely used article “Paronomasia in Biblical Literature,” *Semitics* 1 (1970) 50–78; and Robert B. Chisholm, “Wordplay in the Eighth-Century Prophets,” *BSac* 144 (1987) 45–48.

⁴ Strictly speaking, “paronym” is unrelated to “paronomasia.” But following the lead of A. Guillaume (“Paronomasia in the Old Testament,” *JSS* 9 [1964] 282–90), I will use it here to denote a word employed for paronomastic purposes. Besides the wordplay discussed here, one should also refer to Al Wolters, “Untying the King’s Knots: Physiology and Wordplay in Daniel 5,” *JBL* 110 (1991) 117–22.

the *peal*.⁵ The subject is now the fingers of a human hand, which wrote a divine message of doom. This is an example of subtle polysemantic wordplay, in which the same word is deliberately used with a calculated, ironic nuance. The play is metaphonic, since it depends on the use of a verbal root in different derived stems (*peal* and *haphel*).

Following the lead of modern sociolinguistic studies, we may call 5:1–4 an “orientation.”⁶ These verses display several interesting narrative techniques. Belshazzar is unceremoniously introduced with the terse statement that he gave a great feast for his leading heads of state (v. 1).⁷ The reference to drinking wine clearly forms an *inclusio* with the opening word of v. 4, marking these verses as a literary unit. The most interesting feature in this orientation is the repetition of the basic content of v. 2 in v. 3. Of course, repetition is a dominant, perhaps the dominant literary technique in biblical narrative poetics.⁸ But as literary critics have long since understood it, repetition is not redundancy. It often serves an intensifying role or signals an important concern of the narrator by making an ever so light variation in wording or phraseology in the repeated material.⁹ This is the case in v. 3, where the narrator repeats his description of the vessels from Jerusalem.

(2) . . . the vessels of gold and silver which Nebuchadnezzar his father had brought forth from the temple which is in Jerusalem . . .

⁵ The *qērê*’ has *npqh*. The recently published manuscript of 4QDan^a contains this verse (Eugene Ulrich, “Daniel Manuscripts from Qumran. Part 1: A Preliminary Edition of 4Q Dan^a,” *BASOR* 268 [1987] 30, frag. 9). But unfortunately, the surface of the leather is lost precisely at the end of this word, and it is impossible to discern whether the *kētīb* or *qērê*’ was used. But see Ginsberg’s argument that the *waw* of the *kētīb* is miswritten for a *yod*, and that the reconstructed form **nēpahî* preserves a feminine plural distinct from the masculine in the perfect (H. Louis Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel* [New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1948] 3–4).

⁶ An “orientation” is a passage “where the time, place, and persons of the narrative are identified” (Adele Berlin, *Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative* [Sheffield: Almond, 1983] 102).

⁷ This is a typical opening for a new story by this author, as we see in Dan 3:1: “Nebuchadnezzar the king made an image of gold. . . .” On these verses as “foregrounded clauses,” see Randall John Buth, “Word Order in Aramaic From the Perspectives of Functional Grammar and Discourse Analysis” (Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles, 1987) 194. It is possible to view Dan 5:1–4 as a “type-scene” for the elaborate, royal banquet in which an intoxicated monarch gives an irrational decree, as seen also in Esth 1:3–11 (see Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* [New York: Basic Books, 1981] 47–62, for definition and other examples of type-scenes).

⁸ Alter, *Narrative*, 88–113; Berlin, *Poetics*, 72–80; and Meir Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987) 365–440.

⁹ “Sometimes the same information is given twice in close proximity. It is not for the benefit of the reader; he would not have forgotten so soon. But it is not redundant, because it signals that an additional point of view is entering the narrative” (Berlin, *Poetics*, 73; but note that she is discussing repeated discourse). The principle is the same and applies directly to Dan 5:2–3. See Sternberg, *Poetics*, 390–93.

(3) . . . the vessels of gold which had been brought forth from the temple *which is the house of God* in Jerusalem.¹⁰

This is an example of what Alter refers to as “phrasal repetition,” in which entire statements are repeated with small but important changes in what usually looks at first glance like verbatim repetition.¹¹ Because of the verbatim repetition here, the subtle changes in v. 3 are full of meaning. The narrator carefully omits any details that might overburden the repetition. Thus v. 3 omits *wēkaspā*’ (“and silver”) in its description of the vessels and avoids repeating the name “Nebuchadnezzar.” But there is one *addition* to v. 3. Three important words are inserted into the narrator’s description of the Temple. Not only is this the Temple in Jerusalem, but the Temple *which is the house of God* (*dî-bêt ’ēlāhā*) in Jerusalem! Certainly the author did not feel there was ambiguity in v. 2. It is inconceivable that his readers could have confused “the Temple in Jerusalem” with some other sacred building. Instead, this is the phrase which gives us the narrator’s point of view and emphasizes his concerns. This ravenous act of Belshazzar was more than drunken recklessness. It was blasphemy against the God of Israel, whose Temple is in Jerusalem.

The emphasis on human rebellion communicated so forcefully through phrasal repetition prepares the reader for the play on the term *nēpaq*. After its double use in vv. 2 and 3, the narrator skillfully turns the tables in v. 5, both literarily and theologically. The syntax of v. 5 serves to heighten the effect. The word order itself is not particularly striking. Indeed, word positions are less rigid in Biblical Aramaic than in Biblical Hebrew.¹² But it is interesting to note that the new sentences in vv. 1 and 2 begin with subject–verb sequence, and v. 6 continues with this order. By contrast, the order is reversed in v. 5, the verb’s position coming before the subject and immediately after the emphatic *bah-ša’atâ*, “at this very moment” (“at once,” or “suddenly”).¹³ In short,

¹⁰ My translation is wooden in order to underscore the literalness of the repetition. The starkness of the reiteration is intensified by the fulfillment pattern of the purpose clause: “. . . that the king, and his chief officers, his wives and concubines might drink from them” (v. 2); “And the king and his chief officers, his wives and concubines drank from them” (v. 3).

¹¹ “Many of the psychological, moral, and dramatic complications of biblical narrative are produced through this technique” (Alter, *Narrative*, 97). See also Michael Fishbane, “Recent Work on Biblical Narrative,” *Prooftexts* 1 (1981) 101.

¹² Franz Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1974) 56, para. 183; Stephen A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* (Assyriological Studies 19; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974) 132–33. See also H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1927) 342–45, and W. Baumgartner, “Das Aramäische im Buche Daniel,” *ZAW* 45 (1927) 128.

¹³ Randall John Buth has recently described Biblical Aramaic as a post-field language based on a verb–subject–object pattern. But the verb is so frequently the second constituent of a clause, he concedes that BA is “a VSO language in which verb-initial or VS clauses are not a majority or plurality” (Buth, “Word Order in Aramaic” 482). In terms of functional grammar, this example in Dan 5:5 is a “foregrounded” construction marking a main event of the story (*ibid.*, 51–58 and esp. 201–2).

the narrator is intentionally using the wordplay in v. 5 to dramatize divine retribution against human sin. And the irony is that he uses the same verb, albeit in different derived stems, to denote both sin and punishment.

Further evidence that the narrator is using *něpaq* as a paronym in v. 5 may be adduced from its semantic range of meaning. Naturally the range is limited in Biblical Aramaic because of the limited size of the corpus. But also the verb *něpaq* only occurs eleven times in BA.¹⁴ Five of those occurrences are in the simple active stem (*peal*) carrying the basic meaning “go, or come out.” Five are in the simple causative (*haphel*) and are used in a phrase similar to Dan 5:2: “. . . the gold and silver vessels which Nebuchadnezzar (or Cyrus [Ezra 5:14]) brought forth from the temple.”¹⁵

The eleventh and last occurrence is the *peal* of Dan 5:5, which is used in a unique way. Whereas all the other occurrences of *něpaq* are clearly “go/come out,” here something like “appear” is intended.¹⁶ The *peal* in Dan 5:5 is atypical! And the occurrences of the *haphel* in vv. 2 and 3 prepare for the distinctive *peal* in v. 5. Thus, the *peal* of 5:5 is a fashioned and calculated paronym which expands the natural connotations of *něpaq*.

The purpose of the wordplay is clear. The two occurrences of the *haphel* (vv. 2 and 3) emphasize the arrogant blasphemy of Nebuchadnezzar. Then the paronym in v. 5 subtly, and without mentioning God directly, introduces the divine reaction to human insolence. This skillful use of *něpaq* uses irony to contrast the arrogance of human rebellion with the omnipotence of God’s response. Nebuchadnezzar may have exercised his royal power in capturing the sacred vessels, but now God exercises his divine prerogative in bringing the blasphemy to an end.

The powerful effect of the divine response in v. 5 is made more riveting by v. 4, which is the orientation’s climax in profanation. While Belshazzar drank from the vessels of Yahweh, he praised the worthless deities of gold, silver, bronze, iron, wood, and stone. The use of *něpaq* in v. 5 demonstrates God’s response both to Belshazzar’s mindless sacrilege and to Nebuchadnezzar’s former arrogance in “bringing forth” the vessels from God’s temple.

II. Daniel 6

This subtle type of paronomasia is not limited to Daniel 5. I believe this same literary technique is used to emphasize important theological themes

¹⁴ This verb is common in extrabiblical Aramaic and occurs frequently both in *peal* (“to go out”) and *haphel* (“to bring forth”). Many thanks to the staff of the *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon* for access to their preliminary outline lexicon.

¹⁵ The five *peal* occurrences are Dan 2:13; 2:14; 3:26 (twice) and 7:10. Dan 3:26 best illustrates this basic meaning of *něpaq*, in which Nebuchadnezzar commands the three Hebrew children to “come forth (out of the fiery furnace) and come here.” The *haphel* occurrences are Ezra 5:14 (twice); 6:5; Dan 5:2 and 5:3. All refer to bringing forth vessels of worship from a temple.

¹⁶ So JB, NASB (“emerged”), NEB, NIV, RSV, and Louis F. Hartman (L. F. Hartman and A. A. Di Lella, *Daniel* [AB 23; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978] 181). But *contra* KJV.

in chap. 6. In the first four verses of the chapter, we find an “orientation” similar to 5:1–4 above. The narrative explains that Darius has chosen Daniel as one of the three overseers of the 120 satraps of the Persian empire.

In characterizing Daniel’s enemies, the narrator uses the most striking literary device in this chapter: the use of *bē‘ā* (“ask, seek”) and *šēkah* (“find”) as *Leitwörter*.¹⁷ After the orientation in the first four verses, the author makes an important opening statement using a high concentration of these verbs.

(5) Then the chief ministers and satraps were *seeking* to *find* an accusation against Daniel regarding the kingdom, but they were unable to *find* any accusation or fault because he was trustworthy, and no negligence or fault was *found* in him.

(6) Then these men said, “We will not *find* any accusation against this Daniel unless we *find* (something) against him in relation to the law of his God.”

Whereas chap. 5 provided an example of “phrasal repetition” in which whole statements were repeated, here we have this focusing device in which leading words are repeated.¹⁸ As the chapter unfolds, the narrator continues to use these verbs repeatedly to contrast Daniel’s character with that of his enemies.

Daniel’s enemies recommend a royal decree that no one “make a petition” to any god or man except to the king for thirty days (v. 8). Darius, not suspecting collusion, grants their request. The expression “make a petition” is a cognate accusative from the root *bē‘ā* (“seek, ask”), which was used first in v. 5 when these men were “seeking” to find an accusation against Daniel.

The narrator’s use of *bē‘ā* in this chapter stretches its natural semantic range, as becomes clear when one considers its other uses and the other Aramaic words available for “pray” or “make petition.” The primary meaning of *bē‘ā* is “to search for,” as is borne out by Dan 2:13, where royal executioners search for the wise men to kill them. A secondary meaning is to request compassion and grace from a deity or king, and this is the meaning in Dan 2:18 and 6:8, 12, and 14. The first of these two meanings is present in the Akkadian cognate *bu’û*, which is commonly “look for, search for.” In this regard, the Akkadian term can even be used in a similar fashion as *bē‘ā* in Dan 6:5, that is, “to seek” (with words referring to evil intentions).¹⁹ But it does not appear to mean “pray” anywhere in the Akkadian literature.

¹⁷ This is a convention of biblical prose in which leading words are repeated as a structuring and focusing device. “Through abundant repetition, the semantic range of the word-root is explored, different forms of the root are deployed, branching off at times into phonetic relatives (that is, wordplay), synonymity, and antonymity” (Alter, *Narrative*, 95). See also S. Bar-Efrat’s “verbal level” of structural analysis (“Some Observations on the Analysis of Structure in Biblical Narrative,” VT 30 [1980] 157–58).

¹⁸ Alter listed such devices in a scale running from the smallest to the largest: *Leitwort*, motif, theme, sequence of actions, and type-scene (*Narrative*, 95–96).

¹⁹ RN *ana muḥḥi* RN₂ *aḥišu šaburta mimma la u-ba-’a*, “RN must not seek any malicious plots against RN₂.” CAD B 364.

The narrator's deliberate use of *bē'ā'* becomes obvious when one considers the other Aramaic words available for "pray" or "make supplication," which may have been used in chap. 6. The verb *mithannan* ("make supplication") was available and was in fact used in v. 12 (see below). But the author could have chosen it in place of *bē'ā'* in vv. 8, 13, and 14 just as naturally, if not with more clarity. And the more direct word for "pray" (*šēlā'*) was used only to describe Daniel's defiant prayer in v. 11.

In other words, we are suggesting the narrator has used the primary meaning of *bē'ā'* in v. 5 in a deliberate and calculated fashion in order to create a paronym in vv. 8 and 12–14, where the word is used in its secondary meaning of "make petition." The point of the wordplay becomes clear when Daniel ignores the royal decree. After he learned that the decree had been issued, he went home to his upper chamber, where the opened windows faced Jerusalem, and as was his custom, he prayed three times, giving thanks to his God. After his enemies found Daniel *praying* ("seeking" his God, v. 12), they reminded the king of his royal decree regarding anyone who *makes a petition* ("seeks," v. 13) to any god or man for thirty days. In v. 14, they proudly announce that Daniel *makes his petition* three times a day. Daniel's enemies find what they are *seeking* when he defies the royal decree and *makes petition* to his God. Since the semantic range for *bē'ā'* is quite broad, and in order to avoid confusion while still using the pun, the narrator used the conjunction to tie *mithannan* ("make supplication") to *bē'ā'* in v. 12. It specifies more precisely the connotation intended by *bē'ā'* when applied to Daniel and further brings into focus the contrast between Daniel and his enemies. The verb *bē'ā'* and its cognate accusative are repeated in v. 14 for emphasis, which heightens the pun.²⁰

Unlike the metaphonic wordplay of chap. 5, in which a verbal root is repeated in a different derived stem, here the same word is repeated with a slightly different nuance (antanaclasis).²¹ In v. 5, *bē'ā'* is clearly "seek" with intent to injure, while it means "pray" elsewhere in the chapter. It is not unusual in biblical narrative for puns to characterize *Leitwörter* in this way.²²

The other *Leitwort* used here is *šēkaḥ*, "find," which is used in vv. 5, 6, 12, 23, and 24. In v. 5, Daniel's enemies seek to *find* a fault in him, and in v. 12 they *find* him seeking God. So these two verbs (*bē'ā'* and *šēkaḥ*) are used in vv. 5 and 12 in a sort of chiastic irony: Daniel's enemies are *seeking* to *find* a fault in him (v. 5), but instead they *find* him *seeking* God (v. 12). The recurrences here throw into bold contrast the differences between Daniel's character and conduct and that of his enemies.

²⁰ Its recurrence in v. 14 is redundant because v. 13 repeats almost *verbatim* the phrase of v. 8 without the accusative. The cognate accusatives may be used in vv. 8 and 14 to emphasize further the play on the "seeking" of Daniel as opposed to that of his enemies.

²¹ See n. 3 above.

²² Alter, *Narrative*, 95, 163.

The use of characterizing wordplay to contrast Daniel and his enemies reaches a climax in the chapter's denouement. In Daniel's closing speech to Darius, he remarks that the lions did not harm him because he was *found* (*hištēkahat*) innocent before God and the king (v. 23). So while the enemies of Daniel tried to find fault, God found innocence in Daniel. The narrator goes on to state that when Daniel was lifted out of the den, no harm was *found* (*hištēkah*) on him, because he had trusted in his God (v. 24).

As was true of wordplay in Daniel 5, this technique has interesting theological significance here. In Daniel 6, *bē'ā'* and *šēkah* denote the insidious hatred of Daniel's enemies in their attempt to gain favor politically. Both parties, Daniel and his enemies, are seeking something. His enemies are seeking security by finding fault in Daniel, but Daniel is seeking God, where he will find security as a by-product. This becomes a central motif in the chapter, when, later on, these same terms ironically reveal Daniel's determination and faithfulness to pray only to his God.

The irony here is that his enemies think they have found Daniel's weakness, but the narrator knows they have actually found his greatest strength. Indeed, it is his devotion to God that delivers him from the lions. As in chap. 5, wordplays are used to contrast human rebellion with the actions of God precipitated by that rebellion. In chap. 5, God takes the offensive position by sending a message to Belshazzar, but in chap. 6 he assumes a defensive position by protecting Daniel from the lions. In both cases, the aggressive evil of rebellious individuals is thwarted by God's intervention.

CHRISTIANITY AND MODERN POLITICS

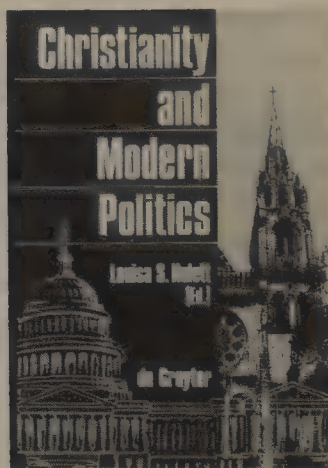
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A NEW FRAGMENT OF 4QDEUT^h
ESTHER ESHEL AND MICHAEL E. STONE
Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel

This fragment is a copy of Deuteronomy. The preserved text reads as follows:



[ח'] [ת']	1
אשר היו לפנ	2
השמים ועד	3
כמהו השמע	4
אתה [ויחי און	5
מ [• ובפת	6

This fragment is on plate PAM 43.357, the rest of which is published elsewhere.¹ Its dimensions are 1.7 cm. wide by 3.6 cm. high. Part of the right-hand margin of the column was preserved, to a width of 0.5 cm. The script of this fragment may be dated to the late Hasmonean or early Herodian period. The fragment preserves part of Deut 4:31-34, and it may be reconstructed as follows:

[ישכ]ח [א]ת [ברית אבתיך אשר נשבע להם ³² כי שאל נא לימים ראשנים]	1
אשר היו לפנ [ניך למן היום אשר ברא אלהים אדם על הארץ ולמקצה]	2
השמים ועד [קצה השמים הנהיה כדבר הגדול הזה או הנשמע]	3
כמהו ³³ השמע [עם קול אלהים מדבר מתוך האש כאשר שמעת]	4
אתה [ויחי ³⁴ און] הנסה אלהים לבוא לקחת לו גוי מקרב גוי במסת]	5
[באת]ת ובמפתים ובמלחמה וביר חזקה ובזרוע נטויה . . .]	6

The width of the reconstructed column varies between 45 and 55 letter spaces. In the few words that have survived, the text of the scroll is identical

¹ See Michael E. Stone and Esther Eshel, "An Exposition on the Patriarchs (4Q464) and Two Other Documents (4Q464^a and 4Q464^b)," *Le Muséon* 105 (1992) 243-64. The authors express their thanks to John Strugnell, who entrusted them with the publication of this text.

with the MT in content. The letter נ of the word וּבְמִפְתִּיחַ in line 6 was omitted by the scribe at the time of copying, and it has been added (apparently *prima manu*) above the line. A defective spelling exists in the MT of Deut 6:22, but here the MT transmits a *plene* form.

Among the fragments from Cave 4 at Qumran, seventeen copies of Deuteronomy have been identified. Fragments 2 and 3 of one of them, 4QDeut^c, contain parts of Deut 4:13–17, and 31–32. The sixty-four surviving fragments of the manuscript were published by S. A. White.² In frag. 3, col. 2, the following is found:

אשר נשבע
אשר [כרא]

The words אשר נשבע occur in the fragment of 4QDeut^c at the start of a line, whereas in the present fragment they occur (in the reconstructed text, but certainly) in the middle of a line. This precludes the possibility that the present fragment was drawn from 4QDeut^c.

In fact, the fragment appears to belong to another copy of Deuteronomy, 4QDeut^h. This scroll was studied by J. A. Duncan, and she dated it, on paleographic grounds to “a period transitional between the later Hasmonaeen and the early Herodian period (ca. 50–1 B.C.E.).”³ The surviving fragments of this scroll contain text from Deuteronomy 1–2, a small piece of Deuteronomy 19, and a few fragments from Deut 31:6–33. It thus appears likely that it contained the whole book, and certainly chap. 4. The height of the letters in this scroll is 0.2 cm., and the average interlinear space is 0.5 cm. As Duncan observes, “the orthography of 4QDeut^h is more defective than that of S[amaritan] and M[asoretic].”⁴ Indeed, exactly one such instance is to be observed in the word וּבְמִפְתִּיחַ, discussed above. In 4QDeut^h, frag. 1 line 1 and frag. 5 line 7, interlinear corrections occur, extending to the addition of a word or two. It is Duncan’s view that these corrections are *prima manu*, which accords with our view of the correction in line 6 of the fragment being published here.

Duncan compared the text of 4QDeut^h with the other textual witnesses to Deuteronomy. Her conclusion is that the manuscript contains a substantial number of “superior readings,” including a relatively large number of agreements with the LXX. On the basis of this assessment, and in view of the archaic

² The script was characterized by F. M. Cross as “typical Hasmonaeen book hand” and dated to the last quarter of the second century BCE. See S. A. White, “A Critical Edition of Seven Manuscripts of Deuteronomy: 4QDeut^a, 4QDeut^c, 4QDeut^d, 4QDeut^f, 4QDeut^g, 4QDeutⁱ, and 4QDeutⁿ” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1988) 27–30.

³ J. A. Duncan, “A Critical Edition of Deuteronomy Manuscripts from Qumran, Cave IV: 4QDt^b, 4QDt^e, 4QDt^h, 4QDtⁱ, 4QDt^k, and 4QDt^l” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1989) 58.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 61.

orthography of the scroll, Duncan concludes that "4QDeut^h is an important witness to a text type like that of the LXX, at a relatively early stage."⁵

The text surviving in the new fragments is identical to the MT version of the words. This phenomenon is to be regarded with some caution, however, in view of the fact that these words are, in any case, substantially the same in the MT, the LXX, and the Samaritan Pentateuch.⁶ Indeed, the only substantial difference between these three major witnesses is in Deut 4:33:

MT	השמע עם קול אלהים	מדבר מתוך האש
Samaritan	השמע עם קול אלהים חיים	מדבר מתוך האש
LXX	εἰ ἀκήκοεν ἔθνος φωνήν θεοῦ ζῶντος λαλοῦντος	ἐκ μέσου τοῦ πυρός.

This part of v. 33, unfortunately, did not survive among the words preserved. However, if line 4 is reconstructed exactly according to the MT, it is rather short, being 46 letter spaces long, compared with 55–56 letter spaces in lines 1–2. It is possible, therefore, in view of this and in view of the general tendency of 4QDeut^h to read with the LXX and the Samaritan versions,⁷ that we should reconstruct this phrase as אלהים חיים, as in those versions.⁸

In v. 33, the newly identified fragment agrees with the MT in reading ויחי, while the verb is in the second person in OG, some Latin codices, and the Peshitta.

⁵ Ibid., 77.

⁶ There are, of course, very minor differences. The defective spelling of ובמפתנים is one such existing between the MT and our manuscript. The MT has הנהיה, whereas the Samaritan shows a different word division, הן היה (4:32).

⁷ It also reads here with *Targum Neofiti* and with some Masoretic Hebrew manuscripts cited by Kennicott.

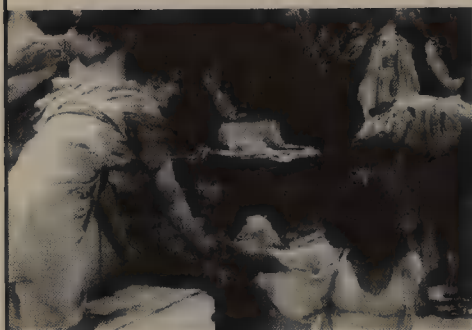
⁸ This appears *prima facie* to be a harmonizing addition of the LXX and Samaritan versions in view of Deut 5:23. However, A. Rofé, in his discussion of the pericope Deut 4:32–40 concluded that the words קול אלהים חיים, witnessed by the LXX and Samaritan version, are original and preferable here to the MT. See A. Rofé, "The Monotheistic Argumentation in Deut 4:32–40 – Contents, Composition and Text," *Introduction to Deuteronomy* (Jerusalem: Akademon, 1988) 250–258 (Hebrew).

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O X F O R D U N I V E R S I T Y P R E S S

CRITICAL NOTE

QUMRAN CAVE 4 TEXTS: A NEW PUBLICATION

This critical note describes and evaluates *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* by Robert H. Eisenman and Michael Wise.¹ Eisenman is professor of Middle East religions and chair of the religious studies department at California State University in Long Beach. Wise is assistant professor of Aramaic in the department of Near Eastern languages and civilization at the University of Chicago. After a general introduction, they present introductions, transcriptions, and translations for fifty documents from Qumran Cave 4.

The sixteen-page introduction explains the genesis of the project against the background of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the delay in publishing them. The authors complain that only certain scholars have been given access to the texts: "instead of a John Allegro, a John Strugnell was given access; instead of a Robert Eisenman, a Frank Moore Cross; instead of a Michael Wise, an Émile Puech" (p. 5). They also suggest that the restriction of access has led to the development of an "official" interpretation of the scrolls as belonging to the library of an Essene group. They contend, on the contrary, that the Qumran scrolls represent "the literature of the Messianic Movement in Palestine" (p. 11)—a movement that at least Eisenman maintains included early Palestinian or "Jamesian" Christianity, which is described as "zealot, nationalistic, engagé, xenophobic, and apocalyptic" (p. 10). They reject as imprecise and unreliable the standard dating techniques of paleography and coin analysis. They propose to rely only on "literary criticism, textual analysis, and a sure historical grasp" (p. 13).

The main part of the volume presents introductions, transcriptions, and translations for fifty texts from Qumran Cave 4—thirty-three in Hebrew and seventeen in Aramaic. They present the texts according to the following categories: messianic and visionary recitals (4Q521, 285, 471, 534-536, 529, 554, 458); prophets and pseudo-prophets (4Q390, 385, 385-389, 243-245, 246, 547); biblical interpretation (4Q252, 522, 559, 544, 532, 227, 196, 550); calendrical texts and priestly courses (4Q321, 320, 323-324A-B, 325, 319A); testaments and admonitions (4Q213-214, 541, 542, 543 and 545-548, 215, 298, 424, 525); works reckoned as righteousness-legal texts (4Q394-398, 397-399, 251, 274, 276-277, 266); hymns and mysteries (4Q286-287, 414, 434 and 436, 416 and 418); and divination, magic, and miscellaneous (4Q318, 561, 560, 462, 477, 448). Photographs of many of the texts are provided. The authors assert that these fifty documents represent in their judgment "the best of what exists." They also claim

¹ Robert H. Eisenman and Michael Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered: The First Complete Translation and Interpretation of 50 Key Documents Withheld for Over 35 Years* (Shaftesbury, UK/Rockport, MA/Brisbane: Element, 1992).

to have worked systematically and independently, "leaving nothing to chance and depending on *no one else's work*" (their emphasis, p. 4).

The subtitle of the book ("The First Complete Translation and Interpretation of 50 Key Documents Withheld for Over 35 Years") set off a vigorous academic controversy as soon as the book was published. In fact, many of the texts had already been published in some form or another. There were also charges that other scholars' handouts distributed at various conferences had been integrated into some of the presentations. And the subtitle with its suggestion of a plot to cover up the scrolls ignores the massive scholarly work behind the assemblage of the Cave 4 fragments and their preliminary identifications, photographs, and publications.

The focus of this review, however, is not on the academic controversy. Rather, we wish to examine how well the authors have succeeded in doing what they claim to do—dealing with Cave 4 texts on the basis of "literary criticism, textual analysis, and a sure historical grasp."

The book has many attractive features. It is a handsome product, prepared rapidly and gotten into print with great dispatch (from January 1991 to November 1992). It contains Hebrew and Aramaic texts for some important documents, giving readers far more than one ordinarily gets in comparable scholarly books. The translations are admittedly preliminary, thus allowing other scholars to make improvements. And by present-day book prices the volume is something of a bargain.

Because of the book's obvious attractions and because those who are not specialists on the Dead Sea Scrolls may imagine that these editions and translations are in some way authoritative or definitive, it is important to look closely at some of the book's weaknesses as it deals with particular texts. Taking the book on its own merits, we find two major problems: (1) The transcriptions and translations of the texts are often not reliable. (2) The historical hypothesis stated in the general introduction and restated in the introductions to individual texts has distorted the presentation of the texts themselves, thus involving the authors in circular arguments. We will explain these criticisms with reference to a few specific documents. What we say about them in particular can be repeated with reference to other texts.

Treatment of the Texts

Text No. 44. The treatment of the Sapiential Text in 4Q416–418 does not inspire confidence. Judging from the number of manuscripts and fragments, this book appears to have been one of the most influential works circulating at Qumran and probably one of the largest as well. The authors (hereafter E.-W.) translate only some of the larger fragments, and those from only some of the manuscripts. They seem unaware that there are at least three more manuscripts of the work (4Q415, 4Q423, 1Q26).

The authors entitle the work "The Children of Salvation (Yesha') and the Mystery Existence (4Q416, 418)." In fact, the substantial text in their frag. 9 that gives this "title" comes from 4Q417. The choice of the overall title is haphazard, has no chance of being the ancient title of the work, and misleads as to its nature. The title given this work does not even have a firm textual foundation. The first element rests on a dubious reading in frag. 9 (4Q417, frag. 1, col. 1), line 8 where [w]yš' m'syw is read rather than the more likely rš' m'syw and on a questionable translation in line 11 of myldy yš' ("from the children of salvation") rather than the more likely mwldy yš' ("birth times/pangs

of salvation"). The second element ("Mystery of Existence") is based on the recurrent expression *raz nihyeh*, which seems rather to carry a future ("becoming"), eschatological overtone.

The order of the presentation (4Q418 fragments, 4Q417, 4Q416) seems arbitrary, though the authors claim that manuscript overlaps "assure the sequence of most of the fragments" (p. 241). The order is certain only for the four-column section in 4Q416 frag. 2 (= E.-W. 44.10). For the rest of the work the order presented is often demonstrably wrong. Thus their 44.1 (= 4Q418, frag. 81) cannot form the start of the work, whereas 4Q416 frag. 1 (see 4Q418, frag. 2 = E.-W. 44.3) must have come from near the first column, since it preserves the very wide margin characteristic of first columns. Similar reordering of fragments in the teeth of the evidence of the manuscripts can be found elsewhere (e.g., No. 43), and not even E.-W.'s historical tendentiousness can explain it.

Each fragment is given a descriptive but ultimately meaningless title ("The Eternal Planting"; "The Fountain of Living Water"; "All the Eras of Eternity"; etc.) on the basis of what is perceived to be a key phrase. The translations feature abundant capitalization of words ("Eternal Fountain . . . Abominations . . . Glory . . . Goodness," etc.).

The transcriptions (called "transliterations") are not entirely accurate. For example in frag. 2 (= 4Q418, frag. 103) there is in fact no gap between the margin and the beginning of legible text. Moreover, the rather substantial portion of continuing text in lines 4–9 has been mistakenly omitted, perhaps taken as a separate fragment. In frag. 3, E.-W. fail to combine their transcription of 4Q418, frag. 2 with the overlapping text of 4Q416, frag. 1, which would have doubled the text available, saved them from reading *yḥdw* where they should have read *wyphdw*, and from translating *kwl* 'wlh ttm by "and every sacrifice are you to offer them" rather than "and all iniquity shall be completed." And occasional words have been omitted, e.g., *kwl* in frag. 6 (= 4Q418, frag. 127), line 5; and *hw'h* in frag. 9, col. 1 (= 4Q417, frag. 1), line 5.

The transcriptions themselves contain many incorrect or questionable readings. For example, in frag. 7 (= 4Q418, frag. 55) read *nrgy* rather than *trgy* in line 3, *šqd* rather than *šqr* in lines 4 and 7 (see line 9 for the same root), *blbbnw* for *blb bny* ['dm] in line 4, 'l d'wt for 'l ytn d'wt in line 5, and so on. Likewise in frag. 9, col. 1 (= 4Q417, frag. 1, col. 1) line 1 read *pn yšb'kh wkrwhw* rather than *pn yšm'kh wk d hy* (a major change, whose Hebrew would be uncharacteristic at Qumran). These are but a few cases chosen at random. There are many more.

This Sapiential Text is difficult. Therefore, any translation is to some extent guesswork, particularly since in almost every case this is the first published translation. The questionable character of the transcriptions naturally makes the translations questionable also. But these texts need much more serious study before anything like a coherent translation of them can be done.

Some translations are barely coherent. For example, "O ye, because of the Wisdom of your hands, He has given you authority, and [your] Knowledge . . . a storehouse (?) for all humanity. From there you will designate your unclean food . . ." (frag. 1, lines 15–16 = 4Q418, frag. 81). Or "for a man murmurs because he is lazy, and if a son of Adam is silent, is it not (because) . . ." (frag. 7, line 11 = 4Q418, frag. 55). Of course, closed groups often use "in-group" language, which to outsiders sounds like "Mumbo Jumbo." And some of the work like 1QS may be in a jargon that is hard to follow. But the incomprehensible comes more frequently in the E.-W. translation than in the Hebrew of its source.

The format of text and translation without explanatory notes leaves no room for alternate renderings and commentary. The historical hypothesis proposed in the introduction (and almost every other introduction) and its impact on the translations obscure the social setting of the work and ignore its possible (indeed, likely) pre-Qumranic origin. Anyone using the translations of these texts should take seriously the authors' own disclaimers about the preliminary character of their work.

Texts Nos. 35–36. Material (4Q394–399) that most scholars have called *Miqsat Ma'ase HaTorah* (4QMMT) appears as "The First Letter on Works Reckoned as Righteousness" and "The Second Letter . . . Righteousness." E.-W. have a compulsion to rename everything in a fashion that reminds one of revolutionary governments changing the names of every place, street, and plaza.

There has been much interest in the question of the extent to which E.-W.'s text of this work is their own or reflects other sources, all going back to the composite text made by Qimron on the basis of the six fragmentary manuscripts to appear in the Qimron-Strugnell *editio maior* now with the printer. The *cognoscenti* seem to agree that Qimron's work is at the base of most other printings, including E.-W.'s; that question is to be settled on stemmatic grounds. But E.-W. have at certain (unfortunately unmarked) points departed from this base, and these modifications are those which one should examine to assess the quality of their contribution.

The first section of the work, the calendaric, is preserved in one of the six manuscripts, and its literary relationship to the rest of the document is obscure. Is it also polemic? Or is it just a nonpolemical memorandum like our own "Thirty days hath September . . . ?" Reconstructing the calendar in broad outline is easy. The work aims at listing on which days of each month all the sabbaths of a year fall; and since the principles of the calendar have been known since 1955, that part of the calendar could be worked out by a student. There are, however, two additional features, and it is the reconstruction of these that calls for greater historical subtlety: the varying formulas for the epagomenal days (the additional day put at the end of every three-month period to make each period divisible by seven days), and the decision as to which major feasts are to be inserted into the calendar of sabbaths. This undertaking concerns the nature of the festal calendar. Here the real work of scholarship is not in presenting the surviving fragment but in extending the text into the lacunae, restoring as much as possible of the whole calendar, and understanding its system and its relationship to other similar calendars from the Priestly writer onward through the *Temple Scroll*, *Jubilees*, and other such works. The reader will find the "easy" first part done reliably, for all the twelve or so columns of the work. Far less reliable is the reconstruction of a historical whole, the calendar with its irregular choice of festivals. But that is the only place where we need help!

The next section consists of a set of two dozen or so surviving legal pronouncements addressed by "us" to "you." It would have helped to have clearly marked what the specific conjectures of E.-W. were and what the changes to the Qimron text were. Some of them may deserve consideration. Most of them are merely equipossible alternatives to Qimron's conjectures as they were printed in the Polish "pirated" text,² and these very rarely change the sense. Some are perhaps preferable; some are certainly worse; most are apparently made merely by a desire to be different. But a few (some 5–10

² *The Qumran Chronicle* (Appendix A), Krakow No. 2 (1990) 1–9.

percent) would deserve discussion as perhaps improving the language or defining more sharply the legal problem (e.g., in lines 6 [hgwym], 10, 36). In general the translation of this section is at least roughly exact—better than the recent booklet of B. W. W. Dombrowski.³ But study of the articles by Y. Sussman and L. H. Schiffman (among others) would have made the translation more precise, as the study of laws requires.⁴

In none of the manuscripts do we have the end of the legal section. But somewhere after the code the manuscripts give us most of a further section, no longer transmitting communal decrees of law but a hortatory reflection on eschatology and the role of law in it. This part is still addressed by “us” to “you” but also to “thee and thy people Israel.” The same observations hold for the quality of the text, supplements, and translation found in E.-W.’s version here. Sometimes they depart from a perfectly normal text like [šlw’] [y]ms’ bydnw m’l (“that no treachery . . . can be found in our hand”) to misread in their lines 8–9 [šlw’] [y]ms’ bytw m’l (“that no rebellion or Lying or Evil should be found in His Temple”)—an elementary misreading and translation for which the authors must be held responsible. At other points the reading is the same as that which has been circulating widely for four or five years. But at one point Strugnell (supported by Harmut Stegemann) considers Qimron’s reconstruction and reading erroneous, and here E.-W. agree with Qimron—a conjunction in error! The fact of a dependence and conjunction in error is not so important here for what it says about E.-W.’s originality as for what this shared error does to the understanding of the text. The sections that E.-W. print as lines 1–11, 12–21, 21–27, 28–35 should have been printed with lines 21–27 before lines 1–11. The changes made by this major restructuring allow a new understanding of the order and thought of the exhortation. The whole exhortation is important in that it is contemporary with and reflects the thought of the slightly pre-Hasmonean and pre-Qumranic material found also in other texts (see “Words of the Luminaries,” Daniel 9, Ezra 9).

As elsewhere in the book’s special introductions, the introductions to 4QMMT form a farrago of random observations from Moses to James the Just rather than a careful discussion of those matters we expect to find in introductions (issues of historical background, intention, form, etc.). We have already complained of the introductions to the calendaric and hortatory sections, but the discussion of the legal code is especially defective. Serious scholars elsewhere are trying to date these matters historically and if possible juridically in terms of the history of law. But E.-W. flit around between the eras of the early Maccabees, Alexander Janneus, Herod the Great, Agrippa, and the early Judeo-Christians. The task of historical scholarship is to identify with care and method the precise historical and legal setting of the whole composition. But the E.-W. method is that of the butterfly, to judge as kindly as one can.

The authors have divided the material in 4Q394–399 between two letters—the First and Second Letters on Works Reckoned as Righteousness—“like Corinthians 1 and Corinthians 2” as they helpfully suggest! It is true that some of the material

³ B. W. W. Dombrowski, *An Annotated Translation of Miqṣat Ma‘aseh ha-Tōra (4QMMT)* (Krakow: Enigma Press, 1992). See also Z. J. Kapera, ed., *Qumran Cave IV and MMT: Special Report* (Qumran Chronicle 1/2–3; Krakow: Enigma Press, 1991).

⁴ Y. Sussman, “The History of Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Preliminary Observations on Miqṣat Ma‘ase Ha-Torah (4QMMT)” [Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 59 (1989–90) 11–76; and L. H. Schiffman, “The New Halakhic Letter (4QMMT) and the Origins of the Dead Sea Sect,” *BA* 53 (1990) 64–73; idem, “Miqṣat Ma‘aseh ha-Torah and the Temple Scroll,” *RevQ* 14 (1990) 435–57.

(the legal) came before a coherent exhortatory conclusion, and its subject matter can be distinguished. But were these two sections really two “letters”? Or does this separation merely reflect another attempt by E.-W. to say something different from what other scholars have said? Are there any solid pieces of evidence that these were two distinct letters? If there were a second letter, we must at least note that nothing remains of the conclusion of the first letter nor of the title and greeting of the second. The proposed cross-reference grossly overtranslated by E.-W. as “and finally, we (earlier) wrote you about some of the works of the Law (see the First Letter)” (36.29–30) really says “Moreover we have written to you about some of the precepts of the Torah” and is merely a reference to an earlier section of the same work (= see section B *supra*). It may have escaped our authors that any ancient letter (e.g., those of Paul) can contain several different sections, different in subject matter and form. To introduce a distinct second letter is wholly unnecessary. The “two letters” hypothesis is an answer to a nonexistent problem. The laws are found together with the exhortation in two, perhaps three, of the manuscripts with no indication that they were to be separated. *Entia non sunt multiplicanda*.

There are other real problems for which we look in vain for answers in E.-W. We can find some of them in the writings of other scholars, and many of them will be answered in the forthcoming Qimron-Strugnell edition. E.-W. have merely given us a partly reliable text and a partly reliable translation of the work, along with an introduction providing very little help to understanding and clarity. It will scarcely lead Qumran specialists astray, but it may mislead others. Until the appearance of the *editio maior* the reader would probably find a more reliable text in the Polish “pirated” edition, which was faithfully copied from a copy nearer the archetype! But for a clearer historical and legal understanding of 4QMMT the reader must look elsewhere.

Texts and History

The authors contend that the Qumran scrolls represent “the literature of the ‘Messianic Movement’ in Palestine,” which included Jamesian or Palestinian Christianity. The general objections to this hypothesis are well known.⁵ It ignores the findings of paleography and carbon 14 testing. It creates within late Second Temple Palestinian Judaism a uniform entity (the “Messianic Movement”) that overwhelms the diversity of writings and theologies that has emerged so sharply from recent scholarship. It places early Jewish Christianity in a movement (“zealot, nationalistic, engagé, xenophobic, and apocalyptic”) with which it has very little in common and can be fitted only with great feats of scholarly acrobatics.

Our concern here, however, is not with the validity of the general historical hypothesis (which in fact is asserted rather than argued in this volume). Rather, we want to show how in some cases the historical hypothesis has influenced the presentations of texts and thus involved the authors in a logical circle.

Text No. 12. The circularity between the interpretive hypothesis applied to the Qumran library as a whole and the reconstruction and translation of individual texts

⁵ Geza Vermes summarizes them nicely (“Brother James’s heirs? The community at Qumran and its relations to the first Christians,” *Times Literary Supplement* 4 December [1992] 6–7).

can be illustrated by the “Son of God” text in 4Q246. The first of the two columns is quite fragmentary and ambiguous. Depending on how one restores the missing parts of the first column, one can arrive at either a messianic/eschatological interpretation or a historical one (concerning Alexander Balas or Antiochus IV Epiphanes). Both approaches have been laid out in great detail by Émile Puech.⁶

There is no hint from E.-W. that a “historical” interpretation is at all possible. Even the messianic/eschatological interpretation, however, is pushed beyond what the text says. The introduction states that the messianic figure is “extremely war-like” (p. 69), and the reconstructions offered for col. 1 contribute to this mood (“why do you grind your teeth? . . . There will be violence . . . until the King of the people of God arises”). In the material at the end of col. 1 and the start of col. 2 someone (either a messianic or a historical figure) is called “Son of God” and “Son of the Most High.” But the dramatic turn comes when “the people of God arises and causes everyone to rest from the sword” (col. 2, line 4). After that it is entirely possible that the masculine pronouns translated “he/his/him” in fact refer to the “people of God” rather than the figure hailed as “Son of God.” In other words, the major actor in col. 2 may well be the people of God as in Dan 7:18, 27 (see also 2:44), not the individual messianic figure. The text does not unequivocally describe an “extremely war-like” messiah.

Text No. 29. The allegedly crucial historical text in *Testament of Kohath* (4Q542) is said to be frag. 1, col. 1, lines 5–7: “Do not give your inheritance to foreigners, nor your heritage to violent men, lest you be regarded as humiliated in their eyes, and foolish, and they trample upon you, for they will come to dwell among you and become your masters.” The introduction suggests that the word *kyl’yn* (translated “violent men”) can also be rendered “confiscators” or “appropriators” and is thus an allusion to foreign taxation—something that “the Zealots and others opposing Roman/Herodian rule in Palestine” (p. 147) resisted. This suggestion is possible only when one ignores the paleographical data and the carbon 14 testing (which in fact puts the work too early for interpreters),⁷ though the authors admit that the text could also describe circumstances in Maccabean times. Moreover, their interpretation is based on a series of semantic leaps from violence to appropriation to foreign taxation. In fact, the text is so vague that it could apply to all kinds of situations in both First and Second Temple Jewish history.

Text No. 33. “The Sons of Righteousness (Proverbs—4Q424)” is described as “another typical ‘Wisdom’ text” (p. 166). But both the brief introduction and the text and translation infuse it with “zealot” and military overtones. In frag. 1, line 9 *’hr ’mt l’ yrsh* (“after truth he will not delight”) is rendered “not being zealous for Truth.” The reading *ktyym* (“Kittim”) in line 13 makes no sense in the wisdom context, whereas *ptyym* (“simple ones,” see Ps 119:130) is far more likely. In frag. 2 (actually 3), line 8, the expression *’yš hyl yqn* is rendered: “A soldier will be zealous.” In the context of a series about clever, knowing, and upright men *’yš hyl* is more likely “a man of wealth (or strength, or substance, etc.),” with no military overtone. 4Q424 differs from other

⁶ E. Puech, “Fragment d’une Apocalypse en araméen (4Q246 = pseudDan^d) et le ‘Royaume de Dieu,’” *RB* 99 (1992) 98–131.

⁷ G. Bonani et al., “Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *’Atiqot* 20 (1991) 27–32.

wisdom texts at Qumran but does not go in the zealot and military direction that E.-W. suggest.

Text No. 50. Under a characteristically dubious title "Paeon for King Jonathan (Alexander Jannaeus—4Q448)" the authors conclude the miscellaneous section of their editions. The edition of this text by Esther and Hanan Eshel and Ada Yardeni has a less questionable title ("A Prayer for King Jonathan and His Kingdom") and usually gives a preferable text.⁸ In one respect, however, E.-W. mark a step in a better direction. The first line of the lower register of text should mark the incipit of the text. Their reading of lines 1–2 of col. 1 (*šyr qdš/ 'l ywntn hmlk* = "A sacred paeon/for King Jonathan") gives at least a beginning of a partly plausible incipit. However, inspection of the photograph of the text (plate 25—printed upside down) shows that *šyr* is materially impossible. The Eshels and Yardeni read '*yr* ("city") and assume that it must have been preceded by a call to God: "[Have mercy upon] the holy city, upon King Jonathan," that is, with a materially impossible, incomplete incipit. Geza Vermes has proposed a different reading for line 2 in which the reference to King Jonathan disappears entirely: "Holy City, joy of the [divine] King."⁹ But this is paleographically impossible. Yet another interpretation is possible. One can just as well understand the initial word as the imperative '*yr* ("Rise up, O Holy One") and explain the following second person masculine singular suffixes as referring to God.

But the meaning is still doubtful. The text could be addressed "for" or "against" Alexander Janneus/King Jonathan, since the preposition '*l* allows both possibilities. Scholars, not noting the ambiguity, have suspended from this preposition long chains of historical guesswork. The Eshels and Yardeni suggest that the text was composed by one of King Jonathan's followers and brought to Qumran by a sect member or a convert to the sect. Here E.-W. are at their most idiosyncratic. They claim that this text "completely disproves the Essene theory of Qumran origins at least as classically conceived" (p. 273). They contend that it proves the pro-Maccabean orientation of the group behind the Qumran texts, since the poem concerns Alexander Janneus (= King Jonathan) and its sense is "laudatory."

The rest of the poem tells us nothing about the author's attitude to Alexander Janneus. E.-W. even eliminate the second probable reference to King Jonathan in col. 2, line 8. We reject their reading *šyr* on material grounds. But we still have to deal with the ambiguity of '*l*. The reading '*yr* . . . '*l* ("Rise up, O Holy One, against King Jonathan, But/And let all the congregation of your people Israel . . . be in peace") would follow the normal use of the verb and preposition; we would have an anti-Jannean incipit to a pro-Israel hymn; nothing in the surviving text would argue against this. It is, however, still possible that we have a pro-Jannean wish that God rise up "on behalf of King Jonathan" and on this could be hung the historical claims of the Eshels or even those of E.-W.

With these uncertainties it is rash to call 4Q448 a "Paeon for King Jonathan" and to describe it as a laudatory dedication to Alexander Janneus and a fulsome praise to him. On the one hand, "paeon" is not a precise form-critical category; on the other

⁸ Esther and Hanan Eshel and Ada Yardeni, "A Scroll from Qumran Which Includes Part of Psalm 154 and a Prayer for King Jonathan and His Kingdom" [Hebrew] *Tarbiz* 60 (1991) 295–324; [English] *IEJ* 42 (1992) 199–229.

⁹ Vermes, "Brother James's heirs," 7.

hand, the many second-person masculine singular suffixes and the various phrases are far more likely to be addressed to God than to Alexander Jannaeus. 4Q448 certainly does not provide unambiguous evidence for the pro-Maccabean attitude of the Qumran community, nor does it completely disprove the Essene theory of Qumran origins. The hymn in question is highly ambiguous and in any case unexciting, even if we do not go Vermes's way and eliminate all reference to Alexander Jannaeus. Apart from the attestation of Psalm 154, the fragment 4Q448 is worth little note except for the external date that it gives for the semicursive hand well studied by Yardeni.

Conclusion

This controversial book makes accessible important texts from Qumran Cave 4. Its ready availability and relative inexpensiveness mean that it will be widely consulted and quoted. Many Qumran specialists regard it as their worst nightmare come to pass, because these important texts have been presented in an often inaccurate and thoroughly tendentious way. Perhaps in the future, when much more solid research has been done on these texts, a new edition of this handbook can be produced. But it would have to be a very different book, one corrected in the light of sounder scholarship and shorn of the historical tendentiousness that vitiates especially the introductions and to some extent also the transcriptions and translations. However attractive this volume may appear, it must be used with great caution.

Daniel J. Harrington, S.J.
Weston School of Theology, Cambridge, MA 02138

John Strugnell
Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, MA 02138

THE INTERNATIONAL Q PROJECT WORK SESSIONS 31 JULY-2 AUGUST, 20 NOVEMBER 1992

A subcommittee of the International Q Project held a work session in Claremont from 31 July to 2 August 1992. In attendance were Stanley D. Anderson, William Arnal, Jon Ma. Asgeirsson, Sterling G. Bjorndahl, Shawn Carruth, Joon Ho (Amos) Chang, Jon Daniels, Patrick John Hartin, Michael Humphries, John S. Kloppenborg, Milton C. Moreland, Stephen J. Patterson, Jonathan L. Reed, James M. Robinson, and Philip Sellew.

The texts discussed and those who prepared the Databases with Evaluations and the Respondents are as follows:

- 3:7-9 (Bjorndahl, Boring, Robinson)
- 3:16-17 (Bjorndahl, Boring, Robinson)
- «3:21 ~ 22» (Bjorndahl, Carruth, Robinson)
- 7:35-9:57/~~Matt 8:18~~ (Asgeirsson, Kloppenborg, Hartin)
- 9:57-60, ~~61-62~~ (Asgeirsson, Kloppenborg, Hartin)
- 11:15 (Chang, Kloppenborg, Arnal)
- 11:17-20, «21-22», 24-26 (Humphries, Kloppenborg, Arnal)
- 12:22-31, ~~32~~ (Anderson, Reed, Carruth)
- 12:39-40 (Moreland, Robinson, Sellew)
- 14:11/~~18:14b~~ (Arnal, Sellew, Robinson)

Participants in attendance at the Project's work session in San Francisco on 20 November 1992 were as follows: Stanley D. Anderson, William Arnal, Jon Ma. Asgeirsson, Sterling G. Bjorndahl, M. Eugene Boring, Joon Ho (Amos) Chang, Shawn Carruth, R. Conrad Douglas, Harry Fleddermann, Patrick John Hartin, Michael Humphries, Clayton N. Jefford, Ronald L. Jolliffe, John S. Kloppenborg, Bradley H. McLean, Milton C. Moreland, Steven Patterson, Ronald A. Piper, Jonathan L. Reed, Andreas Schmidt, Philip Sellew, Darla Dee Turlington, Risto Uro, and Leif Vaage.

The texts discussed and those who prepared the Databases with Evaluations and the Respondents are as follows:

- 4:1-4 (Carruth, Turlington, Robinson)
- 6:23 (Kloppenborg, Boring, Hartin)
- 9:1 & ~~10:1~~ (Uro, Vaage, Asgeirsson)
- 10:2-3/~~Matt 10:5b-6~~ (Asgeirsson, Uro, Hartin)
- 10:5-6 (Asgeirsson/Vaage, Uro, Hartin)
- 12:12 ~ 22/~~Matt 10:23~~ (Asgeirsson, Uro, Hartin)
- 13:23-24 (Jefford, Steinhauser, Robinson, Uro)
- [[13:30]] (Boring, Moreland, Kloppenborg)

The critical text of these passages is as follows:

Sigla:

[[καὶ]] The reconstructed text has a probability of only {C} on a descending scale of {A} to {D}. The absence of space between the opening and closing square brackets, [[]], indicates that with a probability of {C} no text is assumed to have been present here. If the verse reference is so included, [[Q 14:5]], then the question whether the whole verse belongs to Q has comparable doubt, even though the variation units within the verse are differentiated into degrees of probability ranging from {A} to {D}.

... Some text is assumed to have existed here in Q, with a probability of {A} or {B}, but it could not be reconstructed. [[. . .]] indicates that the probability that some text was present is graded {C}. Two dots . . indicate that the probability is graded {D} or is left undecided. (If this *siglum* is followed by a period to end a sentence, the period is separated off by a space, that is, or . . .)

ἐστε Identical letters in Luke and Matthew that caused them to be included initially have been identified as being coincidental and excluded from Q. If a whole verse is involved, its numeration is similarly marked through: Q 9:61-62. This *siglum* distinguishes verses considered but not included in Q from the many that were not considered at all.

< > The text is a conjectural emendation found as such neither in Matthew nor in Luke.

<< >> When a critical text cannot be reconstructed, because the material is in only one Gospel, the Greek of that Gospel is included, but within double pointed brackets, to warn that this is not a critically reconstructed text. When double pointed brackets are used only in the English translation, they indicate a gist or a train of thought, or the most probable terms, though the Greek text could not be reconstructed. When a whole verse ascribed to Q is unreconstructable, the numeration of the verse is so indicated, e.g., <<Q 3:21-22>>; <<Q 11:21-22>>.

Q 10:2~3/Matt 10:5b-6 When a whole unit is not in Luke, but only in Matthew, the position the Matthean material would have if in Q is indicated by listing the Q verses just prior to and succeeding the material that is only in Matthew.

Q 3:7

ε[[[π]]]εν τοῖς ἐ[[[ρχ]]]ομένοις [[[ὄχλοις]]]
[[[ἐπὶ τὸ]]] βάπτισ[[[μα]]] αὐτοῦ· γεννήματα
ἐχιδνῶν, τίς ὑπέδειξεν ὑμῖν φυγεῖν ἀπὸ
τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς;

Q 3:7

He said to the [[crowds]] who came to
hi[[s]] bapti[[sm]], Brood of vipers! Who
warned you to flee from the coming
wrath?

Q 3:8

ποιήσατε οὖν καρπὸν ἄξιον τῆς μετανοίας
καὶ μὴ δόξητε λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς· πατέρα
ἔχομεν τὸν Ἀβραάμ. λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν
ὅτι δύναται ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων
τούτων ἐγεῖραι τέκνα τῷ Ἀβραάμ.

Q 3:8

Bear fruit worthy of repentance, and
do not presume to say to yourselves,
We have Abraham as our father; for I
tell you, God is able from these stones
to raise up children to Abraham!

Q 3:9

ἤδη δὲ ἡ ἀξίνη πρὸς τὴν ῥίζαν τῶν
δένδρων κεῖται· πᾶν οὖν δένδρον μὴ
ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς
πῦρ βάλλεται.

Q 3:16

ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω [[έν]] ὕδατι [[]],
ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἰσχυρότερός
μού ἐστιν, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς [[]]
τ[ἀ]] ὑποδήματ[α]] [[]] [[βαστά]]σαι· αὐτὸς
ὕμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί·

Q 3:17

οὗ τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ
διακαθαριεῖ τὴν ἄλωνα αὐτοῦ, καὶ
συνάξει τὸν σῖτον εἰς τὴν
ἀποθήκην αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἄχυρον
κατακαύσει πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ.

«Q 3:21–22»

..

Q 4:1–2

[[ὁ]] Ἰησοῦς δὲ [[]] ἦ . . . [[ὑπὸ]] τ[([οῦ])]
πνεύματ[ος]] ε . . . τη . . . ἐρημ . . .
4:2 πειρασθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου.
καὶ [[οὐκ ἔφαγεν οὐδὲν]]
ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα, . . . ἐπεινάσεν.

Q 4:3

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ διάβολος· εἰ υἱὸς
εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰπὲ ἵνα [[οἱ]] λίθ[οι]
[[]] οὗτ[οι] ἄρτο[ι] γέν[ων]ται.

Q 4:4

καὶ ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς· γέγραπται ὅτι
οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτω μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

Q 6:23

χαίrete καὶ [[ἀγαλλιᾶσθε]], ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς
ὕμῶν πολὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· οὕτως γὰρ
ἐποίουν τοῖς προφήταις [[το ἑ]ς πρὸ ὑμῶν]].

Q 7:35 ~ 9:57/Matt 8:18

Q 3:9

Even now the ax is laid to the root of
the trees; every tree therefore not
bearing good fruit is cut down and
thrown into the fire.

Q 3:16

I baptize you with water, but the
one coming after me is stronger than I,
whose sandals I am not worthy
to remove; he will baptize you with
holy spirit and fire;

Q 3:17

whose winnowing fork is in his hand,
and he will clear his threshing floor
and gather the wheat into his
granary; but the chaff he will burn
with unquenchable fire.

«Q 3:21–22»

«John baptized Jesus
and heaven opened 3:22 . . . the spirit . . .
upon him . . . Son . . . »

Q 4:1–2

And Jesus was led [[by]] the spirit in . . .
the wilderness 4:2 to be tempted by
the devil. And [[he ate nothing]] for
forty days; . . . he was hungry.

Q 4:3

And the devil said to him, If you are
the Son of God, command that the[[se]]
stone[[s]] become [[]] loaves[[ves]].

Q 4:4

And Jesus answered, It is written,
A person does not live by bread alone.

Q 6:23

Rejoice and [[be glad]], for your pay
is great in heaven, for so they did
to the prophets [[before you]].

Q 7:35 ~ 9:57/Matt 8:18

Q 9:57

καὶ εἶπέν τις αὐτῷ· [[]] ἀκολουθήσω
σοι ὅπου ἐὰν ἀπέρχῃ.

Q 9:58

καὶ [[εἶπεν]] αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· αἱ ἀλώπεκες
φωλεοὺς ἔχουσιν καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ κατασκηνώσεις, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἔχει ποῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν κλίνει.

Q 9:59–60

[[]] ἕτερο[[ς]] [[]] δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· κύριε,
ἐπιτρέψόν μοι πρῶτον ἀπελθεῖν καὶ
θάψαι τὸν πατέρα μου. **9:60** [[εἶπεν]] δὲ
αὐτῷ· ἀκολουθεῖ μοι [[καὶ]] ἄφες τοὺς
νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκροὺς.

Q 9:61–62**Q 9:1 & 10:1****Q 10:2 ~ 3/Matt 10:5b–6****Q 10:5**

εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν εἰσέλθῃτε οἰκίαν,
[[λέγετε· εἰρήνην]] . .

Q 10:6

καὶ ἐὰν ἐκεῖ ᾗ υἱὸς εἰρήνης, [[ἐλθάτω]]
ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν· ε[[ῖ]] δὲ μὴ
[[]], . . . ὑμᾶς [[ἐπιστραφήτω]].

Q 11:15

τινὲς δὲ [[]] εἶπον· ἐν Βεελζεβούλ τῷ
ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ
δαιμόνια.

Q 11:17

εἰδὼς δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ διανοήματα εἶπεν
αὐτοῖς· πᾶσα βασιλεία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν
μερισθεῖσα ἐρημοῦται καὶ οἶκ[[ία
μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς οὐ σταθήσεται]].

Q 11:18

καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐμερίσθῃ, πῶς
σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ; ὅτι λέγετε
ἐν Βεελζεβούλ ἐκβάλλειν με τὰ δαιμόνια.

Q 9:57

And someone said to him, [[]] I will
follow you wherever you go.

Q 9:58

And Jesus said to him, Foxes have holes,
and birds of the air have nests; but the
Son of man has nowhere to lay his
head.

Q 9:59–60

And another said to him, Lord, let me
first go and bury my father. **9:60** But
he said to him, Follow me, [[and]] leave
the dead to bury their own dead.

Q 9:61–62**Q 9:1 & 10:1****Q 10:2 ~ 3/Matt 10:5b–6****Q 10:5**

Whatever house you enter,
[[say, Peace]] . . !

Q 10:6

And if a son of peace is there,
[[let]] your peace [[come]] upon him;
but if not, [[let]] it [[return]] «to» you.

Q 11:15

But some [[]] said, By Beelzebul
the ruler of demons,
he casts out demons.

Q 11:17

But he, knowing their thoughts, said to
them, Every kingdom divided against
itself is laid waste, and a house
[[divided against itself will not stand]].

Q 11:18

And if Satan is divided against himself,
how will his kingdom stand? For you
say that I cast out demons by
Beelzebul.

Q 11:19

καὶ εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβούλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν; διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ ὑμῶν κριταὶ ἔσονται.

Q 11:20

εἰ δὲ ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.

«Q 11:21»

«ὅταν ὁ ἰσχυρὸς καθωπλισμένος φυλάσῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ αὐλήν, ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐστὶν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ.»

«Q 11:22»

«ἐπὶ δὲ ἰσχυρότερος αὐτοῦ νικήσῃ αὐτόν, τὴν πανοπλίαν αὐτοῦ αἶρει ἐφ' ἧ ἐπεποιθεῖ καὶ τὰ σκῦλα αὐτοῦ»

Q 11:24

ὅταν τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα ἐξέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, διέρχεται δι' ἀνύδρων τόπων ζητοῦν ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ οὐχ εὐρίσκει. [[τότε]] λέγει· εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου ἐπιστρέψω ὅθεν ἐξῆλθον·

Q 11:25

καὶ ἐλθὼν εὐρίσκει σεσαρωμένον καὶ κεκοσμημένον.

Q 11:26

τότε πορεύεται καὶ παραλαμβάνει μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἑπτὰ ἕτερα πνεύματα πονηρότερα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ εἰσελθόντα κατοικεῖ ἐκεῖ· καὶ γίνεται τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου χεῖρονα τῶν πρώτων.

Q 12:12 ~ 22/Matt 10:23**Q 12:22**

διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν· μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ . . τί φάγητε, μηδὲ τῷ σώματι . . τί ἐνδύσθητε.

Q 11:19

And if I cast out demons by Beelzebul, by whom do your sons cast them out? Therefore they shall be your judges.

Q 11:20

But if by the finger of God I cast out demons, then upon you has come the Kingdom of God.

«Q 11:21»

«When the strong man, fully armed, guards his own palace, his possessions are in peace.»

«Q 11:22»

«But when one stronger than he . . conquers him, he takes away his armor in which he trusted, and divides his spoil.»

Q 11:24

When an unclean spirit has gone out of a person, it passes through waterless places seeking rest and finds none. [[Then]] it says, I will return to my house from which I came.

Q 11:25

And on coming it finds it swept and put in order.

Q 11:26

Then it goes and brings with it seven other spirits more evil than itself, and they enter and dwell there; and the last state of that person becomes worse than the first.

Q 12:12 ~ 22/Matt 10:23**Q 12:22**

Therefore I tell you, do not be anxious about . . life, what you shall eat, nor about . . . body, what you shall put on.

Q 12:23

οὐχὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πλεῖον ἐστὶν τῆς
τροφῆς καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἐνδύματος;

Q 12:24

[[ἐμβλέψ]]ατε [[εἰς]] τοὺς κόρακας
ὅτι οὐ σπεύρουσιν οὐδὲ θερίζουσιν
οὐδὲ . . ἀποθήκ. . . , καὶ ὁ θεὸς
τρέφει αὐτούς· οὐχ ὑμεῖς
μᾶλλον διαφέρετε τῶν πετεινῶν;

Q 12:25

τίς δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν μεριμνῶν δύναται ἐπὶ τὴν
ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ προσθεῖναι πῆχυν . . ;

Q 12:26

καὶ περὶ ἐνδύματος τί μεριμνᾶτε;

Q 12:27

κατα. . . τε τὰ κρίνα πῶς
αὐξάνουσιν· οὐ κοπιῶσιν οὐδὲ
νήθουσιν· λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, [[]] οὐδὲ
Σολομῶν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ
περιεβάλετο ὡς ἐν τούτων.

Q 12:28

εἰ δὲ ἐν ἀγρῷ τὸν χόρτον ὄντα
σήμερον καὶ αὔριον εἰς κλίβανον
βαλλόμενον ὁ θεὸς οὕτως ἀμφιέ. . . , [[οὐ]]
πο[[λλ]]ῶ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς, ὀλιγόπιστοι;

Q 12:29

μὴ [[οὖν]] μεριμνήσητε
λέγοντες· τί φάγωμεν; . . . τί
πίωμεν; . . . τί περιβαλώμεθα;

Q 12:30

πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη
ἐπιζητοῦσιν· ὑμῶν [[γὰρ]] ὁ πατὴρ
οἶδεν ὅτι χρῆζετε τούτων.

Q 12:31

ζητεῖτε δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ,
καὶ ταῦτα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν.

Q 12:23

Is not life more than food, and the
body more than clothing?

Q 12:24

[[Look at]] the ravens; they neither
sow nor reap nor «gather into barns»,
and yet God feeds them. Are you not
of more value than the birds?

Q 12:25

And who of you by being anxious is
able to add to his span of life . . . cubit?

Q 12:26

And why are you anxious about
clothing?

Q 12:27

Consider the lilies, how they grow;
they neither toil nor spin; yet I tell
you, even Solomon in all his glory
was not arrayed like one of these.

Q 12:28

But if the grass in the field, which is
there today and tomorrow is thrown
into the oven, God clothes thus, [[will
he not]] much more clothe you, oh
persons of little faith!

Q 12:29

[[Therefore]] do not be anxious, saying,
What shall we eat? «or» What shall
we eat? «or» drink? «or» What
shall we wear?

Q 12:30

For the Gentiles seek all these
things; [[for]] your Father knows that
you need them.

Q 12:31

But seek his kingdom, and these things
shall be yours as well.

Q 12:32

Q 12:39

[[ἐκεῖν]]ο δὲ γινώσκετε ὅτι εἰ ἤδει
ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης ποίᾳ φυλακῇ ὁ
κλέπτης ἔρχεται, οὐκ ἂν [[ἀφῆκ]]εν
διορυχθῆναι τ. . . ν οἶκ. . . ν αὐτοῦ.

Q 12:40

καὶ ὑμεῖς γίνεσθε ἑτοιμοί, ὅτι ἡ οὐ
δοκεῖτε ὥρα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται.

Q 13:23–24

[[]] εἰσέλθ[[ατε]] διὰ τῆς στενῆς
[[θ]]ύ[[ρα]]ς, ὅτι πολλοὶ [[ζητήσου]]σιν
[[]] εἰσε[[λθεῖν]] [[]] καὶ ὀλίγοι θί < > . . .

[[Q 13:30]]

[[. . . . ἔσχατοι . . . ἔσονται πρῶτοι
καὶ . . . πρῶτοι . . . ἔσχατοι.]]

Q 14:11

πᾶς ὁ ὑψῶν ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται,
καὶ ὁ ταπεινῶν ἑαυτὸν ὑψωθήσεται.

Q 18:14b

The cumulative critical text of Q (1989–1992) thus stands at 3:1, 2–3, 7–9, 16–17, <<21–22>>; 4:1–4, 16; 6:20–21, 23, 39–49; 7:23, 26; 7:35–9:57/Matt 8:18; 9:57–60, 61–62; 9:1 & 10:1; 10:2–3/Matt 10:5b–6; 10:2–6, 21–24; 11:2–4, 9–20, <<21–22>>, 23–25, 26, [[<<27–28>>]], 29–36, 39a, 42, 39b–40, <41>, 43–44, 46–48, 52; 12:2–7, 10, 12–22/Matt 10:23; 22–31, 32, 39–40, 42–46; 13:18–21, 23–24, 28–29, [[30]]; 14:5, 11, 15; 16–21, 22, 23, 24, 26–27, 34–35; 16:13, 17–18; 17:1–4, 6, 24, 37, 26–27, 28–29, 30, 34–35; 18:14b. Bold type draws attention to Q verses not in Lucan sequence.

Assessments of these decisions as well as expressions of interest in participating in the work of the International Q Project are welcome. Copies of the Databases and Responses presupposed in the critical text of any verse of Q, to the extent that they are available, can be supplied to qualified persons at cost in the form of a computer disk or a printout. Work sessions are planned annually for just preceding the opening of the Annual Meeting of the SBL (18–19 November 1993 in Washington, DC, and 17–18 November 1994 in Chicago) and for some days in the summer (6–8 August 1993 in Toronto, and 24–28 May 1994 in Claremont). It is assumed that each will result in further reconstructions of a critical text of Q, to be published regularly in *JBL*.

Milton C. Moreland

James M. Robinson

The Claremont Graduate School

Claremont, CA 91711-6178

Q 12:32

Q 12:39

But know this, that if the houseowner had known in which watch the thief was coming, he would not have let his house be dug into.

Q 12:40

You also must be ready; for the Son of man is coming at an hour you do not expect.

Q 13:23–24

Enter through the narrow [[door]]; for many [[will seek to]] enter and few << <will find it> >>.

[[Q 13:30]]

[[. . . last . . . will be first, and . . . first . . . will be last.]]

Q 14:11

Everyone who exalts oneself will be humbled, and the one who humbles oneself will be exalted.

Q 18:14b

BOOK REVIEWS

Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville: Les textes de la 34e Campagne (1973), by Pierre Bordreuil with Daniel Arnaud, Béatrice André-Salvini, Sylvie Lackenbacher, Florence Malbran-Labat and Dennis Pardee. Ras Shamra-Ougarit 7. Publications de la Mission Archéologique Française de Ras Shamra-Ougarit dirigée par Marguerite Yon. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1991. Pp. 208. N.P. (paper).

Arts et Industries de la Pierre, by Marguerite Yon with Annie Caubet, Jacques Connan, Eric Coqueugnoit, Odile Deschesne, Carolyn Elliot, and Honor Frost. Ras Shamra-Ougarit 6. Publications de la Mission Archéologique Française de Ras Shamra-Ougarit dirigée par Marguerite Yon. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1991. Pp. 410. N.P. (paper).

These latest volumes in the series Ras Shamra-Ougarit are valuable collections and treatments of texts and stone artifacts respectively. The texts published in the first volume were recovered in 1973 from a heap of soil excavated by the Syrian army in 1969-70 on the tell of Ras Shamra. Of the twelve alphabetic texts (the responsibility of Bordreuil and Pardee) four are published here for the first time; others, which have already seen preliminary publication (in *Annuaire du Collège de France* 75 [1975] 430-32 and *Sem* 25 [1975] 19-29) and were included in M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, J. Sanmartín, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit* (AOAT 24) (= KTU), are now presented with some improved readings. Copies are provided where such have not previously been published. Photographs of all except two very fragmentary texts have appeared previously, but photographs are here provided for RS 34.124 and 34.148. (However, the recto and verso of RS 34.124 are interchanged and upside down.) All texts are presented in transcription. The provision of translation and length of commentary varies with the condition and nature of the text.

The Ugaritic texts consist of administrative lists (mostly in poor condition), two letters, and the now famous funerary text RS 34.126 (KTU 1.161), for which the editors list thirty-nine previous treatments. The shorter letter reports on the security of the border with Carchemish; the longer concerns the king's bodyguard and the daughter of the king of Amurru to whom Yabninu has gone with gifts for the father and a horn of oil to pour over the daughter's head. This part of the volume concludes with a complete glossary as well as indexes.

All but two of the eighty-four Akkadian texts now appear for the first time (except for the less-than-satisfactory photographs in *Ugaritica* VII). Many are provided with copies and photographs. They appear to come from the last half-century of Late Bronze Ugarit. They consist mostly of letters, but also of a few administrative lists and several fragmentary lexicographical lists. One administrative text (RS 34.147) lists thirteen ships of the king of Carchemish that are too old to go anywhere, a telling indication of the

scale both of Carchemish's fleet and of Ugarit's harbor. Twenty-four of the letters represent royal correspondence (mostly concerned with military or diplomatic affairs), six are private (mostly commercial). Among the latter is the largest letter, a lengthy communication concerned mostly with the sickness of the sender's son in the context of a pestilence in Tyre. This part of the volume concludes with indexes.

The second volume contains several essays: Elliot on the ground stone industry (pp. 9–99); Connan, Deschesne, and Dessort on the local origin of the little bitumen used in Late Bronze Ugarit (pp. 101–126); Coqueugnoit on Late Bronze stone tools found between 1978 and 1988 (pp. 127–204); Caubet on stone vessels (pp. 205–64) and the few alabaster objects (pp. 265–72); Yon on stelae (pp. 273–344) and on the relatively few examples of local sculpture in the round (pp. 345–53); and Frost on "Anchors sacred and profane" (pp. 355–410). Each essay is provided with a detailed table of contents and with illustrations, tables, and bibliography. Since it is impossible here to comment on all of these essays, the rest of this review will attend to Yon's chapter on the stelae, which will probably be of primary interest to most readers of this journal.

Yon reviews (and provides photographs and drawings of) all nineteen stelae found at Ugarit since 1929 (five previously unpublished). She gives information about the location of the stelae when found (most were on the acropolis), and concludes that all are votive and would originally have been housed in or immediately around sanctuaries. All except two are sculpted, and most portray deities (El, Baal, Anat, and perhaps Resheph), with humans (especially the king) appearing on five. The closest analogues to these figures are the metal and stone figurines also found at Ras Shamra, though her interpretations of several of the stelae also draw on comparable representations from elsewhere (reproduced among the plates alongside the stela in question). Yon studies the sculptural technique (*champlevé* except in the case of the one Egyptian product) and concludes that the stelae would originally have been painted. While heavily influenced by Egyptian models, they represent a distinctive Syrian style which is continued in the Syro-Hittite and Phoenician stelae of the first millennium. Following such general remarks, Yon gives a detailed description and interpretation of each stela in turn. Notes on the inscriptions are provided by Gasse (Egyptian) and Bordreuil and Pardee (Ugaritic). The only Ugaritic inscriptions are the two dedications to Dagan (*KTU* 6.13 and 14). Inexplicably the hand copies of both inscriptions are quite inferior to the photographs. Bordreuil and Pardee correct the reading of the last word of *KTU* 6.14 to *mḥrṯt* (the *t* is visible only on the photograph) and make the nice suggestion that the two expressions, *alp lakl* and *alp bmḥrṯt*, distinguish an ox for food from a plow-ox (i.e., beef cattle from draft animals).

Simon B. Parker

School of Theology, Boston University, Boston, MA 02215

The Function of the Niph'al in Biblical Hebrew in Relationship to Other Passive-Reflexive Verbal Stems and to the Pu'al and Hoph'al in Particular, by P. A. Siebesma. SSN 28. Assen/Maastricht, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1991. Pp. x + 207. Dfl 49.50 (paper).

Siebesma's book, a slightly revised edition of his 1988 dissertation (Dutch), represents a significant contribution to the study of the Niph'al and other passive/reflexive stems. The author begins by surveying the research on the verbal stems in

Biblical Hebrew and contrasting the traditional Hebrew grammarians, influenced by Arabic grammar (e.g., Gesenius-Kautzsch, Lambert, etc.) with the more recent work of Hebraists and Semitists, influenced by Akkadian grammar, especially E. Jenni, whose views on the Piel and Niphal are carefully detailed. In delineating the study, Siebesma assumes the general accuracy of the Masoretic pointing (at least for identifying Niphal forms) and addresses Niphal forms disputed among the standard Hebrew reference works by giving specific reasons for either including or rejecting a disputed Niphal within the scope of the study. Siebesma divides and analyzes the textual material into three classes: prose, poetry, and prophecy. As for the meaning and function of the Niphal, Siebesma assumes, and later concludes like Jenni, that the Niphal expresses a uniform category of meaning—passive/reflexive—into which all other Niphal meanings or categories “fit,” and, unlike Jenni, that the Niphal may function as a passive/reflexive not only for the Qal but also for other active stems.

Having established the scope and presuppositions of the study, Siebesma spends most of the book presenting various charts, statistical data, interpretation, and analysis that examines the Niphal in particular and other passive-reflexive stems (Pual, Hophal, Hithpael, and the Qal passive), especially as they relate to the Niphal. He concludes that the Niphal and the Pual may function as a passive to the Qal in some roots in which both the Niphal (usually in the imperfect) and the Pual (usually in the perfect) have a semantic relationship to the Qal. Under similar circumstances, the Niphal (usually in the perfect) and the Hophal (usually in the imperfect) may be a passive to a Qal; the Niphal (usually in the perfect) and the Hithpael (usually in the imperfect) may be a passive/reflexive to a Piel; the Niphal (usually in the perfect) and the Hophal (usually in the imperfect) may be a passive to a Hiphil; the Niphal (usually in the imperfect) and the Pual (usually in the perfect) may be a passive to a Hiphil.

According to Siebesma, some of the stems (e.g., the Pual) may be explained as improperly pointed Qal passives; however, the stems more commonly show a weakening of their semantic oppositions so that a Niphal can function as a passive, not only for the Qal, but also for a Piel, Hiphil, and Hithpael. Therefore, Siebesma rejects Jenni's claim that Biblical Hebrew verbal stems are a closed system (i.e., each verbal stem is always semantically distinct from all other stems).

The work has many admirable features. Siebesma's survey of previous works on the verbal stems, such as Ryder, Leemhuis, Boonstra, and especially Jenni, is outstanding. His writing, or at least the translation of the Dutch, is lucid, unobscured by technical jargon. The author also presents his presuppositions, evidence, and conclusions in a fair, judicious manner. Moreover, Siebesma's conclusions, particularly his rejection of Jenni's view of the closed system of Hebrew verbal stems, are very plausible.

Nonetheless, the work has some drawbacks. Often Siebesma provides statistics and charts that have little or no value. Indeed, Siebesma's analysis is too frequently statistical rather than exegetical, leaving one with more questions than answers. Is there any exegetical significance in the fact that a Niphal or Hophal may function as a passive (or perhaps reflexive) to a Hiphil in certain roots? Are they simply interchangeable or is it significant whether the author chooses one or the other? Does it matter whether the Niphal prefers the perfect and the Hophal the imperfect? If there has been a weakening of the semantic opposition between the various verbal stems, can one be sure, or even safely assume, that the Niphal, or for that matter any verbal stem, has not developed

additional categories of meanings instead of Siebesma's assumption that the Niphal has a "uniform category of meaning"?

Although the work leaves some questions, particularly of an exegetical nature, Siebesma has made an important contribution and has advanced the research of the Niphal in particular and the other passive/reflexive stems in general.

Russell Fuller

Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, OH 45220

Ashkelon Discovered: From Canaanites and Philistines to Romans and Moslems, by Lawrence E. Stager. Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991. Pp. viii + 64. \$11.95 (paper).

This booklet collects a series of three articles on recent excavations at Ashkelon first published in the March/April, May/June, and July/August, 1991, issues of *Biblical Archaeology Review*. Everything is written by Stager except for a four-page article on bone crafting by Paula Wapnish and a two-page summary of letters to the editor. No significant change has been made in the pages of the journal articles. As a result the beautiful colored pictures remain, but so does an intrusive advertisement for the journal itself (p. 48). Likewise, reader letters (pp. 63-64) voting on whether to print pictures of erotic oil lamps are unnecessary and should have been excluded.

Stager writes an excellent popular excavation report. Scholars will wait impatiently for a more complete report, especially on the unusual dog cemetery with 700 burials from the fifth century BCE. Stager hypothesizes (probably correctly) that the dogs were part of a healing cult, and interprets "wages of a dog" (Deut 23:18) literally (pp. 35-36) rather than "wages/earnings of a male prostitute" with several of the translations (e.g., REB, NIV, etc.). This booklet can be highly recommended to all types of readers.

James C. Moyer

Southwest Missouri State University, Springfield, MO 65804-0095

Josua, by Manfred Görg. EB 26. Würzburg: Echter, 1991. Pp. 115. N.P. (paper).

Die Neue Echter Bibel commentary series seeks to offer up-to-date critical commentary on the biblical books, with a minimum of technical scholarship and a clear focus on the theological import of the texts. The series is based on the *Einheitsübersetzung*, a recent ecumenical version intended to give Catholic and Evangelical churches a common biblical text for liturgical, devotional, and educational use. Görg's Joshua commentary is, in effect, an annotated fascicle of the new translation, offering commentary in the form of critical footnotes to the text of the *Einheitsübersetzung*.

Görg opens with an overview of his method and his conclusions about Joshua's redactional history. He makes basically sound comments about recent archaeological and sociological treatments of Israel's origins, which describe a complex history of converging and opposing social interests, generally centered on the conflict between urban and non-urban social groups. In the earliest layer of Joshua 2, Görg finds faint echoes of this ancient social history, though, of course, the portrayal in the present text is far removed from the actual social conflict from which Israel emerged.

The bulk of Görg's commentary treats literary and theological questions raised by the text's history of redaction. Görg rejects the redactional model of Smend, Dietrich, and Veijola, which has dominated German-language and, to a lesser extent, British scholarship on the Deuteronomistic History for more than a decade. Their model is built on a series of exilic deuteronomistic layers: the primary historical work DtrH (or, in earlier articulations of the model, DtrG), supplemented by a "prophetic" redaction (DtrP) and a legal or "nomistic" redaction (DtrN). Some versions of the model make finer distinctions, adding further redactional layers. Görg appropriately considers this differentiation unprovable and rejects the model without much ado.

It is not that Görg envisions a simple redaction history for Joshua, certainly nothing so simple as the Josianic Dtr1 and exilic Dtr2 posited by Cross and now widely accepted in the United States. To the contrary, Görg discerns a complex history of editing which begins in Judah's Assyrian period as a pre-deuteronomistic basic history and continues through the late postexilic period as a fusing of deuteronomic and priestly traditions by means of literary seams which are post-deuteronomistic and post-priestly. The limited scope of the commentary and the massive task of adequately delineating Joshua's complex redactional history leave Görg with one realistic option, to focus almost exclusively on the major and easily provable editorial layers.

The three major phases of literary production are designated as pre-deuteronomistic, deuteronomistic, and post-deuteronomistic. In the pre-deuteronomistic phase, particularly in some of the conquest stories but also sprinkled throughout the concluding Shechem covenant narrative, Görg finds a literary kernel which probably belongs to a late- or post-Yahwistic layer (JE), which he calls "Jehowistic." In light of this literary connection with the Pentateuchal JE texts, Görg finds the notion of a "Hexateuch" reasonable (p. 105). The paradigmatic conquest stories in this pre-deuteronomistic foundational layer focus not on successful military strategy, but on the autonomous intervention of God. Görg locates this theme historically in the Assyrian period, when Judeans, under the increasing pressure of imperial domination, needed to be reminded of Yahweh's unconditional promise of security for Jerusalem and Judah. Görg sees slight variations within the second, deuteronomistic phase, but thinks it impossible to pinpoint distinct deuteronomistic redactions, particularly in light of editorial revisions by the post-deuteronomistic commentators. In the third major phase, post-deuteronomistic, the deuteronomic traditions of phase two are fused with priestly traditions, a fusion so thorough as to make it virtually impossible to disentangle the two tradition streams. Görg points to the asylum- and levitical-city lists (chapters 20 and 21) and the embassy of Phineas to the Transjordanian tribes (chapter 22) as the clearest examples of this post-deuteronomistic merging of priestly and deuteronomic traditions. After an irredeemably deuteronomistic farewell address in chapter 23, Joshua concludes with the Shechem covenant in which all three major redactional phases come together in a climactic unity.

Overall, Görg's redactional model stands outside the mainstream of Joshua scholarship in Germany or the United States today. Though many would see something resembling priestly tradition in the Phineas embassy of chapter 22, few scholars since Noth have spent much energy tracing Pentateuchal literary sources through Joshua. Despite his more sophisticated redaction-critical approach, Görg has much in common with the older source-critical treatments of Joshua, which were put to pasture by Noth in *The Deuteronomistic History*.

Finally, Görg's redactional model has less to commend it than other current options. The great advantage of Cross's dual-redaction hypothesis (Dtr1 and Dtr2) over against the Smend-Dietrich model, for example, is that it situates its redactions in distinct social-historical settings and thus gives them rationale. Görg's three-phase redaction falls short in this regard. He does see a link with Judah's Assyrian period in the early conquest stories, because they emphasize Yahweh's power to rescue rather than Israel's military might. Such a link, even if true, however, is insufficient to indicate a pre-deuteronomistic layer, much less one that stands in the tradition of JE. Deuteronomistic theology certainly had its roots in the Assyrian period and emerged full-blown shortly after the collapse of Assyrian hegemony in Judah, in the reform of Josiah. As Deuteronomy 20 and Judges 7 show, the theme of Yahweh's power exercised on behalf of a militarily weak Israel is a deuteronomistic narrative staple, made spicier still by the deuteronomists' literary successors in the postexilic period (2 Chronicles 20). One need not turn to JE to explain this theme which undeniably is present in Joshua. In the end, the strongest case can be made for Görg's second redactional layer, but what else is new?

This is not a ground-breaking commentary. Nor will scholars find it particularly useful. Still, Görg handles many passages with a keen literary sensitivity. He is especially good at describing the symbolic and confessional character of the Joshua stories, gently raising the historical questions and, in the process, tracing a history of theological struggle by a community through time, seeking new enlightenment for the present by reclaiming and reshaping the stories of the community's past. His redactional model is perhaps too idiosyncratic for a commentary series such as this. The lay audience toward which it is directed, however, will find a number of useful insights into the text.

Richard H. Lowery

Phillips University and Phillips Graduate Seminary, Enid, OK 73702

Joswaboken: en programskrift för davidisk restauration, by Magnus Ottosson. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Studia Biblica Upsaliensis 1. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1991. Pp. 300. SEK 174 (paper).

In his study of the book of Joshua, Ottosson presents his understanding of Joshua as a deuteronomistic piece of propaganda, deriving from the age of King Josiah. In his work, the deuteronomistic writer explains his program for a restoration of the United Kingdom. Thus his redactional ideas were decisive to such a degree that the deuteronomistic writer makes his description of the Israelite conquest conform with the notion of the kingdom of David in the books of Samuel. The Judean perspective cannot, however, be denied, insofar as a specific Judean (partly also Benjaminite) flavor can be traced in most parts of Joshua, not least in the lists of the allotted tribal lands.

However, Ottosson not only defends his view of Joshua, he actually presents a fresh view of the redactional history of Joshua, including a reevaluation of the inter-relationship between the deuteronomistic framework of Joshua and the so-called P-intersections—usually considered late interpolations—believed to be present in the book. In a rather convincing fashion, Ottosson shows that the P-sections can hardly be called secondary elements of the narratives. To the contrary, the deuteronomistic

writer obviously knew these P-sections in advance and often incorporated them in such a way that they now form the core of the deuteronomistic narrative itself. Thus it is possible to describe the relations between the books of Numbers and Joshua in light of this new understanding of P in Joshua, although it should at the same time be realized that Ottosson does not—unlike some Israeli scholars of the present—think of “P” as a coherent source or writer dating from the preexilic period. Rather, Ottosson’s “P” represents a collection of traditions preserved by the local priesthoods at shrines like Gilgal, Shiloh, etc.

This exciting study, however, has more to offer. In a major section, Ottosson construes an elaborate argument in favor of his thesis by publishing an extended analysis of the city-names not only in the book of Joshua, but in all of the OT. This chapter can be read and enjoyed on its own merits and without reference to the general argument; it undoubtedly represents one of the best treatments of the subject available.

Another bonus is a well-written and up-to-date review of recent studies on the origin of Israel. Ottosson—being himself an archaeologist by profession—herein presents a balanced view of the archaeological situation in Palestine in the Early Iron period, and when he has to choose between various models of Israelite origin, the only acceptable one to Ottosson seems to be the evolutionistic one that follows the guidelines laid down by Mendenhall and Gottwald and modified by authors like Ahlström, Lemche, Thompson and others.

Although Ottosson’s study certainly belongs to the so-called Uppsala school (cf. his notion of local P-traditions), at the same time it exhibits a balanced literary approach to the analysis of Joshua, hardly to be missed by students of the traditions of Israel’s origins. His description of the relations between deuteronomistic and priestly elements in Joshua is most convincing; his date of the book, however, is not. Here, he seems to have placed himself firmly between two contrasting opinions as to the origin and date of P: either an old piece of tradition or a very late literary source, the final redactional layer in the Pentateuch, or the like. Should the last-mentioned view be correct—as most scholars probably still hold—then the book of Joshua can hardly be Josianic. In this case Ottosson has as a matter of fact—although unwittingly—proved that Joshua must be exilic or even postexilic, not earlier than P. This opens up a number of possibilities, for example, how to reevaluate the deuteronomistic redaction not only in Joshua, but in general, and his study especially invites scholars to take up again the possibility of a late deuteronomistic editing of the Tetrateuch. It also says that deuteronomistic writers may have worked more or less in the same period as the priestly writers. That Ottosson has not himself seen all these possibilities does not diminish the value of his work; it certainly represents a most inspiring and full contribution to the study of the Deuteronomistic History in general, and especially to the book of Joshua.

It is, however, a pity that this study has been barred from obtaining a wide readership, in that it is published in Swedish. Although the author has provided his study with an extensive summary in English (15 pp.), such a summary cannot act as a substitute for the monograph itself. It is important that this study soon find an English translator.

Niels Peter Lemche
University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen DK-1150, Denmark

Isaiah and His Audience: The structure and meaning of Isaiah 1–12, by Yehoshua Gitay. *Studia Semitica Neerlandica* 30. Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1991. Pp. ix + 283. Dfl. 49.50 (paper).

The author argues that Isaiah 1–12 in its entirety derives from the prophet Isaiah. He rejects the notion of a multileveled text, consisting of the historical preaching of Isaiah and further editorial enrichment. Form criticism, with its interest in isolating units of speech and assigning these to specific situations-in-life, is most strongly rejected. There is essentially only one situation-in-life for these chapters: the events of the Syro-Ephraimite debacle. Also to be rejected are newer canonical readings which concede that the material has come together from a variety of historical settings for different editorial reasons, but then press on to inquire about the final shaping of the tradition as we now have it. Rather, Isaiah 1–12 represents a “series of oratorical reflections” which have been “arranged in a certain thematic order.” Isaiah is to be conceived of as a rhetorical speaker; shifts in addressant, changes in content and logic, signs of “new units” being introduced are all to be explained as conscious rhetorical strategies of the powerful speaker Isaiah.

The author also rejects the conception of Isaiah as preacher of judgment only. Since all the material in chapters 1–12 goes back to Isaiah, this must include salvation speech as well. He concludes that form criticism is responsible for distorting the prophet Isaiah, because of its interest in short units of speech and its picture of Israel’s prophets as prophets of doom. Newer form and redaction critical analysis is not discussed in detail. Appeal is very frequently made to Aristotle’s theories of poetics and rhetoric in support of the author’s conceptual model for Isaiah of Jerusalem.

The total rejection of a multileveled text has had the consequence that on occasion we are led to see new connections in the final form of the text. But the focus on poetic strategies, rhetorical logic, and the defense of Isaianic origin has a wearying effect at many points, and produces a somewhat monotonous exposition. For all his concern with a single historical setting, certain very key questions are never clearly answered. It is never fully clear who Immanuel was, for example. This stems in part from the persistent emphasis on poetic strategies employed by the prophet. In the end we may learn more about how Isaiah says something than what he says. A final concern is that unless one is prepared to accept Gitay’s diachronic model—which strikes this reviewer as idiosyncratic—his synchronic observations will not be taken as seriously as he would like.

Christopher R. Seitz

Yale Divinity School, New Haven, CT 06510

Die Gerichtsbotschaft Jesaias: Charakter und Begründung, by Scholastika Deck. FB 67. Würzburg: Echter, 1991. Pp. x + 310.

This inaugural dissertation completed under Lothar Ruppert in November of 1990 is an investigation of the contents, grounding, and overall character of eighth-century Isaiah’s message of judgment. The author is well aware that the tide in recent Isaiah scholarship has been toward synchronic studies of the book as a whole (pp. 2–4), but argues that Isaiah’s message of judgment remains important for two reasons: (1) it is a testimony to the prophet’s authentic experience of God, and (2) it is the dynamic

theological kernel which stands at the beginning of the process which produced the book as a whole.

In the first and by far longest chapter of his study (pp. 8–186) Deck attempts to determine which judgment texts in Isaiah 1–39 can be *reliably* assigned to the eighth-century Isaiah. This means that rather than trying to establish which texts cannot come from Isaiah, Deck focuses here on identifying which texts must come from that prophet. In the process, Deck attempts to steer a middle course between studies which have denied Isaianic authorship to all or almost all of Isaiah 1–39 (e.g., J. Vermeulen, *Du prophète Isaïe à l'apocalyptique* [EBib; Paris: Gabalda, 1977–1978]; O. Kaiser, *Das Buch des Propheten Jesaja* [5th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981]) and studies which tend to presume Isaianic authorship unless there are contrary indications in the text (such as H. Wildberger's massive commentary, *Jesaja* [BKAT 10:1–3; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1965–1982]). As in many such studies done over the past few decades in Continental Europe (particularly Germany), Deck generally begins with an overall pericope, and then whittles it down to its earliest layer through a microscopic investigation of indicators of later additions such as the following: changes in person, disruption in meter, shifts in tone or subject, and similarities to post-eighth-century literature. Once the kernel is isolated, Deck considers various criteria for antiquity and possible Isaianic authorship, in particular whether the kernel can be plausibly located in a historical situation during Isaiah's career, and the extent to which it has been subjected to multiple redactions. Thus, for example, out of chapter 1, Deck finds only 1:2–3, 11–12b, 14–17* and 21–23a to be clearly enough "Isaianic" to serve as the basis for the study.

Having thus established a textual basis for investigation of Isaiah's overall judgment message, Deck proceeds to do just that in the next two parts of his study. The second chapter investigates Isaiah's social, political, and other explanations for his announcement of judgment (pride, drunkenness, and scorn). This leads Deck to identify two dimensions of Isaiah's explanation of God's judgment. On the one hand, Isaiah attempts to *persuade* his listeners of the wrongness of their behavior through appealing to a variety of traditions familiar to them, particularly Israel's legal traditions and ancient Near Eastern wisdom. On the other hand, Deck also discerns an overall focus in Isaiah on another level of justification of judgment: the audience's consistent failure to inquire after Yahweh's will and properly interpret Yahweh's actions.

On this basis, Deck attempts in his final chapter to synthesize the major insights from previous studies of the character of Isaiah's overall message of judgment. The main issue is whether Isaiah aimed for repentance of the people or proclaimed from the beginning an irreversible judgment on them. Deck discerns a consistent dimension of Isaiah's explanation of judgment which is focused on *persuading* the audience of their wrong, and ends up siding primarily with those who see Isaiah as aiming toward possible repentance of the people, even in those texts which do not explicitly mention this possibility. Yet texts such as Isa 29:9–10 and 6:9–10 indicate to Deck that Isaiah ended up determining in retrospect that the people's failure to respond to his message was divinely ordained.

This book is a useful synthesis for those interested in the investigation of the eighth-century Isaiah's message, particularly his message of judgment. The author does a nice job of gathering and judiciously considering relevant observations on this topic from studies over the last twenty years, particularly those done in Continental Europe.

Notably, although the position in the European context is somewhat moderate regarding authenticity of passages from Isaiah, American readers may find Deck overly prone toward identifying multiple later additions to passages, or denying Isaianic authorship to them altogether. Also, certain important, fairly recent English-language works relevant to central parts of the problem addressed in this study are not cited and need to be considered, including the following: R. Clements, *Isaiah 1–39* (NCB; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980); G. Stansell, *Micah and Isaiah: A Form and Tradition Historical Comparison* (SBLDS 85; Atlanta, GA: Scholars, 1988 [publication of a 1981 Heidelberg dissertation]); and K. Nielsen, *There is Hope for a Tree: The Tree as Metaphor in Isaiah* (JSOTSup 65; Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1989). Finally, the book shares many of the organizational and stylistic infelicities that come with published dissertations. In particular, the first chapter is characterized by digressions and extended discussions of material not ultimately relevant to the study. Errors are not prominent, although some can briefly interfere with the appreciation of the study. For example, in the first fifty pages Deck cites 10:24–27 on p. 48 where 14:24–27 must have been meant, and refers to two nonexistent texts—Isa 29:5–83 on p. 24 and 37:39 on p. 29. Also, small marks from the manuscript are blurred or obscured in the printed copy so that Hebrew vowels appear only occasionally and the small footnote numbers in the text are almost completely indecipherable.

Nevertheless, this is a well-conceived and competently executed work, recommended both for its reference value to other works in the field and its careful attempt to synthesize the best of the observations on this topic from previous studies.

David M. Carr
Methodist Theological School in Ohio, Delaware, OH 43015

Zion's Final Destiny: The Development of the Book of Isaiah: A Reassessment of Isaiah 36–39, by Christopher R. Seitz. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1991. Pp xii + 228. \$24.95.

The problem Seitz addresses is the extensive growth of the “Isaiah traditions” which resulted in “the present sixty-six-chapter book,” in particular the circumstances under which Isaiah 40–55 were composed (p. ix). Micah, with its prediction of the fall of Jerusalem (quoted in Jer 26:16–19), would seem a more likely candidate for expansion. Furthermore, portions of Isaiah 1–39 postdate the “relatively unified compositions” of 40–55 and 56–66. How, then, did the latter come to be attached to the unstable former (p. 4)? His “thesis” is that “the Book of Isaiah grew out of a concern to understand and then adumbrate Zion’s final destiny” (p. x); his “purpose” is to assess “the theory that Second Isaiah has taken shape in conscious relationship to a Proto-Isaiah collection, with an evaluation of the exegetical implications such a relationship would have for chapters 40–55” (p. 37; other, somewhat differing, statements of “a” or “the” thesis occur on pp. 6, 13, 127, 208).

Seitz’s approach is, broadly speaking, literary. While most scholarship since Duhm has studied Isaiah 36–39 “in the context of 2 Kgs 18:13–20:19, within a set framework of quite specific historical and literary-critical questions concerning what happened in 701 BCE” (p. ix), he takes the whole book as the context for discussing individual sections of it, emphasizing the function of chaps. 36–39 in relation to the other blocks

of material in Isaiah. As its subtitles indicate, the book's focus is narrow, but it has broad implications for understanding the present book of Isaiah.

Chapter 1 describes theories about the redactional history of Isaiah from Duhm (1892) to the present, emphasizing the need to study the book of Isaiah "in its entirety" in order to lay bare the "reciprocal relationships" of its three parts in the final form. Seitz shows how Duhm's more complex argument for the separation of First from Second Isaiah was reduced by all who followed him to "a matter of geography" (p. 10): Deutero-Isaiah prophesied among the exiles in Babylon and was "absolutely unrelated to the prophet Isaiah or the tradition associated with him as it now exists in the Book of Isaiah" (p. 13). The problematic result of this move was the view that the book of Isaiah has three different sections. Each of these sections became a separate research area, and little attention has been given to the relationship among them (pp. 14–15).

Chapter 2 establishes the importance of Isaiah 36–39 for assessing the relationship of Second to Proto-Isaiah.

Chapter 3, the longest of the book, examines Isaiah 36–37. Seitz argues that 2 Kgs 18:14–16, absent in Isaiah, is not a historical account of events in 701 BCE (he notes discrepancies with Sennacherib's annal, which has its own ideological agenda), but a Dtr editorial supplement intended to make a correlation between the foreign policies of Ahaz (16:5–9) and Hezekiah, thereby justifying Dtr's view that Josiah was superior to his "insurpassable" (18:5) predecessor (the concerns of the redactors of Kings and of Isaiah were different; see, for example, pp. 58–59, 161). Isaiah 36–37, though a composite work, is a "unified narrative" depicting Hezekiah as one whose reliance on YHWH, not foreign alliances, is responsible for deliverance from an arrogant and blasphemous Assyrian king. This narrative, with its focus on a king's "penitence and prayer (which) averts a merited sentence of judgment" has its likely origin in "the early years of Manasseh's reign" (p. 114), its "pedagogical target" being "the royal house itself" (p. 101).

Chapter 4 takes up the "puzzle" of the growth of the book of Isaiah: Why did Isaiah and not some other prophetic traditions (like Micah, with its explicit prediction of the temple's destruction) undergo such extensive post-587 BCE redaction? Seitz suggests that prophecies of salvation embedded in Proto-Isaiah (e.g., expressions of YHWH's concern for Zion, including the narrative of the deliverance in 701 now found in chaps. 36–37) "created sufficient dissonance given the overrunning of Zion in 587, that an extension was necessitated" (p. 127). "There is a strong likelihood that Second Isaiah was from its inception intended to form an extension to the Proto-Isaiah traditions" (p. 147). In chapter 5 Seitz argues that Isaiah 38 extends the theme of YHWH's victory over foreign gods and kings by contrasting Hezekiah's deliverance from death with Sennacherib's fate (37:37–38) and promoting an identification between the deliverance of Hezekiah and of Zion. Chapter 39 links Proto-Isaiah's judgment tradition to 587, "reminding" readers of 36–38 that Zion's fate had been averted in 701 by "a singular case of royal obedience" (p. 190). It is concerned with "prophecy fulfillment in a direct sense" (p. 185), and serves as the bridge between "celebration of Zion's near destiny" (36–38) and Second Isaiah's pondering of "questions about Zion's final destiny" (p. 190).

In the conclusion, Seitz turns briefly to Second Isaiah, suggesting that it is not the product of a prophetic individual living in exile (note, for example, "the Zion orientation of the literature," p. 206), but was "composed in relationship – not just to older forms – but to an actual developing body of Isaiah tradition, most notably the Hezekiah-Isaiah narratives" (p. 208).

One of the strengths of this study is that it shifts the focus of the debate from "historical" to literary concerns. For example, his deconstructing of the Sennacherib annal, his focus on the "logic and movement" of the so-called "B account" in chaps. 36–37 (pp. 81, 87), and his argument that the tradition of Hezekiah's illness (chap. 38) is "not so much event-generated as text-generated" (pp. 173, 175–76) allow him to make progress toward accounting for the present form of the book of Isaiah. Another strength is his exhaustive treatment of the views of other scholars, though the extreme detail of some of these reviews renders the argument complex and at times difficult to follow.

Overall, Seitz argues his case forcefully and convincingly. In this time of ferment and progress in Isaiah studies, his is a book to be reckoned with.

Thomas W. Overholt

University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point, WI 54481

Vision eines auf Verheissung gegründeten Jerusalem: Textanalytische Studien zu Jesaja 54, by Gottfried Glassner. ÖBS 11. Klosterneuberg: Österreichisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1991. Pp. ix + 278. DM 39 (paper).

Glassner's work is divided into four chapters. In the first chapter he establishes the Hebrew text and arrives at the preliminary literary-critical conclusion that Isaiah 54 derives from one hand. The second chapter contains a translation and description of the syntax of each verse. By far the longest chapter (pp. 92–223) was the third, in which Glassner divides Isaiah 54 into five sections (vv. 1–3, 4–6, 7–10, 11–14a, 14b–17) and describes the poetical devices and structure of each section. He concludes that section with a description of the poetical devices and structure of the entire chapter and a brief interpretation of Isaiah 54. The final section of the book deals with the "horizon" of Isaiah 54.

Since Glassner's study of the syntax and structure of the chapter is so detailed, it is impossible to summarize it. Other conclusions can be reviewed, however. Glassner argues that Isaiah 54 is a salvation oracle answering a lament. His discussion of the poetical and rhetorical devices common to the entire chapter support his conclusion that it is a unity. It was directed to the Yahweh community in exile, which all too long had been deprived of its religious and national center in Jerusalem. The *Heilsorakel* depicted the past/present condition of the exiles by means of the image of a childless widow and the future in terms of a woman with numerous offspring. The images evoked also the story of the childless Sarah and God's promise of numerous progeny. By means of these contrasting images, the author was able to depict the immanent turn of God toward his people. The time of God's anger would be short; his return to his beloved immanent. In vv. 11–17 the author described the beauty of the new Jerusalem and its safety from oppressors. The future of God's people lay exclusively in his hands.

With regard to the place of Isaiah 54 within Deutero-Isaiah, Glassner argues that a "Zion Perspective" dominates in chapters 49–55. Within these chapters Isaiah 54 articulates the future blessing of the city. Other texts that correlate well on this point are chap. 47; 49:13, 14–21; and 51:17–23. Zion's passivity also reflects that of the Servant of Yahweh. Indeed, Isaiah 54 stands close to the third and fourth Servant Songs, not only textually, but also in terms of content. The message of Zion's salvation was thus

bound to the negative experiences of the exile in the plan of God. Following chap. 54, then, came the promises of 55:3b–11. Finally, Glassner argues that an abiding influence of the message and figure of the prophet Jeremiah on the formation and development of Deutero-Isaiah can be recognized in Isaiah 54.

There is little that is new in these conclusions. Glassner is certainly not alone in understanding Isaiah 54 as a unity, though his particular division into five sections may be new. The relationship between chaps. 54 and 49 (at least) has long been recognized. The chapter has long been recognized, in whole or in part, as a *Heilsorakel*. Nor has Glassner advanced the basic understanding of the message of the chapter as the immanent reversal of God's bearing toward Jerusalem. If such considerations receive limited attention by Glassner, poetical analysis constitutes the strength of the study. Even here, however, he attributes the method he employs to H. Schweizer (especially "Motive und Ziele sprachwissenschaftlicher Methodik," *Biblische Notizen* 18 [1982] 79–85; and *Metaphorische Grammatik: Wege zur Integration und Textinterpretation in der Exegese* [Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament 15; St. Ottilien: EOS, 1981]) and his criteria for poetry (pp. 107–8) to M. Krieg (*Todesbilder im Alten Testament oder: "Wie die Alten den Tod Gebildet"* [ATANT 73; Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1988]). He has, however, applied these insights very extensively to Isaiah 54.

Paul L. Redditt

Georgetown College, Georgetown, KY 40324

The Book of Ezekiel and the Poem of Erra, by Daniel Bodi. OBO 104. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991. Pp. iv + 324. SFr 78.

The thesis of this book is that the book of Ezekiel was consciously shaped by reference to the Epic of Erra. Positioning himself firmly in the century-old *interpretatio Babylonica* of Ezekiel, Bodi sets out four major assumptions which guide this research.

First, he assumes that the book of Ezekiel "should be studied as a work of particular literary artistry" (p. 15). Second, he assumes that there exists an "inter-connectedness of themes, motifs, and expressions among the literatures of the ancient Near East" (p. 19). Third, he assumes a Babylonian locale "as the environment in which the book of Ezekiel was composed, and where the prophet exercised his ministry" (p. 21). Fourth, he assumes the adequacy of the MT in order to afford his study "the advantage of being based on an actual text" (p. 22). Literary critics, historical critics, and textual critics will no doubt have something to say in response to each one of these assumptions.

Nevertheless, on the basis of these assumptions Bodi believes he can identify twelve salient "features" common to both Ezekiel and Erra, features which he subdivides into two broad categories: (1) features unique to Ezekiel and present in Erra, and (2) features which Ezekiel shares with antecedent OT traditions, which must now be reconsidered, according to Bodi, in the light of Erra.

Under the first category Bodi discusses the following: the motif of "scorn/contempt" (Heb. *šē'āt*, Akk. *šētu*), the presence of "shining/amber" (Heb. *ḥašmal*, Akk. *elmēšu*), the motif of seven executioners, and the motif of the preservation from the Flood. Each motif in Ezekiel is claimed to have been rather directly influenced by Erra's classically elegant couplets on the destruction of Babylon. Apparently, though no reason is given, the river of influence could not logically flow the other way (from Ezekiel to Erra).

Under the second category come the motifs of “noise” (Heb. *ḥāmôn*, Akk. *ḥubūru/rigmu*), “net-throwing” (Heb. *pāraś rešet*, Akk. *ana šakān kamāri/šēti*), the absence of the divinity from its shrine, Jerusalem/Babylon as the navel of the earth, the “song of the sword,” Ezekiel and his counterpart Iṣum in the role of “watchman,” the motifs of “remnant” and “restoration,” and Ezekiel’s/Erra’s common use of “recognition-formulae.”

Predictably, some parallels seem more convincing than others. Parallels between the Sibitti-demons in Erra and the seven executioners of Ezekiel 9 have long been noted, at least since 1937, as Bodi notes (H. G. May, “The Departure of the Glory of Yahweh,” *JBL* 56 [1937] 320 n. 34). Yet in other cases the parallels attested here seem less than convincing, either because the evidence itself is too slim (Heb. *ḥašmal* appears only three times in Ezekiel, nowhere else in the OT), or too linguistically awkward (e.g., the parallel between Akk. *šētu* and Heb. *š’t*, in spite of the latter term’s medial *aleph*).

The book’s most basic problem, however, seems to be its lack of a clear methodology. With J. Barr, Bodi commendably dissociates himself from “the error of ‘root fallacy,’” and with M. Held he focuses on functional rather than etymological equivalency when analyzing parallels between biblical and nonbiblical literature (pp. 25–26). Yet two introductory dissociative remarks do not a methodology make. What is the overall theoretical framework behind this research? What criteria help the reader to decide whether a given parallel is more or less probable than any other? How can we know whether Bodi’s parallels are any more or less convincing than those offered by Frankena, Garfinkel, or any other scholar working with this material?

Students of Ezekiel and Erra will doubtless appreciate the hard investigative work that went into gathering, assembling, and collating what can only be described as fascinating parallels between two important works of ancient literature. The sheer number of *possible* parallels between the book of Ezekiel and the Epic of Erra demands that both works be read dialogically. Defining the parameters and goals of this dialogue, however, remains an unfinished task.

Michael S. Moore

Arizona State University—West Campus, Phoenix, AZ 85069

Hoseas Erben: Strukturen der Nachinterpretation im Buch Hosea, by Thomas Naumann. BWANT 131. Stuttgart/Berlin/Cologne: Kohlhammer, 1991. Pp. 198. DM 69 (paper).

This monograph is a revision of the author’s dissertation submitted in 1988 at Halle-Wittenberg under Professor Gerhard Wallis. It aims to comprehend how the message of the prophet Hosea was reinterpreted by those who handed it on, as this is evident from the traces they have left behind in the book bearing his name. This work differs from many earlier attempts along these lines in two major respects. First, it does not employ conventional methods of redactional analysis, as it intentionally rejects the notion that various redactional layers can be peeled back to expose the prophet’s *ipsissima verba*. Second, it does not give consideration to Hosea 1–3, arguing that any resolution of the issues peculiar to this biographically framed introductory section cannot provide a satisfactory basis on which to approach the rest of the book. Chapters 4–14

are therefore bracketed off, as a reinterpreted expression of Hosea's message that is to be approached on its own terms.

Naumann finds the conventional approach to redactional analysis wanting in two respects. First of all, it tends to presuppose that redactional activity was generally of one sort, i.e., that it served to overlay the words of the prophet with the successive messages of the redactors. Other sorts of redactional activity are readily imaginable, however, through which the redactors might endeavor to amplify or extend the message of the prophet rather than to superimpose messages of their own. Such redactional activity would not necessarily assume the form of successive textual layers. Redactional analysis should thus be capable of determining which sort of redactional activity has shaped a particular text, and capable of recognizing redactional structures other than layers.

Moreover, redactional analysis has heretofore not reckoned sufficiently with the fact that the initial transcription of a prophet's speeches would have necessarily assumed some compositional form of its own. It has often been assumed that redactional activity provided an "editorial framework" within which individual prophetic speeches were encased, as if they came singly and discretely to the attention of the redactors, to be worked into a composition of largely their own design. Following Jeremias, Naumann argues that when a prophet's speeches were first written down, whether such transcriptions were instigated by the prophet himself or by his disciples, this would have taken the form of a planned composition. Such compositions were what later redactors would have had to work with, which means that the initial written deposit of the tradition was not mere raw material at their disposal. It already had a definite shape, which redaction surely might modify, but probably not in such a way that this shape would be completely effaced in the process.

Naumann thus attempts to delineate the main compositional blocks of chaps. 4-14, asking whether they might prove comprehensible as the result of a retrospective on the prophet's pronouncements, made rather soon after their initial delivery. Within these blocks of material he looks for signs of editorial activity that indicate the reinterpretation of these textual units in relation to later historical contexts. Since he is not constrained by his presuppositions to view such redactional tendencies in terms of layers running through the composition, he is free to examine each piece of evidence on its own terms, and then to see whether all the evidence exhibits any pattern. This approach produces a description of the various redactional tendencies that is considerably more nuanced than descriptions produced by more conventional methods of redactional analysis.

Naumann concludes that the initial transcription of Hosea's prophecies left an indelible stamp on chaps. 4-14. The compositional form in which they were first cast was meant to authenticate these prophecies as accurate assessments of the situations to which they were originally addressed, and also to authenticate them as paradigms of divine activity that were potentially manifest in later situations. He finds that Hosea's insights regarding the fate of the northern kingdom have been applied in a variety of ways to discern the meaning of Judah's situation, both before and after the exile; but the various reinterpretations are too heterogeneous to be lumped together under such labels as "Deuteronomistic," etc.

This work signals a very positive development in the study of prophetic literature. It offers a "middle way" between two current extremes: (1) trying to delineate the original

words of the prophet and the precise stages of redaction, and thus going beyond what is generally allowed by the nature and extent of the evidence; and (2) maintaining that the limitations of the evidence necessitate ignoring altogether the important fact of redaction. Naumann's work demonstrates that one can stop short of going beyond what the evidence allows, but still say something quite useful.

The viability of Naumann's results depends largely on whether his description of the various individual instances of redaction can be sustained. To a reader not very well versed in the intricacies of Hosea scholarship, it seems that only a few of his analyses are questionable, and that most are convincing or at least plausible. The results may also be somewhat qualified by two larger issues. Though the decision to avoid chaps. 1-3 is certainly understandable, particularly in view of the way in which scholarship has often focused on this introductory material at the expense of the rest of the book, Naumann's conclusions must finally be measured in terms of how well they relate to a cogent overview of the book as a whole. Finally, Naumann's generalizations, regarding the effects of the transition from oral prophetic speech to some kind of written record, remain rather speculative. Though they seem to work here, they may not work in all cases and cannot be simply presupposed.

This work has implications that extend well beyond the interpretation of Hosea alone and is well worth the close attention of any student of prophetic literature.

Michael H. Floyd

Episcopal Seminary of the Southwest, Austin, TX 78768

Habakkuk, by Robert D. Haak. VTSup 44. Leiden: Brill, 1991. Pp. viii + 180. Gld 100.

This valuable study contains four carefully constructed chapters in which the form, content, and historical setting of Habakkuk's prophecy are analyzed and the roles which Habakkuk and other prophets played within Judahite society are examined. In the first chapter, Haak surveys the early Hebrew manuscripts (mainly 1QpHab and the Murabba'at manuscript of the Twelve Prophets) and the versions of Habakkuk and concludes that "there is a basis for the textual study of Habakkuk within the consonantal tradition represented in the MT" (p. 7). He therefore adopts a text-critical methodology in which the consonantal tradition of the MT is given priority but in which emendation is considered legitimate if evidence from the manuscripts and the versions warrants. On the basis of present knowledge, Haak presumes that it is entirely possible "to arrive at an understanding of the text which is closer to the original historical setting than the understanding reflected in the present MT" (p. 10). Indeed, that is the goal of the following chapter ("Translation and Notes").

Moving next to consider the shape of the text, Haak identifies the form as "essentially an individual complaint (cf. 1:2, 3; 2:1; 3:2, 18, 19)" (p. 12) that has undergone "expansion of some elements of the form" (p. 19). There are also indications seen primarily in the use of plural forms in 1:7, 12, etc. that Habakkuk is concerned with a wider group and that he identifies himself (and/or his group) with a royal figure (p. 13). The closer identification of this group and its policies is the subject of chapter 3: "The Setting." Haak presents a summary of the elements which may appear within the individual complaint and then applies those categories in outline form to the work of Habakkuk (pp. 13-20). He is particularly sensitive to the growing recognition that

"within particular forms it is possible and necessary to consider the uniqueness of the author and his setting, particularly as seen by the adaptation of the forms" (p. 109).

Chapter 2, "Translation and Notes," opens with a lyrical translation of the prophecy. Although the text notes (pp. 29–106) are not meant to be exhaustive, the linguistic, textual, and grammatical analyses are thorough, detailed, and persuasive. The notes, divided into manageable chunks which closely follow the form outline presented on pp. 13–20, contain a translation as the introduction to each section. Unfortunately, that setup makes the full translation of the prophecy with which this chapter begins superfluous in its present position. Readers would have been better served by having that translation immediately precede the presentation of Habakkuk's form in the previous chapter. Indeed, such placement would have significantly reduced page turning and provided cohesion and sorely needed reference points for the outline of the prophecy's form.

The strength of this work lies in its analysis of the historical setting of the prophecy (chapter 3). Based on the form of the book and the content of the complaints in 1:2–4 and 1:13–2:1, Haak hypothesizes that Habakkuk was reacting to the breakdown of the function of the monarchy that arose when the "righteous" king was supplanted by a "wicked" one, 1:2–4 (p. 113). Because the prophet views the "righteous" king as still alive and restorable to the throne (1:5–6; 2:2–4), he is distressed that the expected downfall of the "wicked" one has not yet taken place. Thus, Habakkuk's need for speedy action from Yahweh is understandable (p. 113). Haak's identification of "the Chaldeans" (1:6) as the only specific historical allusion in the prophecy leads him to propose that the "wicked" ruler was a king who took an anti-Babylonian stance while the "righteous" king was pro-Babylonian (p. 114). After pointing out that "the intervention of Mesopotamian powers in the affairs of Syria-Palestine is relatively late and sporadic" (p. 115), Haak concisely outlines the history of the foreign policies of Israel and Judah so as to place the prophecy within the proper historical context (pp. 116–30). He contends that the oracle in 1:5–6 is pro-Babylonian, that the pro-Babylonian stance continues throughout the prophecy and thus that Habakkuk was a member of the pro-Babylonian party in Judah (p. 130). Of the limited number of periods when pro-Babylonian groups were strong enough to be a major factor in the affairs of the country, Haak suggests the period of Josiah's attempt at independence, since indications are that both he and his advisors favored Babylon over Egypt and Assyria (p. 130). Further, Haak maintains the likelihood that the same group that supported Josiah's policies also appointed and supported his successor, Jehoahaz (p. 130). Unfortunately for this group, after a brief three-month reign, Jehoahaz was deposed by Necho, taken to Egypt, and replaced by the pro-Egyptian Jehoiakim. Habakkuk thus envisions the dispossession of "the wicked one" by the Chaldeans (1:6) and the return of "the righteous one" to power (2:4). The internal evidence of the prophecy suggests, therefore, that Habakkuk was written after the deposition of Jehoahaz, probably during Jehoiakim's reign (p. 132). Further, because the prophet complains that the promised deliverance has been delayed (2:3), Haak considers it "appropriate to place the prophecy in a period in which the Babylonian advance into Judah would have been expected but didn't actually occur," most likely between the battle of Carchemish in 605 BCE and Jehoiakim's capitulation to Babylon in 603 BCE (p. 132).

Viewing Habakkuk as one of a diverse group of supporters of Jehoahaz, Haak next discusses the "parties" active during this period (pp. 139–49). Although there has been

strong agreement on the constituents of each party—the pro-Babylonian, pro-Josianic reform group including Jeremiah among others, and the pro-Egyptian, anti-Josianic group including Hananiah and a group of royal officials, Haak criticizes the assumption “that all elements of each of the parties must share viewpoints on all matters with all other members of the group” (p. 141). Thus, we should not conclude that Jeremiah, the Deuteronomic historian and Habakkuk were equally strong supporters of Jehoahaz simply because each expressed a pro-Babylonian stance. “Their specific evaluation of the individual Jehoahaz differed dramatically . . . apparently because other factors in addition to foreign policy played significant roles in each group’s evaluation of the situation and Jehoahaz’ role in it” (p. 142).

The final chapter briefly considers the issues surrounding the history of the text. An extensive bibliography concludes the work (pp. 157–65).

Haak’s book is generally well written and edited although “punish-ment” should not be hyphenated (p. 17), and the final line of 3:2 is missing in the “Notes” section on p. 79. Except for my comment on the placement of the translation, I have no other substantive criticisms. The author’s detailed analysis of the prophecy is certainly a significant contribution not only to Habakkuk studies, but also to our understanding of the late seventh-early sixth century in Judahite history. His recognition of the complexity of the relationships among and especially within the “parties” active at that time sounds a warning that any approach which seeks to understand this period in simplistic terms will surely fail.

Beth Glazier-McDonald
Centre College, Danville, KY 40422

A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah, by Ehud ben Zvi. BZAW 198. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1991. Pp. xii + 390. DM 148.

Ehud ben Zvi’s study of Zephaniah is a revised version of his Emory Ph.D. dissertation completed in 1990. It is organized in a somewhat unusual fashion. It begins conventionally enough with an introductory chapter on critical method and a second chapter on the history of the interpretation of the book, and ends conventionally enough with a fifth and final chapter of conclusions. At the heart of the work, however, in the third and fourth chapters, ben Zvi separates his textual, linguistic, and comparative notes from his commentary. The third chapter, pp. 39–261, contains his discussion of “the meaning of words and expressions occurring in the Book of Zephaniah” and his comparison of “the use of these words and expressions in this book with their use in other biblical material.” This discussion moves through the book of Zephaniah in order like a commentary, but his commentary on the individual passages is not given until chapter four. The commentary, pp. 262–346, focuses on the isolation of the different literary units in the text and their interpretation, again moving through the book of Zephaniah from beginning to end. The commentary is obviously dependent on the earlier critical notes, but the style of presentation creates two problems. On the one hand, the supporting linguistic arguments are so far separated from the summarizing commentary that the reader is inconvenienced in trying to pull the full argumentation together. On the other hand, the second journey through the book of Zephaniah seems needlessly repetitive.

Despite this flaw in the manner of presentation, much of the material presented is excellent. Ben Zvi's defense of the historical-critical method is cogent and well stated, and his linguistic notes, though sometimes wooden in the assignment of particular meanings to words and phrases, are full of very insightful observations. Future commentators on Zephaniah will find these notes an essential resource.

The commentary section, however, is far more problematical. It lacks the clarity of the notes, perhaps because it is too far removed from these supporting observations, perhaps because the commentary is simply too compressed. Briefly summarized, Ben Zvi finds three levels of development reflected in the book of Zephaniah. There are several units that reflect pre-compositional material, there is a compositional level, and there are a few post-compositional additions to the text. The compositional level cannot be attributed to a single author, but the composition can be attributed to the pre-Hellenistic, later "post-monarchic" period. The pre-compositional material cannot be attributed to a single source, and thus there is no point in trying to recover the original teaching or even the simple sayings of the prophet Zephaniah. The post-compositional additions focus on the ethical image of Yahweh and the issue of theodicy. One may agree that there are basically three levels of development in the book of Zephaniah, but neither ben Zvi's delineation of literary units, his attribution of a unit to a particular level of development, nor the conclusions he draws from this attribution seem compelling. His closing discussion on "the structure of the book of Zephaniah and its message" is developed at greater length, but this reviewer found even this section unclear and ultimately unconvincing.

On the technical side, the work suffers from the sloppy editing that is all too characteristic of English contributions to the BZAW series. There are numerous typos and English grammatical errors that should have been caught in the editing process, and any Hebrew expression that runs over one line is almost invariably misdivided, with the end of the expression coming on the first line. Thus one gets ירושלם ישבי for יושבי ירושלם. Anyone who has worked at entering Hebrew on a computer understands how such misdivision of Hebrew lines takes place, but even with such understanding the phenomenon is a constant irritant to the attentive reader. The editors, not the readers of the published work, should be responsible for correcting such errors.

J. J. M. Roberts

Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, NJ 08542

The Song of Songs: A Commentary on the Book of Canticles or The Song of Songs, by Roland E. Murphy, O.Carm. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990. Pp. xxii + 237. N.P.

With this volume the Hermeneia series enriches our resources for the study of the intriguing Song of Songs.

Murphy follows the standard Hermeneia format, although almost half the book is given to a thorough discussion of introductory questions. The second half treats each literary unit of the Song, offering the author's translation of the text; text critical, lexicographical, and syntactical notes; and an interpretation of the unit. In his exposition, Murphy insists that "application of established comparative, philological, and literary-critical methods of analysis renders the text of the Song intelligible." He thus concludes

that the Song is "a crafted work of poetic imagination that portrays the profound emotions of physical love between a man and a woman" (p. 91).

Despite his careful analysis, however, Murphy is unable to resolve the complex problem of the Song's provenance or the exact process by which the Song achieved canonical status. Lack of unity, numerous philological difficulties, and the absence of a specific *Sitz im Leben* hinder attempts at determining authorship, although a post-exilic provenance still seems warranted. Given the obscurity of these matters, Murphy finds it somewhat remarkable that the MT text of Song has been so well preserved. There is "little if any trace to suggest that more than a single Hebrew recension or edition of the Song ever existed" (p. 7).

The present reviewer finds extremely helpful Murphy's meticulous analysis of the history of the interpretation of the Song. Rather than footnote every minor interpreter, he presents in detail major trend-setting representatives from each period. These include Jewish as well as Christian interpreters from the early period down to modern times (e.g., Hippolytus, Origen, Gregory the Great, Bernard of Clairvaux, Ibn Ezra, Maimonides, Luther, Calvin). Before modern times, with the exception of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Erasmus, and Grotius, Murphy observes, exegesis of the Song has tended to be along allegorical or at least symbolic lines, either in terms of ideal love or God's relationship to God's people. The eighteenth century brought with it a tendency toward a more literal reading, either as the "passions and yearnings of human lovers" (p. 40) or, by extension of this, secular wedding poetry, a mythical fertility cult ritual (Meek), or drama (Lowth; Jacobi).

The literal interpretation, which Murphy takes to mean a "poetic exploration of human sexual love, unencumbered by mythological drama, marriage sacraments, or rites of fertility" (p. 57), is strengthened when one compares the Song to analogous poetry in Sumerian, Mesopotamian, and Egyptian sources. The ancient Near Eastern literary and thematic parallels Murphy presents suggest that the intent of the Song was indeed human sexual love.

When Murphy turns to the literary character and structure of the Song, he rejects classifications of it as *epithalamium* or *drama* in favor of a more general category, *love poems*. A kind of unity is obtained when one hears in the Song the dialogical elements of two speakers, a man and woman. In keeping with current interest in rhetorical analysis, Murphy devotes considerable space to the *hapax legomena*, themes, motifs, prosody, and stichometry so abundant in the Song.

Murphy argues against the traditional historical attempt at allegorical or typological meanings that find a significance beyond the literal text, recently advanced in revised form by Robert, Feuillet, and Tournay. Nor is he persuaded by fresh efforts to uncover a cultic ritual or *hieros gamos* (Schmökel). In both cases, the Song does not provide any "overt indication that it rehearses a theological drama or comprises a liturgy, hypothecated original meaning" (p. 95). Murphy tries to take seriously the Song's bold presentation of human love and sexuality. Passionate, erotic love dominates the text, celebrating the attraction of man and woman. Both the man and the woman aggressively seek fulfillment of their love, consummated in a deep oneness experienced with each other. The Song situates within Scripture the joys of "human sexual fulfillment, fervently sought and consummated in reciprocal love between woman and man" (p. 103).

At the same time such passionate love does not obscure completely the notion that "human love and divine love mirror each other" (p. 104), and that the seeing of

a vision beyond the text of the Song—of God's passion for his people, and of their yearning for God—is not altogether inappropriate.

This volume continues the level of scholarship one has come to associate with the Hermeneia series. Murphy's conclusions are balanced and tempered with a fair evaluation of alternative viewpoints, including traditional ones. He has in every way created a commentary that will provide an indispensable resource for all future studies of the Song.

Jerry A. Gladson
Huntington Beach, CA 92648

The Ambiguity of Death in the Book of Wisdom 1-6: A Study of Literary Structure and Interpretation, by Michael Kolarcik. AnBib 127. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1991. Pp. XII + 208. N.P.

This elegantly written dissertation, directed by Maurice Gilbert, is divided into five chapters. The first reviews the history of scholarship on the structure of the book of Wisdom, moving from thematic analysis, which can be traced back to St. Bonaventure, to modern literary study, beginning with the work of J. M. Reese in 1965. The literary approach complements and refines the older method, rather than replacing it. The second chapter focuses on the literary structure of Wis 1:1-6:21. Kolarcik finds both a concentric and a linear development in these chapters, and the linear development continues throughout the book. Kolarcik also draws on Roman Jakobson and Paul Ricoeur to illuminate the poetic function of the imagery in Wisdom. "The particular poetic language of Wis makes a claim on the reader's total vision of life and death, and in this is attested its religious discourse" (p. 32). Chapter Three traces the dynamic of the argument in Wisdom 1-6. The opening exhortation (1:1-15) sets out the ramifications of the discourse. The first speech of the wicked (1:16-2:24) exposes the dynamic of wickedness. The image of a trial is carried over into the speech of the wicked from the opening exhortation. The correct assessment of death emerges as a crucial issue. The author of Wisdom then proceeds to rebut the arguments of the wicked in four diptychs, in Wisdom 3-4, each of which contrasts the just and the wicked. The first diptych (3:1-12) uses the terms of appearance and reality, and culminates with the punishment of the wicked. The second contrasts the sterile woman and the eunuch with the generation of the wicked (3:13-19). The third praises virtue in contrast to the useless fruit of the wicked and the fourth exalts the premature death of the just youth in contrast to the long life of the unjust. Wisdom 5 follows with a judgment scene that involves a confession of guilt on the part of the wicked. This section of the book concludes with an exhortation for understanding and wisdom in 6:1-21. Throughout this argument the primary source on which the author draws is Scripture itself. Possible allusions to philosophical systems such as Epicureanism are not meant to identify the wicked with a particular group but to illustrate the workings of wickedness.

In the fourth chapter Kolarcik turns to the interpretation of death, and reviews the history of interpretation. He highlights three aspects of death: mortality in general as a normal human condition, physical death as a punishment of wickedness and an ultimate death which signifies an ultimate separation from God and beatitude. "A

coherent exposition of the author's understanding of death must take into account the relationship the author draws among all three aspects of death" (p. 157).

Kolarcik attempts such an exposition in the final chapter. The wicked reason falsely when they judge physical death to be the ultimate tragedy, and are consequently seduced into a life of pleasure, which ends in ultimate death. It is not mortality that is the result of wickedness. Rather the rejection of the limits imposed by mortality ends in ultimate death. Physical death is ambiguous. It is a punishment for the wicked, but for the just it is the passage to eternal life. When the author says that God did not make death (1:13) or that death entered the world by the devil's envy (2:24), the reference is not to ordinary human mortality, but to ultimate death. The multiplicity of modern interpretations arises from the lack of formal distinctions in Wisdom between the various aspects of death. The ambiguity, however, has a pedagogic function, as it serves as a catalyst for reflection.

There is much to admire in this subtle and erudite study. It is not only a literary study of an ancient text. It is an attempt to articulate and affirm Wisdom's vision of a humanity that is finite but yet open to transcendence. At every point in the argument, Kolarcik is in dialogue both with biblical scholarship and with contemporary hermeneutics and theology. He is weakest on tradition criticism, which might give some diachronic depth to the image of death in the book, but this shortcoming is outweighed by his many strengths. His main achievement lies in his defence of the coherence of Wisdom's view of death, which has often seemed self-contradictory in its insistence that "God did not make death." Whether the book of Wisdom is in fact as coherent as Kolarcik's exposition may still be questioned. The status of ordinary human mortality is not clearly defined, and is sometimes denied rather than affirmed (e.g., in 3:2 where the righteous only seem to have died). But then, that is part of the ambiguity of death, which Kolarcik so eloquently describes.

John J. Collins

The University of Chicago, Chicago, IL 60637

John the Baptizer and Prophet: A Socio-Historical Study, by Robert L. Webb. JSNTSup 62. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991. Pp. 446. £35/\$57.50 (£28/\$42.95 subscriber).

Robert Webb's monograph attempts to recover the historical John the Baptist in the socio/religious context of first-century Palestine. The study is divided into three parts: (a) the traditions concerning John; (b) John as Baptizer; and (c) John as Prophet. Clearly the most crucial section of the book is Webb's discussion of the texts he accepts as historically reliable sources for the reconstruction. In this first section, both non-Christian (Josephus, Slavonic Josephus, Mandaean literature) and Christian contributions (Q, Mark, Matthew, Luke/Acts, John, *Gospel of Thomas*, *Gospel of the Ebionites*, *Gospel of the Nazareans*, *Protoevangelium of James*) are examined. Based on their obvious late character, most texts are eliminated, leaving only Josephus's *Ant.* 18 §§116–19 and the NT Gospel pericopae concerning John.

Webb presents five arguments to support his acceptance of all NT Gospel pericopae as receptacles of historical remembrance. First, although he admits that each author has shaped the material according to his own theological agenda, he "sees no reason" why they would create essential features for John's portrait. Second, Webb notes that

the various descriptions of John in Josephus and the NT Gospels are historically compatible with Second Temple Judaism. Third, he observes that various elements in Josephus and the NT Gospel writers independently attest to similar features about John. Fourth, Webb reasons that since the Baptist's disciples were still living at the time Christian stories were being formulated, their presence would have prohibited the creation of new elements for John's portrait. Finally, Webb argues that disciples of John who entered the Christian community might well have helped in the editing of the stories about John.

Webb divides his book into separate treatments of the evidence about John's role as Baptizer and Prophet. Each analysis begins with a discussion of pertinent material from OT, Second Temple Judaism, and Qumran texts. Then, against this background, Webb uses the historical evidence found in the NT and in Josephus to reconstruct John's "ministry."

Webb concludes that John's baptism served six functions. First, it signified "conversionary repentance" (Mark 1:4; Q 3:8). Second, it mediated divine forgiveness (Mark 1:4). Although Josephus specifically makes a point against this idea, Webb observes that he still describes forgiveness of sin as part of John's ministry. Webb acknowledges Josephus's description with the third function, the purification of uncleanness. The Gospels do not attest to this particular aspect, but in Webb's treatment different elements are seen as additional historical information rather than signs of authorial activity. The fourth function of John's baptism was to foreshadow the Coming One's ministry (Mark 1:7-8; Q 3:16-17). Webb explains Josephus's silence on the matter with the argument that since he demonstrates a dislike of preaching about messianic heroes, he has refrained from ascribing such preaching to John. The fifth and sixth functions of John's baptism hold the new contribution that Webb wants to make to John's portrait. Webb proposes that John's baptism was an initiation of a Jewish remnant in preparation for a restored Israel that would follow the purgation to come. Webb builds his notion of an all-Jewish audience from Mark 1:5, which states that "all Judea" came out to John. He sees another attestation in Q 3:9 which he interprets as a warning to an all Jewish audience not to presume on their Jewish ethnicity for salvation. Webb observes that Josephus's description of John's ministry uses the verb *συνέβαιναι* to explain that John "gathered together" the people for baptism. Webb concludes that John's baptism was a movement to reunite the Jewish community. Webb claims that the sixth function of John's baptism was a confrontation of the "Temple." Webb argues that the original addressees of John's speech in Q were the Sadducees, the perpetrators of Temple political and religious authority. He holds that Luke substituted his typical *ὁ ὄχλος* for Q's "Sadducees" while Matthew, who usually pairs the Pharisees with the Scribes, accepted "Sadducees" in Q and added "Pharisees" to create a new pairing of enemies. Webb concludes that the evidence shows John's baptism as a socioreligious movement in protest against the oppressive system of the Temple elite.

As for John's role as prophet, Webb endeavors to discover the identity of the Coming One (Q 3:16-17; Mark 1:7) by examining six "judgment/restoration" figures in the OT and Second Temple Jewish literature: (1) Yahweh; (2) Davidic Messiah; (3) Aaronic Messiah; (4) Angelic Prince Michael/Melchizedek; (5) Son of Man; and (6) Elijah. Webb constructs a chart to measure to what degree these figures are associated with the images presented in John's preaching (Mark 1:7; Q 3:16-17): (1) Judge Israel/Purge Israel Restore Israel; (2) Coming; (3) Mighty; (4) Bestow spirit; water/ablutionary imagery,

"holy spirit"; *Receive* spirit; water/ablutionary imagery; "holy" spirit; Other water/ablutionary imagery; wind; with water/ablutionary imagery; fire; with water/ablutionary imagery; (5) Threshing floor imagery (general); winnow grain; burn chaff; gather wheat. The results of the investigation show that only Yahweh fulfills all these expectations. Yet John's comparing himself with this figure suggests that God is to send an agent. Webb suggests that John may have left the identity of this figure rather vague in order not to distract the people from their immediate task of personal repentance and the preparation for their participation in the "True Israel."

In the final section of the book, Webb uses the systems of David Aune (*Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983]) and Richard Horsley ("Popular Prophetic Movements at the Time of Jesus: Their Principal Features and Social Origins," *JSNT* 26 [1986] 3–27) to isolate three categories of prophetic leaders: clerical, sapiential, and popular. Webb situates John in the third rather than the second because, according to his reading of the evidence, John was not a solitary figure but rather was responsible for the initiation of a popular movement. The fact that John's followers were not executed with him as were the followers of popular prophetic leaders like Theudas (Josephus, *Ant.* 20 §§97–98) is because John's baptism gave the impression that it dealt with individual personal conversions. Thus, John's movement escaped notice as a ground swell opposition to the corruption of the Temple system.

Webb's book is a serious work and it addresses an intriguing subject. His conclusions, however, are unconvincing for three reasons. First, Webb has been less than judicious in his acceptance of all NT pericopae as receptacles of historical data. The puzzling feature here is that Webb's discussion of the historicity criteria demonstrates that he understands why the texts may well represent community compositions. Nevertheless, he sweeps aside these observations, satisfied with the ruminations he accepts in their stead. Texts like Luke 1:5–21 and Luke 3:10–14 are included as historical reminiscence despite the Lukan vocabulary, themes, and theological perspective. Webb is certainly correct when he argues that simply because a reading is compatible with a theological position it is not therefore unhistorical. The problem is that he has not specified the controls necessary to distinguish one from the other.

Most astonishing is Webb's rhetorical question about why Christian authors would invent elements for John's portrait. It is generally recognized that Jesus' seeking out John for his baptism was an embarrassing historical reality that suggested Jesus' subordination of himself to John. Every Gospel takes care to reverse that situation by assigning to John the role of precursor, ratifying the legitimacy of the identity with Scripture (Exod 23:20/Mal 3:1). Webb states that his purpose is not to address the relationship of John and Jesus, but to reconstruct John's ministry prior to his meeting with Jesus. Yet Webb has turned to Christian texts to create this portrait and these texts do indeed deal with the relationship of John and their hero. Webb presumes he can bypass the clearly shown intention of Christian gospels and use their pericopae as though they were in any sense disinterested observations of the historical John.

A second major problem with Webb's book is the manner in which the author bypasses conflicts in the various portraits. He reinterprets each of the contradictory elements so that they will contribute to a new third category. For example, the morality teaching of *Ant.* 18 §117 is made to conform with the apocalyptic warning in Q

3:7–9, 16–17 by the claim that both of these texts are reminiscences of John's social-justice teaching against the religio-political system.

Third, Webb's two major theories are not supported by strong evidence. The argument that John's speech in Q 3:7–9, 16–17 was addressed to the Sadducees depends on his claim that Matthew's pairing Sadducees with Pharisees is unlike his style. Yet, Matthew has added "Sadducees" to Mark's "Pharisees" in Mark 8:14–21 (Matt 16:6, 11, 12). But, even if Webb *could* have proven that the Q speech was addressed to Sadducees, there is no assurance that Q is representing a historical scene. John Kloppenborg (*The Formation of Q* [Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987]) has already demonstrated on structural grounds that of the two visible strata in Q, John's speech belongs to the secondary layer. What is more, Wellhausen and more recently, Ron Cameron (*Sayings Tradition in The Apocryphon of James* [HTS 34; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984]) has shown that John's speech in Q 3:7–9 gives evidence of authorial composition in imitating an OT prophetic speech. Although Webb refers to Kloppenborg on other grounds, he does not address these issues that demonstrate later community intervention. Actually, Webb could have proven that the historical John was a threat to the social order simply by noting that both Josephus and Mark attest to John's arrest by Herod and his eventual execution for his power over the people. Clearly, John's "spiritual" ministry carried the popular approval that gave him power to upset the status quo.

The most unsubstantiated of Webb's proposals is that John's baptism was intended as an initiation of a Jewish remnant into the new Israel. First, it is standing on the presumption that Mark 1:5 can be treated as historical data, and that "all Judea" means a strictly Jewish population. Thus, his claim that Q 3:9 is not an apologetic for the acceptance of Gentiles but an exhortation to Jews looking for this initiation cannot appeal to Mark 1:5 for support. Furthermore, Webb's conclusions that John expected a new restored Israel for a faithful remnant is just not attested reliably, or attested at all in any of Webb's sources. His theory is the product of surmisings based on a selective reading of the materials.

Finally, although Webb's work is an effort to situate John's ministry in a socio-historical context, there has been no acknowledgment of the Greco-Roman world in which John's ministry took place. The association of ideas and concepts which could be expected of the people are confined to investigations of specifically Jewish sources: OT, Second Temple, and Qumran texts. Webb even fails to note the Hellenistic thought that shapes the thought in some of the Second Temple and Qumran material. For example, the connection between water and symbolic cleansing from sin was already well known around the Mediterranean. A broader review of the associations already "in the air" and truly available to a first-century Palestinian audience would have shown what contexts for John's baptism were available at that time. Likewise, it would have been helpful to explore a wider cross-section of the types of public exhortative preaching and bold social commentary, such as the influence of itinerant Cynics, that obtained at the time.

Webb's proposals are interesting and creative. Without clear verification controls, however, they cannot be evaluated for their degree of probability.

Wendy J. Cotter

Loyola University of Chicago, Chicago, IL 60626

A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus. Volume One: The Roots of the Problem and the Person, by John P. Meier. AB Reference Library. New York/London: Doubleday, 1991. Pp. xi + 484. \$25.

This is the first of Meier's projected two-volume study of "the historical Jesus," in which his aim is to offer what he calls "a limited consensus statement . . . based purely on historical sources and arguments," to which, in principle, scholars from any perspective could assent as a fair statement of matters accessible to historical-critical investigation (pp. 1-2). It is a worthy ambition, but probably in fact unattainable. Meier has crafted the work ambitiously for a variety of readers, including students and "the general educated reader" (for whom the main body of the work has been styled) as well as scholars (whose technical concerns are addressed in the voluminous notes which follow each chapter). To judge by passing illustrative comments and the space devoted to certain questions (e.g., fourteen pages on Jesus' "brothers"), however, the "general" readers often seem to be more specifically Roman Catholic and American. I cannot do justice here to the bibliographically rich and discursive chapter notes, which show a scholar who has read widely and thought vigorously about his subject.

In the overall four-part outline for the work, Part 3 (Jesus' "public ministry proper"), Part 4 (the "tragic final days," Jesus' crucifixion and burial), and an epilogue attempting "initial reflection, both historical and theological" are all reserved for the promised second volume. The present volume under review here contains Parts 1-2, which are essentially devoted to questions concerning the sources and the historical setting of Jesus' life. In other words, readers will have to wait for volume two to get the "meat in the sandwich," so to speak, and to see what Meier's picture of Jesus actually looks like. But, though the present volume is concerned mainly with preliminary and foundational matters, their importance for historical Jesus research, and the vigor and detail of Meier's treatment of them, combine to make this book deserving of attention on its own. Meier explains the term "marginal" in the title as a *māšāl*, "a tease-word" or riddle intended to signify such things as Jesus' insignificance and socially marginal position in his own time as an itinerant prophet executed by the state, as well as Jesus' dissonance with teachings and practices more characteristic of Jewish religion of his time.

Distinguishing his aim from "formal sociological analysis" or "cross-cultural analysis of anthropology," both of which he characterizes as heavily concerned with the testing and application of theoretical "models," Meier describes as his goal "the detection of reliable data," and promises "to keep interpretation to an absolute minimum" (pp. 10-11) in his attempt to assemble data for historical reconstruction of Jesus and his time.

Emphasizing the limitations in the evidence available (chap. 1), Meier insists that historical scholarship cannot reconstruct the "real" Jesus (neither the totality of his thoughts, feelings and experiences, nor a "reasonably complete biographical portrait" of him). Instead, what is feasible is the "historical" Jesus, which Meier defines as the Jesus accessible through "the scientific tools of modern historical research" (p. 25).

Chapters 2-5 deal with the various sources. The major independent sources are judged to be Mark, Q and John (chap. 2; siding with Dodd and Brown that John embodies some independently reliable tradition). After a detailed discussion of Josephus's *testimonium* (chap. 3), Meier concludes that a "core statement," recoverable by bracketing later Christian interpolations, is authentic to Josephus. Other non-Christian sources are deemed to offer us nothing of any significance (chap. 4).

In chap. 5, Meier engages the non-canonical Christian sources. After concluding quickly that the *agrapha* afford little significant data, and that the infancy gospels are “unpromising material,” Meier devotes the bulk of the chapter to Crossan’s theory about the pre-Markan material in the *Gospel of Peter*, M. Smith’s so-called *Secret Mark*, and the *Gospel of Thomas*. In none of these, Meier judges, do we have reliable information or sayings independent of the NT (p. 140).

As for identifying authentic Jesus material (chap. 6), Meier distinguishes between “primary criteria” and “secondary (or dubious) criteria.” For Meier, the primary (and more useful) criteria are five: embarrassment (why would Christians have invented it), discontinuity (the material cannot be derived easily from Jewish or Christian tradition), multiple attestation, coherence, and Jesus’ rejection and execution (he had to have done/taught things of the sort that account for his being executed). Meier insists that none is a “magic key” and that even a careful use of them “in tandem” can produce only varying degrees of probability for items of Jesus tradition. Still, he opines, such criteria are all we have and, used with caution, can permit us to make necessary (though always revisable) historical judgments.

Chap. 7 is a brief statement about the usefulness of research on the “historical Jesus,” in which Meier puts on “the hat of a theologian” temporarily to defend the legitimacy and theological usefulness of historical Jesus research against the objections of “Bultmannians” and “fundamentalists.”

Part 2 (chaps. 8–11) deals with various questions about Jesus’ historical background. In chap. 8, Meier discusses Jesus’ name (which suggests that his family participated in a “reawakening of Jewish national and religious identity” begun in the Maccabean period, p. 214), Jesus’ birthplace (likely Nazareth), his Davidic descent (unprovable but a pre-Easter tradition), the virginal conception (an early tradition involving a judgment beyond the limitations of historical criticism), and the question of Jesus’ illegitimacy (*contra* Schaberg, Meier finds no evidence of the charge before the mid-second century).

In chaps. 9–10, Meier deals with Jesus’ language and education (“converging lines of probability” suggest he was literate in Hebrew and Aramaic, but may not have been competent in Greek), economic status (“at the lower end of the vague middle” economic range), family background (after extensive discussion, concluding that Jesus’ “brothers” were true siblings), Jesus’ marital status (“celibate on religious grounds the more probable hypothesis”), and non-priestly position in a priestly-led religion. It is a bit strange that there is no section on the political background of first-century Palestine. The notes to chap. 9 show that Meier has read on the topic, but his discussion of it is confined to a few paragraphs (pp. 282–83).

The last chapter is a detailed attempt to fix the chronological parameters of Jesus’ ministry as exactly as possible. The “preliminary” conclusion quickly reached is that Jesus’ ministry began 26–29 CE and ended 28–33 CE. There follows a 26-page attempt to be more exact, mainly concerned with the day of Jesus’ execution (Meier argues for the superiority of the Johannine chronology and sees the last supper as “a solemn farewell meal . . . just before Passover”), and with the length of his ministry (“two years and a few months”). Beyond these basic matters, Meier concludes, it is difficult to be more precise in a chronological framework for Jesus’ ministry. Consequently, he tells us in his concluding words, his discussion of Jesus’ ministry in volume two will be arranged topically.

The arrangement of his work, his approach, rhetoric and his conclusions on many matters are different from the other big 1991 book on Jesus in English by J. D. Crossan (*The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* [San Francisco: Harper Collins]). When Meier's second volume appears a more detailed comparison will be inevitable and justified. In this first volume, however, it is clear that Meier has given us a major statement of approach and findings on various questions preliminary to a portrait of Jesus' ministry.

Maps of Palestine, a Herodian family tree, a list of first-century Roman emperors, a list of abbreviations and indices of "scripture" (no index of non-canonical material), authors and subjects follow.

Larry W. Hurtado

University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, R3T 2N2

Frühjüdische Briefe: Die paulinische Briefe im Rahmen der offiziellen religiösen Briefe des Frühjudentums, by Irene Taatz. NTOA 16. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991. Pp. 128. Sfr. 32.

Taatz's book has two primary purposes: (1) to characterize a type of Jewish epistolary tradition which conveyed authoritative instructions to Jewish communities, especially communities in the diaspora; and (2) to demonstrate that Paul's letters belonged to the same epistolary tradition.

After preliminary remarks, the remainder of Taatz's book is divided into three main parts. The first (part "A") provides a relatively brief compendium of ancient Jewish letters. The second and longest part (pp. 18–101) analyzes five bodies of Jewish letters: (1) two introductory letters in 2 Macc (1:1–2:18); (2) the Jeremiah-Baruch epistolary tradition; (3) rabbinic letters; (4) correspondence of the Elephantine colony in Egypt; and (5) Bar Kokhba letters. In the final part ("C") Taatz first summarizes what has been learned about a discrete Jewish epistolary tradition from letters analyzed in the book's second section (part "B") and then shows, through formal and material similarities, how Paul's letters fit this broader epistolary type.

Taatz says the authoritative ("official") epistolary tradition, used to direct and console Jewish diaspora communities, had its origin in Jeremiah's letter (cf. Jeremiah 29), which was sent to Jewish exiles in Babylon. This precedent was enlarged in the fifth century BCE when Jewish military colonists on the island of Elephantine in Egypt wrote to Jerusalem, requesting permission to rebuild their temple. Though most of the remaining letters of this official/religious type, between Jews in the homeland and in diaspora communities, are considerably later than the Elephantine and Jeremiah correspondence, Taatz suggests that a certain similarity of function characterizes the whole.

The letters all intended to serve the same fundamental purpose, namely, the strengthening of the partnership of Jewish motherland and diaspora. Until destroyed in 70 CE, the temple cult and the office of high priest in Jerusalem constituted the authoritative center which facilitated the Jewish people's unity. As the locus of community definition, Jerusalem sent official letters to diaspora communities. In addition to various spiritual connections, several practical necessities connected the diaspora to Jerusalem: payment of the half-shekel tax to the temple, required annually of all males from the age of twenty; pilgrimages to Jerusalem to celebrate the great feasts;

and differences between the lunar calendar of the homeland and the solar calendar of the diaspora necessitated correspondence regarding the dates on which festivals were to be celebrated.

Two basic kinds of authority are assumed in Jewish official letters and constitute, thereby, two identifiable epistolary sub-types. On the one hand, there are the collective, institutional forms of authority, identified with the high priest or the sanhedrin and their field representatives. On the other hand, there are the prophetic letters of instruction, whose authority is connected more immediately to God, who authorized the prophet to send a divine message to the people.

So far as formal features are concerned, the Aramaic/Hebrew letters (i.e., the Elephantine, Bar Kokhba, and rabbinic letters) are clearly stamped by Semitic epistolary formulas appropriate to their period. All the remaining letters, put forward either in Greek or in Syriac translation of Greek, exhibit an expansion and modification of Greek conventions which suggest interference of Semitic usage upon the Greek. Though only two of the letters have discrete closing formulas, the letter-opening end body of all employ traditional Jewish and liturgically marked conventions, along with a recurring theological emphasis on such traditional motifs as covenant and communal unity.

At the book's very end, Taatz attempts to demonstrate that Paul was not only aware of the practice of sending official letters to Jewish communities, but also that he consciously adopted the practice to instruct his Gentile communities, which he regarded as God's true Israel (cf. Rom 9:6ff.). Regarding his appeal to authority, Paul employed both of the patterns exhibited in the official Jewish letter tradition. On the one hand, he appealed to the collective character of his authority, by naming numerous co-senders and co-workers who, along with himself, looked after the community's unity through actual presence and by means of written correspondence. On the other hand, he appealed in prophetic fashion to the divine authority mediated directly to him by a revelation of the resurrected Christ.

Taatz takes exception to the interpretation of Paul's letters in terms of the Greek (Hellenistic) private letter tradition, which uses the little letter of Philemon as the model on which to understand the apostle's letters. By contrast, she contends that Paul's letters were mostly communal, parenetic, and authoritative in character and, accordingly, should be conceived in connection with the Jewish official epistolary tradition.

Taatz is certainly right in rejecting the idea that Paul's letters are to be understood primarily in terms of the Greek private letter tradition. Paul clearly was influenced by traditional Jewish communal and literary practices. On the other hand, significant things may be learned about Paul's letters through knowledge of the Greek private letter tradition. Even more may be learned, perhaps, through familiarity with the Greek literary letter tradition and Greek rhetoric, which *were* employed in communal correspondence. Taatz seems to assume that Judaism existed in a cultural vacuum. It is now widely assumed that Judaism, both in the homeland as well as in the diaspora, came significantly under Greek literary and cultural influences. To cite a specific example, scholars have illustrated in the last two decades, with considerable warrant and in various connections, that the body portion of Paul's letters was influenced by the Greek literary letter tradition and by Greek rhetoric. In this connection, Taatz ought to have made at least minimal reference to such Hellenistic precedents as philosophical letters of instruction. Though Paul cites Jewish traditional materials in his letters, he also draws widely upon Hellenistic images and argues according to one or another

type of Greek rhetoric. In short, Taatz's work renders a valuable service in identifying characteristic functions and motifs in the broad Jewish epistolary tradition, but her analysis should pay greater attention to the manner in which Hellenistic epistolary genres and literary patterns also acted as significant influences upon Paul and upon Jewish letter writing.

John L. White

Loyola University of Chicago, Chicago, IL 60626

The Secretary in the Letters of Paul, by E. Randolph Richards. WUNT 2/42. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1991. Pp. xi + 251. N.P.

Richards's book is the published form of his dissertation at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth, TX. More than half of the work consists of a survey of the use of secretaries in producing correspondence in the Greek and Roman world, intended as a backdrop to investigating Paul's possible use of an amanuensis. The part of the book devoted to Hellenistic and especially Latin epistolography is detailed and well organized; but the book's title is somewhat misleading. Although Richards does make some preliminary suggestions about Paul's use of a secretary, including a list of which of the letters ascribed to Paul in the NT were likely written by or with the help of a secretary (Romans, 1–2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians, 1–2 Thessalonians, and Philemon, p. 201), he does little more than make hints about what this might mean for our interpretation of the letters as such. The author acknowledges that his book is largely "still a *prolegomenon* to the role of a secretary in Paul" (p. 2). Some useful comments are made about Paul's postscripts that could be taken further. But those topics that are covered in depth are discussed clearly and judiciously, and Richards seems conversant with both the classic European treatments of Hellenistic and Roman epistolography as well as the current study of Paul as letter writer, especially in North America.

Richards's primary point of comparison with Paul is Cicero. This first-century BCE Roman orator and politician is chosen mostly because so much of his personal and public correspondence survives; otherwise, of course, the two writers share little in common: different languages, different centuries, vastly different social, economic, and epistolary situations. Still, some useful data do emerge, since Cicero is often explicit about his use(s) of a secretary in letters written to his brother Quintus, to Atticus, or to others close to him (*epistulae ad familiares*). Other sources of information drawn on to a lesser extent include the letters of Seneca and Pliny the Younger, the dossier of Ignatius of Antioch, private correspondence found among the papyri, and the ancient rhetorical handbooks.

This sort of material is mined by Richards to discover such things as how secretaries might have taken dictation (most needed to have the words pronounced syllable-by-syllable), or how secretaries were trained. The several possible ways in which an assistant could be employed are carefully distinguished and helpfully explained. Richards shows that copyists who made no further contribution to a letter should not be confused with recording secretaries, readers, carriers, editors, or co-authors, though these roles could at times overlap. There are also useful sections on "Criteria for Detecting

the Use of a Secretary" (pp. 68–97) and "Situational Considerations for Determining the Secretarial Method Employed in a Particular Letter" (pp. 97–111).

The presence of a postscript is one of the more reliable "implicit indicators" of a secretary having written (or even composed) the substance of the preceding letter. Richards emphasizes the point, however, that no matter how a secretary is used, the putative author of a letter nonetheless took responsibility for its contents. Both of these observations are relevant in understanding the production of Pauline and presumably deutero-Pauline letters. Paul wrote some famous postscripts to announce that he was *now* taking up the pen himself, as at Phlm 19–25 and Gal 6:11–18. He may have written other postscripts that were not signalled so clearly. Material coming before the postscript might be viewed as composed by the secretary himself, perhaps from an outline or notes supplied by the author. Richards argues sensibly that, depending on the latitude given a secretary by an author, a particular letter's vocabulary and style might vary enough from the author's norm to throw doubt on conclusions about authorship based solely on word counts and stylometric analyses.

Richards discusses various additional contributions a secretary could make to a letter, such as supplying detailed information about names and places. He proposes, for example, that the long list of greetings in Romans 16:3ff. might come from Tertius, the letter's secretary (16:22), rather than from Paul himself (p. 171). If this were correct it would alter the problematic of Paul's addressing so many individuals by name in a congregation he had not yet visited. But Richards needs to argue his case in greater detail, given the unusual amount of personal information included in the greetings of 16:3–15. H. Gamble's suggestion that only the greetings of 16:21–24 (which are separated from those of vv. 3–15 anyway) are from Tertius is more plausible (*The Textual History of the Letter to the Romans* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977] 94). Due to the length of Romans, and its rhetorical features, Richards judges further that of all of Paul's secretaries, Tertius has the strongest claim to have been a tachygraphist (a scribe trained to take live dictation), possibly hailing from Rome himself.

It should be germane to comment on the quality of the Latin in a book that quotes so much of it. The author depends on the Loeb translations of Cicero and other Roman writers, which, if we can use Richards's own Latinity as a basis of judgment, was probably a wise decision. Like many of us these days, Richards cannot resist sprinkling his text and notes with his own Latin phrases: quite an adventure. We frequently come across "inter alii" for "inter alios" (though Richards gets it right on p. 117); we find "ipsissima vox Ciceroni" (for "Ciceronis") on p. 31. At some points the author seems to think that he should decline the Latin of (ordinarily frozen) set phrases to fit the syntax of his own English sentences. For example, on p. 100 he oddly converts the ablative phrase *viva voce* into the genitive case ("vivae vocis"), apparently because the English word "of" precedes. It might be fairer to blame the publisher for the very frequent English misspellings (one or two per page through most of the book).

Despite these minor though annoying flaws, Richards has produced a useful study of the use of assistants in producing ancient letters. The task now lies ahead for him or others to deploy his observations about those practices more fully to understand early Christian letter writing with greater precision.

Philip Sellew

University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455-0125

Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians, by Margaret M. Mitchell. HUT 28. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1991. Pp. xiv + 381.

Mitchell has sharply defined the aim and the methods of this study and proceeded meticulously, leaving little leeway for contesting her thesis (originally a 1989 University of Chicago dissertation under Hans Dieter Betz). She aims to put to rest once and for all the partition theories that try to account for the variety of arguments in 1 Corinthians by providing in their place a positive demonstration of its unity. Her method, which she calls historical rhetorical criticism, moves back and forth between the language, arguments and arrangement of this letter and that of parallel documents in its cultural setting in order to identify the species of rhetoric (epideictic, deliberative, or forensic) which holds the entire letter together and the particular subject matter appropriate to that rhetoric which characterizes this argument. She distinguishes her method on the one side from a more rigid categorizing of texts strictly on the basis of ancient rhetorical handbooks which orient themselves largely to forensic speech, and on the other side from the more flexible "New Rhetoric" which has expanded classical categories into a less historical than synchronic analysis of argumentative functions.

Mitchell's thesis is that 1 Corinthians, within a letter framework and genre, is a single deliberative argument on the subject of the advantage of concord over factionalism. The first part of her study, which delineates the characteristics of Greco-Roman deliberative argument and traces their presence throughout the body of this letter, is a great resource on late-classical and imperial speeches and letters advocating concord, such as those of Isocrates, Demosthenes, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Dio Chrysostom, and Aelius Aristides. She finds the argument from what is advantageous basic to deliberative speech and explicit in Paul's response to Corinthian authority slogans and his advocacy of common over individual advantage. And when he advises concerning future conduct by appeals to multiple metaphorical and historical examples including his own, he is drawing on standard means of deliberative rhetoric. Yet recent proposals that the rhetoric of 1 Corinthians is epideictic, shaping attitudes through praise and blame more than advising on pending actions, put the question how much Paul is focused on the Corinthians' future decisions in the subjunctive and imperative appeals that frame his argument (1 Cor 1:10; 15:58) and in his call on them to imitate him. If this is specific advice, Mitchell needs to clarify very precisely in her analysis of Paul's composition the concrete conduct that these general appeals support. Or, since she argues that all paraenesis is connected to deliberative rhetoric (p. 52), could she perhaps distinguish general from specific deliberative arguments? In this sense Aelius Aristides' advocacy of unity at a regular meeting of Greek cities in Pergamum is much less specific than his advice to Rhodes not to take action in the scandal over public loans after the 142 CE earthquake (*Or.* 23; 24).

In a long chapter Mitchell shows that the subjects and language that belong to the rhetorical argument for concord and against factionalism permeate 1 Corinthians. Political terms occur throughout the letter—*ἔρις*, *διχοστασία*, *κοινωνός*, *φιλόνηκος*, *αἵρεσις*, *συνέρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*, *ἀγάπη*, *κατὰ τάξιν*, *εἰρήνη*—as do unity appeals to the Corinthians as God's one building and Christ's one body in contrast to what is human, childish, and destructive. These arguments from terminology and *topoi* are impressive, though she can misread a word such as *συναναμίγυσθαι* politically in light of the Ciceronian "mixed constitution" where Paul is drawing on a cultic prohibition of mixed things

(1 Cor 5:9, 11; pp. 112–16). More seriously, she discounts the absence in 1 Corinthians of the emblematic terms of the rhetoric of concord—*ὁμόνοια* and its opposite, *στάσις*—on the basis that Paul may not want to evoke the goddess, Concord, and may prefer to *στάσις* the word *σχίσμα*, since a tear can be mended (pp. 78–80). Her supporting argument that 1 *Clement* within a century uses both these terms concerning a Corinthian church conflict he considers a recurrence of the one Paul faced (1 *Clem.* 20; 46–54) proves less what Paul meant than that Paul knew and did not use the most classical terms for municipal peace and disruption under Roman power.

The second part of Mitchell's study analyzes how Paul arranges his many arguments for unity against factionalism into the single composition of 1 Corinthians. Within the epistolary framework (1:1–9; 16:1–24), Mitchell identifies a thesis statement (1:10) followed by a statement of facts (1:11–17) and four proofs: censure of factionalism and the need for Paul's advice (1:18–4:21), integrity of the community against outside defilement (5:1–11:1), manifestations of Corinthian factionalism when "coming together" (11:2–14:40), and unity in the resurrection traditions (15:1–57), the whole being concluded by a summation (15:58).

Mitchell is convincing that each part of the letter is an aspect of Paul's challenge to unity and order, and this is a major achievement in the rhetorical study of this letter. Yet in the process she slights other quite distinct arguments interwoven with this one, not only those on individual issues, but extended arguments such as that from the danger of violating God through immoral and idolatrous acts both outside and inside the community. The larger problem that rises from limiting herself to determining Paul's comprehensive rhetorical strategy is that, not attempting any reconstruction of the historical situation in Corinth, she falls heir to previous theories of Corinthian factions in terms of three leaders, of ascetics versus libertines, and of various disputing voices over sacrificed food, hairstyles, meals, gifts and resurrection. She thus evades the key question for understanding Paul's rhetoric of whether the people he addresses are randomly contentious and need to learn cooperation as she assumes, or whether Paul styles them that way in order to style himself the champion of unity and peace against an opposition perhaps too strong to take on directly. The defensive aspects in his self-exemplification, as well as the assertion of his authority at the end of the first three proofs and his final call to be subject to those he baptized, could suggest the latter.

Mitchell is clear that the terminology for factionalism is always negatively loaded and the argument for concord is inherently conservative. But because she nonetheless describes Paul's argument strictly in its own terms, her rhetoric by default joins his diagnosis of the situation. This prejudgment distorts her composition analysis and suggests that Mitchell must move beyond the limits of mirroring Paul's rhetoric to take on the outstanding task she names in conclusion: to determine what can be known about the situation in Corinth's church from further study of the letter in the context of the Greco-Roman rhetoric of concord. She could ask what kind of situations gave rise to such rhetoric elsewhere and how the speakers in each case were related to any contending group or groups and to established power. Dio Chrysostom's concord rhetoric is, for example, quite neutral when addressing the neighboring city of Nicodemia concerning its conflicts with Nicaea, but becomes very defensive when addressing strife that he has apparently exacerbated in his home town of Prusa, and

he is alternately cajoling and threatening when the Prusans are about to air their grievances before the Roman proconsul (*Or.* 38; 40; 48).

Considering the religio-political significance in our time of the argument for peace and order, a series called *Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie* should be eager to publish a sequel on the historical rhetorical *situation* which Paul presents as factionalized, on his own part in that situation and on the implications of both for a responsible reading of 1 Corinthians today. The unity of the letter has been established, but the fruit of this work for understanding the composition of 1 Corinthians as part of Christian and Roman and Western history is yet to come.

Antoinette Wire

San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, CA 94960

Umstrittene "Apologien" in den Paulusbriefen: Studien zur rhetorischen Situation des 1. Thessalonicherbriefes, des Galaterbriefes, und des Philipperbriefes, by Johannes Schoon-Janßen. GTA 45. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991. Pp. 182. DM 40 (paper).

This dissertation, directed by Georg Strecker of the Protestant Theological Faculty of the Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, was approved in the winter semester of 1988–89. It examines the issue of whether or not Paul was defending himself against opponents as reflected in 1 Thess 2:1–12, Gal 1:10–2:14, and Phil 3:4–6; 4:10–19. The goal was "to illuminate, with the help of *form-critical* [italics his] criteria the context of the potential apologies of Paul and thus to investigate their *Sitz im Leben* in the history of Paul with his churches . . ." (p. 11), which means that Schoon-Janßen was looking for evidence of opponents of Paul, against which Paul was defending himself in 1 Thessalonians, Galatians, and Philippians. Schoon-Janßen delimited his dissertation so that the "open question" of the opposition to Paul in the Corinthian correspondence is handled only "in the margin" (p. 11) in this work (actually in an excursus on pp. 113–18).

In such a work as this, it was surely necessary for Schoon-Janßen to define carefully his terminology, especially given the heavily debated question of whether Galatians is an "apologetic letter" and in view of the traditional Lutheran sense of Paul's "defending the Gospel." By a "defense" Schoon-Janßen meant a self-defense of Paul against opponents rather than merely a systematic presentation of the Christian faith (p. 13). Schoon-Janßen began his investigation with a statement of what has been learned about letters from both epistolography (pp. 14–19) and rhetorical criticism (pp. 19–25).

One term that seems not to be defined is "rhetorical situation," from the subtitle of this book. It is far from clear what Schoon-Janßen means by "rhetorical situation," since he seems to determine the *Sitz im Leben* of the letters in question primarily by methods other than rhetorical criticism. By "rhetoric" he seems to group together the persuasive activities of Paul or other such writers which can be identified by rhetorical criticism of letters, by the analysis of the use of OT texts in Pauline letters, and especially by the form-critical analysis of Pauline letters by comparing the *topoi* of "friendship letters" and by identifying Paul's use of the diatribe-style. It is clear from the statement quoted above (from p. 11) and from the overall content and movement of the book that Schoon-Janßen was far more interested in form criticism than in rhetorical criticism of Pauline letters. This particular methodological slant makes it difficult

for the present reviewer even to determine why the term “rhetorical situation” was used in the subtitle of the book. This unevenness of method shows itself in the fact that the author makes significant and detailed contributions to the form-critical discussion of the aforementioned Pauline letters; yet the author is almost entirely limited to the secondary literature when it comes to the rhetorical analysis of these letters.

Particularly useful is the author’s critical discussion of the history of rhetorical criticism of Galatians (pp. 70–82), as well as his discussion of the literary unity of Philipians (pp. 119–26). Schoon-Janßen agrees with other scholars in concluding that Paul had no organized opposition in Thessalonica reflected in 1 Thessalonians, so that 1 Thess 2:1–12 is in no sense a defense. Schoon-Janßen also agrees with what now seems to be a majority of rhetorical critics who see rhetorical elements other than judicial ones in Galatians. After his helpful survey of scholarship on the literary integrity of Philipians, Schoon-Janßen decides in favor of its unity and finds deliberative elements in it.

Schoon-Janßen concludes, however, that Paul must not have knowingly followed the three “Aristotelian” (as he refers to them, p. 162) *Gattungen* of rhetoric, on the basis of his identification of Paul’s use of elements from more than one *Gattung* of rhetoric in each of the three letters he examined (even in 1 Thessalonians, which has been identified as strongly epideictic by Jewett, Wuellner, and the present reviewer). Schoon-Janßen’s conclusion is justified only if we believe that the knowledge of rhetorical precepts by orators and writers must mean that they always followed these precepts. If this syllogism were true, it would follow that Cicero and Demosthenes did not knowingly follow the rhetorical *Gattungen* because they sometimes used elements of more than one *Gattung* in particular speeches or letters. In truth, the rhetorical discussion of Pauline letters has been dominated too much by the identification of the *Gattung* of rhetoric, as if (a) Paul and other persuasive writers could only use one *Gattung* of rhetoric at a time and/or (b) in order to be significantly influenced by rhetoric, Paul would have to follow the rules of rhetoric consistently. Rhetoric was a much broader tradition than the ancient rhetorical handbooks reveal to some of their modern readers; and Paul (like others) could have been influenced by rhetoric in a variety of ways. Paul was no slave of rhetorical rules (or of form-critical rules, p. 162); in fact, it is more likely that Paul knew the wider tradition of rhetoric and followed it as creatively as he wished in his letters, when it was advantageous for him to do so.

In spite of the methodological difficulties of this dissertation, it is clear that it is rather carefully worked out, especially when it deals with form-critical analyses of Pauline letters. It opens the door for its readers to explore further the rhetorical aspects of Pauline letters and to ponder further the relationships between epistolography and rhetoric in Pauline letters. Exactly how “schematically” the rhetorical rules ought to be applied to Pauline letters is a matter of great disagreement among rhetorical critics. This book, with its relatively nondogmatic approach towards Paul and Pauline rhetoric, can be recommended to technical audiences with only slight reservations.

Frank Witt Hughes

St. Mark’s Episcopal Church, Lewistown, PA 17044-2116

The Epistle to the Philippians: A Commentary on the Greek Text, by Peter T. O’Brien. NIGTC. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991. Pp. xli + 597. \$39.95.

The size of this commentary (over twice the length of, for example, Hawthorne’s commentary in the WBC) suggests its comprehensiveness. Only thirty-six pages are

devoted to introductory issues, and so the comprehensiveness lies in the detailed exegesis of the text. O'Brien succeeds in his aim of keeping the focus on interaction with the text itself, but at the same time treats his readers to excellent bibliographies and to discussions which take account of an impressively wide range of contemporary scholarship on the letter.

The introduction provides a sketch of the beginnings of the Philippian church, following the Acts account, and brief but plausible defenses of the letter's integrity and its traditional Roman provenance. On the issue of the opponents reflected in the letter, the rival preachers of 1:15–17 are rightly seen as distinct from the opposition of chapter 3, which is held to consist of a unified front, namely, Judaizing Christian missionaries. Among the purposes of the letter singled out by O'Brien are Paul's desire to express his gratitude to the Philippians for their generosity, to explain his decision to send back Epaphroditus, to provide information about his present situation and future plans, and, at the heart of his concern, to appeal to his readers to stand firm and be united (cf. 1:27–30).

Each major section of the commentary on the text has its own bibliography and then material on the form and structure of the section. This is followed by translation, textual notes, and exegesis of subsections. The format is therefore not dissimilar to that of the WBC series, but without its headings and final Explanation section. At points this reviewer found the latter omission a deficiency. It might have given the space to provide summaries that connected the various themes and sections, though, helpfully, an exception is made after the discussion of the Christ hymn, where a summarizing explanation is offered (pp. 251–53). The commentary contains six substantial appendices, three of them on issues of interpretation of the Christ hymn.

At numerous points this reviewer found O'Brien's exegesis both convincing and helpful. These include his discussion of 1:21–24, where, as over against some recent interpretations, "to live is Christ" is taken as a reference to Paul's earthly life, and death is regarded as gain for him because it would bring deeper fellowship with Christ. Being with Christ at death as well as at the parousia is to be seen not as evidence of a major development in Paul's thought but in the light of contemporary Jewish eschatology where blessedness after death and resurrection at the end could be combined.

Discussions of 2:5–11 can often make the complex questions surrounding it even more complex than they need be. O'Brien's 85-page treatment is a model of clarity, though inevitably not all his conclusions will command assent. He translates 2:5 as "Adopt towards one another, in your mutual relations, the same attitude that was found in Christ Jesus," so that "the Christ hymn presents Jesus as the ultimate model for Christian behaviour and action" (p. 205). Its ethical force has to do with conformity to Christ's likeness rather than an imitation of his example, and the concept of "inter-change" and links with 3:20, 21 demonstrate that 2:9–11 are more than an appendix to exhortatory material. On the form of the hymn, he follows Hooker's analysis, positing a twofold division (vv. 6–8; 9–11) and regarding all words and phrases as part of the original. "In the form of God" is taken as picturing "the pre-existent Christ as clothed in the garments of divine majesty and splendour" (p. 211) and so the hymn "speaks about the real humiliation of the incarnation and the cross of the one who is himself God" (p. 252). ἀρπαγμός functions to indicate that "Jesus did not regard his equality with God as something to be used for his own advantage" (p. 215). O'Brien finds

unconvincing attempts to discover an Adamic background from Genesis 1–3 or a servant of the Lord background from Isaiah 53.

On 2:12 the author rightly argues against the understanding of σωτηρία as the Philippians' corporate wholeness or present well-being and for its reference to personal salvation with an eschatological dimension. Timothy and Epaphroditus in 2:19–30 are highlighted well as two Christlike examples. Against Sanders, O'Brien strongly defends the view that "my own righteousness" in 3:9 does involve an "attitudinal self-righteousness." 3:11 is translated "if, in some way, I may attain the resurrection from the dead" with εἴ πως not as a signal of doubt but as introducing a conditional clause of expectation. So "while the goal of the resurrection is certain, the way or route by which the apostle will reach it is unclear" (p. 413).

There are a few places, however, particularly in regard to Philippians 3, where this reviewer found the discussion less convincing. O'Brien may or may not be right that Paul thinks "that 'the circumcision' should not be applied to Israel at all. Instead it is 'the concision' . . ." (p. 358), but there is certainly a gap in the logic of his argument, which had begun by making clear that Paul's polemic is directed not against Jews in general but against Judaizing Christians. The primary contrast of 3:2, 3 must be between Paul and his churches and these Judaizing missionaries. The view that Paul's perspective on his Pharisaism in Philippians 3 is in keeping with Luke's portrayal of Paul's Pharisaism in Acts (p. 373) would need a much fuller defense. I also remain doubtful whether O'Brien's view of the nature of the Judaizing opposition does sufficient justice to the latter part of Philippians 3 with Paul's strong emphasis on not having achieved perfection and on present suffering and humiliation and with his designation of the opposition as "enemies of the cross of Christ."

In their foreword the series' editors indicate that "this series will . . . attempt to provide a theological understanding of the text, based on historical-critical -linguistic exegesis" and the dust jacket describes this commentary as "fundamentally theological." This prompts reflection, which obviously cannot be pursued fully here, on what constitutes a theological commentary on a letter such as Philippians. Certainly O'Brien deals fully with questions of Paul's Christology arising from 2:6–11. Elsewhere, studies of particular terms lay weight on the theological connotations, although in general O'Brien is rightly cautious about reading too much significance into individual words. Perhaps also the work is to be deemed theological, because Paul's point of view is taken as normative, and although applications are not made to the present, his perspectives on life and death and his confidence in God and the gospel rather than his circumstances are to be seen as of timeless value. More explicit focus on the rhetorical form and social dimensions of Paul's thought might, however, have given the theology of this letter sharper contours. Reference is made to Watson's rhetorical analysis at a number of points, but in general the communicative dynamics at work in the letter are underplayed. Connected with this, O'Brien talks much about Paul's affection for the Philippians and frequently speaks not of the addressees but of "Paul's dear friends," and he makes good use of Marshall's work on social conventions for the exegesis of 4:15, yet he does not explore the letter as a friendship letter or the social dimensions of the whole experience of friendship in the ancient world. This has been exploited recently with reference to Philippians by L. T. Johnson, S. K. Stowers, and L. M. White and could have contributed to an interpretation of the theology of the letter more firmly rooted in the symbolic world of Paul and the Philippians.

Whatever questions one might raise about particular details or the overall scope of his work, there can be no doubt that O'Brien's commentary on Philippians is the best available in English for careful detailed exegesis of the Greek text and judicious sifting of the interpretations of other scholars. His labors have put students of this letter in his debt for the invaluable resource he has supplied to aid their own close reading of the text. It should be noted for any future edition or revision that Jewett's two articles on Philippians are almost invariably confused in the footnotes.

Andrew T. Lincoln
University of Sheffield, England

Revelation and Redemption at Colossae, by Thomas J. Sappington. JSNTSup 53. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991. Pp. 266. £30 (\$52.50).

Sappington tackles the difficult task of identifying the theological position combatted by the author of Colossians in chapter two of that letter. He begins his work, originally a dissertation at Wycliffe College, Toronto, under the direction of Richard N. Longenecker, with a brief survey of previous interpretations of the Colossian teaching or philosophy, concluding that that of F. Francis has gained general acceptance among scholars. Sappington essentially concurs with Francis throughout the book, but undertakes several significant refinements of that earlier effort.

Like Francis, Sappington is convinced the conflict at Colossae can best be understood against the background of Hellenistic mysticism. Yet, Sappington does not follow Francis uncritically. He evidently agrees with critics of Francis who find him guilty of having drawn from a disparate collection of literature, much of it late, to characterize this religious perspective. In response, Sappington devotes the largest part of his book to a treatment of ascetic-mystical piety as it comes to expression in a narrower and more cohesive collection of documents, namely, in Jewish apocalyptic literature.

In part one of the book, comprising four chapters, Sappington selects and examines eleven documents: Daniel, *1 Enoch*, *2 Enoch*, *Jub.*, *4 Ezra*, *2 Apoc. Bar.*, *3 Apoc. Bar.*, *Apoc. Abr.*, *T. Abr.*, *Apoc. Zeph.*, and part of the *T. Levi*. Aware that many of these texts have a long and complicated compositional history, Sappington examines them in detail, employing the insights and conclusions of contemporary research to identify the earliest and most clearly Jewish portion of each. Once identified, the early Jewish sections of these books allow him to explore several major features of Jewish apocalypticism dating before or at the time of Colossians. Specifically, he examines what they say about (1) why heavenly revelations are sought; (2) how one prepares for and obtains a revelation (means); (3) what form revelations may take (mode); and (4) what role revelation plays among recipients of it (function). He concludes that although the means of achieving revelation and the mode of its expression may vary, the need for it is consistently and strongly expressed and, once obtained, revelation is used to exhort or admonish the community. In all this Sappington shows he is well versed in current scholarship on Jewish pseudepigraphical literature and Jewish apocalyptic thought. As a result, he succeeds in strengthening Francis's interpretation, offering his readers better evidence for Jewish ascetic-mystical piety at the time of Colossians.

Having presented what he regards as the most illuminating background to the

conflict at Colossae, Sappington turns to Colossians itself for verification of his thesis. Part two of the book, comprising four chapters and a conclusion, examines the themes of revelation and soteriology in Colossians. In the first of these chapters Sappington sets forth his method of isolating those portions of the letter that bear unequivocally on the conflict in the community. He exercises great care here, distinguishing polemical from more expository portions of the letter, and even dividing the polemic into those sections that are direct descriptions of the Colossian philosophy from those that refer only indirectly to it. Then, he organizes the emerging description of the philosophy according to the categories he used to characterize revelation in the ascetic-mystical piety of Jewish apocalypticism, namely, according to the means of achieving revelation, the mode of expressing it, and the function it had in the community. He concludes that those creating problems at Colossae fit the pattern of ascetic-mystical Jewish apocalypticism, for they undertook a range of practices, including fasting, to humble themselves and thus prepare for revelation (Col 2:16, 21, 23); they claimed to have had visionary experiences that were revelatory (v. 18); and they used this revelation to admonish others in the Colossian community (vv. 16, 18).

Fitting what the Colossian polemic says about the philosophy into categories designed for classifying revelation according to Jewish ascetic-mystical piety has its advantages and disadvantages. Since the debate at Colossae does revolve, at least in part, around the issue of revelation, Sappington's classification proves useful. On the other hand, this interpretive framework has its limits, for Sappington fails to classify a significant amount of information about the philosophy gleaned from the polemic. For instance, he finds no place in his framework for "the elements of the world" (*stoicheia tou kosmou*), even though the phrase occurs twice in the polemic (2:8, 20). As a consequence he underestimates its importance in determining the nature of the Colossian philosophy.

In the chapter that follows his identification and categorization of the Colossian polemic, Sappington presents in depth exegetical treatment of the key polemical elements of Colossians. This part of the book buttresses his claim that the Colossian philosophy represents an ascetic-mystical Jewish apocalypticism preoccupied with revelation. At the same time, it shows how indebted his exegesis of Colossians is to that of Francis, and thus how it is subject to many of the criticisms lodged against Francis's reading of Colossians.

The closing two chapters of the book focus on the letter writer's response to the Colossian philosophy outside the clearly polemical portions of the letter. In the next to last chapter, Sappington seeks confirmation of his earlier analysis by looking for evidence that revelation is a major theme of the entire letter. He treats the christological hymn of 1:15–20, the letter writer's development and application of the hymn in 2:1–5, the exposition on knowledge in 1:9–14 and the understanding of mystery in 1:24–29. Sappington argues that in all these passages the letter writer articulates a christocentric wisdom theology that bears directly on the issue of revelation. Thus, significant parts of Colossians' first half set the stage for the polemic of chapter two, as he reads it.

Sappington's last chapter continues the focus on Colossians chapter 1 and 2, and attention still falls on the theme of revelation. At this point Sappington argues that the letter writer anticipates the polemic of 2:16–23 by tying revelation to salvation. Thus, 2:13–15, which Sappington reads in light of 1:12–14, expresses the letter writer's theology of redemption in Christ. That this theology echoes a Jewish apocalyptic

perspective, yet takes issue with it, signals to Sappington that the polemic immediately following operates in the same arena. Much of chapters 1 and 2, therefore, contribute to a corrective of an ascetic-mystical piety grounded in Jewish apocalypticism.

Whether one agrees or disagrees with his treatment of Colossians chapter 1 and 2, Sappington has acted wisely to set his interpretation of the letter's polemic in the context of the whole letter. That he is able to show how central the theme of revelation is in this broader context strengthens his argument. Thus, he enhances the appeal of what was originally Francis's interpretation by offering the reader an improved version of it.

Critics may claim that Sappington has argued for an interpretation of the Colossian philosophy that stands too much in the shadow of Francis and proponents of Francis. And it is true that at points he accepts Francis's position uncritically, especially in the exegesis of the Colossians. Nevertheless, in two ways—in his treatment of ascetic-mystical piety in Jewish apocalypticism and in his examination of the letter writer's theology of revelation in chapters 1 and 2—Sappington's work improves Francis's interpretation. Accordingly, the book represents an important refinement of a major interpretive approach to Colossians and thus deserves the attention of scholars studying that letter.

Richard E. DeMaris

Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, IN 46383

Nag Hammadi Codex VIII, ed. by John H. Sieber. Contributors: Bentley Layton, Marvin W. Meyer, John H. Sieber and Frederik Wisse. (The Coptic Gnostic Library Edited with English Translation, Introduction and Notes published under the auspices of The Institute for Antiquity and Christianity; NHS 31.) Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991. Pp. xxxv + 301. Gld. 185.

Codex VIII from Nag Hammadi, probably dating from the fourth century CE, contains two tractates: The only known MS of *Zostrianos* occupies roughly the first ninety-four percent of the codex (1,1–132,9), and this volume in Brill's Coptic Gnostic Library series presents the first critical edition of this text. *Zost.* is among the longest of the writings in the Nag Hammadi codices, though its MS is poorly preserved in many sections and four pages are lost entirely. The work purports to be a first-person account of an ascent into the transcendent realm by Zostrianos, supposedly a descendant of Zoroaster. *Zost.* is among those gnostic writings often classified as "Sethian." It is an especially interesting member of this group because it can probably be identified with the "Revelation of Zostrianos" used in Neoplatonist circles in third-century Rome (Porphyry, *Vit. Plot.* 16), and in any case the philosophical jargon in *Zost.* certainly links it to the history of Middle and Neoplatonism. At least in genre, it is also related to Jewish apocalyptic traditions. There is dispute as to what connection, if any, *Zost.* had with Christianity. Sieber's Introduction to *Zost.* (pp. 7–28) offers an excellent overview of the possible background and significance of this writing.

The second tractate, the *Letter of Peter to Philip*, is just over eight pages in length. Only the first few opening lines contain the pseudonymous "letter of Peter," while the remainder of the writing is a narration of post-resurrection appearances of and revelation from Jesus to his apostles, and their subsequent activity in Jerusalem and depar-

ture for missionary preaching. There are reports of another extant Coptic MS of this work, though it is still in private hands and not available for study (p. 232).

Two earlier editions of *Ep. Pet. Phil.* have been published: Jacques Ménard's edition for the Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi series (1977) and M. Meyer's own Claremont dissertation (reviewed in *JBL* 103 [1984] 675–77). Given also the fairly straightforward narrative character of this small text and the generally excellent condition of the MS, it is not surprising that this portion of the Brill edition is the less problematic. Wisse's edition of the Coptic text of *Ep. Pet. Phil.* differs in only a few places from Ménard's and even less from that in Meyer's dissertation (both Ménard and Meyer were able to consult Wisse's early transcription and notes). In the more significant instances, Wisse's reconstructions or emendations are usually an improvement. At least one exception is 137,5: [Δ]Ε rather than [Π]Ε is called for, to mark the transition (as in 136,16 and 137,10) to the Savior's answer to the next of the apostles' questions ("Now regarding the fact that you are held: It is because you are mine"). Curiously, the translation in 135,16 has "followed," though (1) the ΟΥΩ2 + ΕΒΟΛ in the MS would instead mean something like "paused," so that the emendation ΟΥΩ.Ν.2 ΕΒΟΛ ("appeared") mentioned in the note is preferable, and (2) in fact the volume's index of Coptic terms assumes that the word here is ΟΥΩΝ2, not ΟΥΩ2! Meyer's well-written introduction (pp. 227–32) is insightful, distilling and also updating elements from his dissertation. His "commentary" notes are for the most part simply cross-references to other ancient works, but are generally helpful.

The team members responsible for the *Zost.* tractate (Layton and Sieber) faced the far more daunting challenge. The fragmentary state of so many pages of *Zost.* exacerbates exponentially the already more difficult task of translating this tractate's often obscure allusions to mythological and philosophical motifs. Thus, it belongs to the very nature of the tractate and the condition of its MS that this edition, and even more this translation, of *Zost.* must be considered a point of departure rather than the last word.

In reconstructing lacunae, the editors of *Zost.* seem to have had in mind an admirably conservative policy, placing only the more certain restorations in the printed text and confining the more speculative possibilities to the footnotes. Nevertheless, readers will sometimes find reconstructions in the footnotes that surely belong to the virtually certain category (e.g., 30,1; 76,25; cf. the note to 132,8, which is superfluous due to the obvious reading required by the cryptogram), as well as cases where the restorations included in the text itself are not at all certain (e.g., 6,18: the line might also end ΝΟΥ[ΤΕ] [cf. 126,5]; 10,12: perhaps ΠΡ[Ο]C ΝΗ?). In some instances, there are surely better reconstructions to be considered. For example: in 43,27 read ΝΙ2ΒΗΥC [ΕΒΟ]Λ; in 44,22: read ΕΔΥΡ etc., and ΝΟΥ[ΤΕ] can be restored at the end of 44,21 (the translation actually seems to presuppose this reconstruction rather than what is printed); 83,10–11: given the feminine article, read: †ΩΜΤΓΕ[ΝΕΔ].

The editors have also been relatively conservative in suggesting emendations, and most of those proposed range from the obvious to the very plausible. However, the writing of ΟΥΟΥ- as ΟΥ- is called a "careless omission" (notes on 1,9 and 52,19–20), when actually this elision is not a mistake but a fairly common orthographic convention in Codex VIII (and elsewhere). Indeed, it is virtually the rule in VIII that ΟΥ + ΟΥ is written in the simplified form ΟΥ when the first ΟΥ is a syllabic vowel and the second a glide (ΟΥΟΕΙΝ = ΟΥΟΥΟΕΙΝ 1,9; 30,2; 52,19–20 (twice); 61,21; 117,10; cf.

the same phenomenon with other verbs in 24,8; 114,7; 123,7. But **OY OY**- tends to be written when the first **OY** is also a glide (as in 6,3; 74,14). Awareness of this scribal habit in VIII also renders the elision assumed in 28,7 improbable, and would change the translation from “they desired” to something like “they cried out.” Similarly, at 46,23 the translation (“appearing”) assumes that **EY ON2** in the MS is **EY-(OY) ON2** (though this is not explained), while it is better to read this as a form of **ON2** (and translate: “living”).

There are other places where the translation of *Zost.* requires correction (e.g., the two sentences translating 125,5–11 seem to lack subjects for their verbs). But perhaps more numerous than outright mistakes are passages where a different rendering would better reflect what Sieber in the introduction calls “the philosophical intention” (p. 21) underlying much of the discourse in the tractate. For example, as a translation of 2,14–17 we find: “. . . all these who are in thought and perception in form, race, region, (in) an All and one that restrains and is restrained, (in) a body yet without a body, (in) essence, matter and those who belong to all these.” But a rendering such as: “. . . all these: what belongs to thought and sense-perception, species and genus, part and whole, what comprehends and is comprehended, corporeal and incorporeal, essence and matter, and everything pertaining to these,” would better capture the intended list of categories. Continuing analysis of *Zost.* against its philosophical and religious context will likely reveal many such instances where a more intelligible translation is possible.

The volume as a whole contains a discouraging number of typographical errors, but comment will be limited to those pertinent to the most basic functions of a critical edition: i.e., mistakes in the printed Coptic text itself, and a few noticed in the notes and the indices. The printed text should be corrected to read as follows: 6,16: add bracket after **X**; 9,3: **ΔΥΩΠΕ**; 10,11: **ΕΥΤΒΒΗΟΥΤ**; 15,15: remove fourth bracket; 19,11: **ΠΙΜΕ2ΤΟΥ**; 22,22: **ΠΙ[ΧΩΚΜ**; 27,1: **ΤΕΥΨΥΧΗ**; 27,9: **ΣΕΛΕΡΑΤΟΥ**; 30,26: **ΝΤΕ**; 42,19: **ΕΥΘΕΒΗΟ[Υ** (as one word); 45,12: **ΕΥΩΔΝΡ**; 52,8: **ΤΕΛΜΑΧΔΗ**; 52,17: add **Τ** before **Ρ**; 57,9: add supralinear stroke over proper name; 57,24: **ΝΙΩΜΤΓΕΝΟC**; 64,17: **ΝΝ ΔΤΤΩΙ**; 78,12: **ΔΡΧΙ**; 82,14: omit first bracket; 113,9: raised dot after **δ**; 122,11: **ΝΙΜΑΡCΗΔΩΝ**; 130,18: **ΜΑΤΟΥΝ[ΕC]** (as one word); 131,6: **ΤΜΝΤC2ΙΜΕ**; 131,13: **2ΙΝΔ**. In 56,20, the text should read **ΝΕΥΟΥΩ[C ΕΒΟΛ]**, not **ΝΕΟΥΩ[C ΕΒΟΛ]**, and, accepting the editors’ reconstruction of the lacuna, the corresponding translation should be changed from “were desiring” to “were spread forth,” or perhaps better: “were at rest” (cf. 81,13). *Zost.* includes in its colophon a very interesting Coptic cryptogram encoding a Greek title. The decoded Greek is provided on p. 4, and the code is explained in a textual note (at 132,6–9), but in the edited text itself several letters of the last line of cryptogram have been omitted by misprint. Correct 132,9 to read: **ΘΩ ΟΛΖΛΓ ΓCΙΛΘΩΨΙ[ΛΧ]** (though the **Γ** resembles a **Τ**; because of the code, the latter would have to be treated as a scribal error). In the following places the raised dot printed in the text should be replaced with a dicolon: 26,19; 60,23; 64,13; 136,15. Among the misprints in the notes to the Coptic text: 2,10: read **ΕΤΝ[ΜΜΔ9**; 5,26: **[ΚΟ]CΜΟC**; 17,13: **ΝΙΚΟΟΥΕ**; 25,10: read “**ΝΤΟΥ2Ε** for **ΝΤΟΥ2Ο**”; 93,6–7: line break slash is misplaced, and **ΜΕΕΥΕ** disagrees with the **.ΕΕΥΤ** printed in the text itself. Among errors noticed in only occasional checks of the indices: the term **ΤΟΥΩΤ**, correctly assumed by the translation of 130,6–7, is missing from the index, while 130,6–7 is incorrectly listed under the different word **ΟΥΩΤ**; add 122,11 among instances of **ΜΑΡCΗΔΩΝ** (p. 278); read **ΩΔΩΝΙ** not **ΩΔΧΝΙ** on p. 267.

The meager space devoted to analysis of Codex VIII's paleography, orthography, and grammar (pp. 4–5) is disappointing by comparison with some earlier Nag Hammadi volumes in Brill's series. So also is the general level of detail in reproduction of paleographic features. For example, supralinear strokes are regularly reproduced only over proper names, though the presence or absence of other supralineation is mentioned in the textual notes in many instances. Perhaps this was dictated by some unfortunate limitation in available printing technology, and if so, one is loath to blame dedicated scholars who only late in a project discover that they themselves must generate camera-ready copy out of their own financial resources. Thus, further comment in this area will be restricted to the accuracy of two features that *are* reproduced or discussed.

The presence of scribal *paragraphos* signs that appear at several points in the MS, usually in conjunction with a colon, is sometimes mentioned in the notes (36,16–17; 40,5–6; 48,28–29), and once with emphasis on this as a sign of a “break” (32,6–7). But then several instances are *not* noted (e.g., 44,4–5; before 45,1; 64,12–13; 136,15–16).

Finally, one paleographic feature mentioned briefly in the codicological introduction (p. 5), and regularly signified in the printed Coptic text with a grave accent, is the presence of a “backstroke” or “flag” on the letters **ⲧ** and **ⲛ** in certain circumstances. But regrettably, there are a very large number of errors. Over four dozen backstrokes in the MS have not been marked in the edition, and in a few places the edition shows backstrokes that are *not* in the MS (77,7; note on 2,10; printed over wrong letter in 12,17 and 36,7; and in 136,25, the admittedly ambiguous mark in the MS is not where a true backstroke is expected). Some recent and still largely unpublished research has begun to clarify both continuity and variety among similar such marking patterns in ancient Coptic (including other Nag Hammadi) manuscripts. The designation “morpheme dividers” (p. 5) is not the best term for these backstrokes in Codex VIII, since they can divide syllables where there is no morpheme division (132,11.13; 133,9), and since their presence or absence at the end of morphemes seems determined by phonological rules of syllable division. The backstroked definite article in 2,30 is called a scribal error in the textual note, but this form (after **Ⲅ** or **ⲧⲄ**) is attested in other MSS, again for phonological reasons. The relevance of these details is largely restricted to comparative paleographic and linguistic research, and they are normally insignificant to the basic tasks of translation and interpretation. Yet, it should be noted that accuracy here can occasionally be of some significance even to the translator when reconstructions of certain lacunae are involved: e.g., the absence of the backstroke on the **ⲧ** in 77,7 eliminates certain restorations and allows others.

This edition of Codex VIII has to be used with extra caution regarding certain important details. Nevertheless, anyone who has struggled with the MS or facsimile edition (especially of *Zost.*) will be appreciative of the tedious labor and frustrations endured by those responsible for this welcome additional tool. Future work on the two fascinating documents contained in Codex VIII will be indebted to the team who produced this edition.

Michael A. Williams
University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195

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COLLECTED ESSAYS

Gottesvolk: Beiträge zu einem Thema Biblischer Theologie, ed. Arndt Meinhold and Rüdiger Lux. Stuttgart: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1991. Pp. 246. DM 69 (paper).

This collection of fourteen essays by as many authors is dedicated to Professor Siegfried Wagner on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, September 5, 1990. Rather than focusing on the theology of one of the Testaments, these essays explore one avenue to approaching biblical theology by addressing the theme of the "people of God" in both the Old and New Testaments. There is also the explicit recognition that this theme has important implications for understanding who the people or peoples of God are in the contemporary world, a question that is all the more pressing in view of the atrocities of the Third Reich. There are four indices: biblical and other ancient sources, subjects, personal names, and contributors.

The essays are placed under six headings that have major bearing on the theme: Ein Volk aus vielen Völkern, Gottesvolk und Land, Gottesvolk und staatliche Ordnungen, Gottesvolk und Gottesdienst, Gottesvolk und Weltverantwortung, and Einzelstudien zum Gottesvolk im Alten und Neuen Testament. The essays are "Die Frage nach Israel als die Frage nach dem Bekenntnis seiner Erwählung," by Ernst-Joachim Waschke (pp. 11-28); "Die Heiligen im Neuen Testament," by Wolfgang Wiefel (pp. 29-42); "Jahwe, Israel und das Land bei den Propheten Amos und Hosea," by Matthias Köckert (pp. 43-74); "Das Erbe der Gewaltlosen. Überlegungen zum Mt 5,5 und seiner Vorgeschichte," by Rüdiger Lux (pp. 75-90); "Überlegungen zu Deutung und Beurteilung der Kritik an Königtum und Staat innerhalb des Alten Testaments," by Joachim Conrad (pp. 91-97); "Christ und Staat nach dem Neuen Testament," by Günter Haufe (pp. 98-113); "Lobgesänge im Himmel und auf Erden," by Hans Seidel (pp. 114-24); "Bewegung in Antiochia. Eine narrative Exegese zu Apg 11,26," by Christoph Schuppan (pp. 125-35); "Anspruch und Grenze der Verantwortung. Eine Betrachtung zur jahwistischen Urgeschichte," by Hans Heinrich Schmid (pp. 136-42); "Gottesvolk und Weltverantwortung im Neuen Testament," by Wolfgang Trilling (pp. 143-55); "Der Beitrag des Jeremiabuches zur Biblischen Theologie," by Siegfried Herrmann (pp. 156-74); "Zustand und Zukunft des Gottesvolkes im Maleachibuch," by Arndt Meinhold (pp. 175-92); "Das 'Gottesvolk' in der Sicht der Geschichtssummarien des Psalters," by Dietmar Mathias (pp. 193-208); and "Vom Gottesvolk zu den Gottesvölkern? Zum neuen Lesen der alten Texte," by Peter von der Osten-Sacken (pp. 209-23).

Leo G. Perdue

Selected Studies in Old Testament Exegesis, by P. A. H. de Boer. Ed. by C. van Duin. OTS 27. Leiden: Brill, 1991. Pp. ix + 244. Dfl 120 (\$61).

This volume contains twenty-four essays by Professor de Boer (1930–1984). All have been previously published but one (Egypt in the Old Testament), seven essays previously appearing in Dutch herein appear in an English translation (by P. J. Booij). The volume includes a picture of de Boer and a foreword by the editor. A photograph of the Šo‘ar inscription, a bibliography of the publications of de Boer (pp. 227–34), and an index of biblical references conclude the volume.

The essays are: “Kingship in Ancient Israel” (pp. 1–17); “Genesis xxxii 23–33” (pp. 18–32); “Some remarks on Exodus xxi 7–11: the Hebrew female slave” (pp. 33–37); “An inscription from Šo‘ar” (pp. 38–45); “‘When David had to flee from Saul, the Tyrant . . .’” (pp. 46–61); “A lost biblical text” (pp. 62–66); “A Syro-Hexaplar text of the Song of Hannah: 1 Samuel ii 1–10” (pp. 67–74); “2 Samuel 12:25” (pp. 75–79); “*wmrhwq yryh mlh̄mh*—Job 39:25” (pp. 80–89); “Ein neugefundenes Fragment des syrisch-römischen Rechtsbuches”—with W. Baars (pp. 90–100); “In search of the meaning of Psalm li 6 (4)” (pp. 101–12); “Some remarks concerning and suggested by Jeremiah 43:1–7” (pp. 113–21); “Jeremiah 45, verse 5” (pp. 122–28); “Quelques remarques sur l’arc dans la nuée (Genese ix 8–17)” (pp. 129–38); “1 Samuel 8, verse 16b” (pp. 139–41); “The perfect with *waw* in 2 Samuel 6:16” (pp. 142–51); “Egypt in the Old Testament: some aspects of an ambivalent assessment” (pp. 152–67); “A note on Ecclesiastes 12:12a” (pp. 168–71); “Einige Bemerkungen und Gedanken zum Lied in 1 Samuel 2,1–10” (pp. 172–78); “Does Job retract Job xlii 6” (pp. 179–95); “Sur la massore de 2 Samuel i 23” (pp. 196–99); “La syntaxe du verset quatre du Psaume vingt-deux” (pp. 200–202); “Some observations on Deuteronomy vi 4 and 5” (pp. 203–10); “Psalm 81.6a: observations on translation and meaning of one Hebrew line” (pp. 211–24).

Studien zum Alten Testament (1966–1988) mitsamt Bibliographie Georg Fohrer (1991), by Georg Fohrer. BZAW 186. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1991. Pp. v + 186. DM 104.

This is a collection of eleven essays by Professor Fohrer, eight previously published, but here reworked in varying ways, and three unpublished (the last three chapters). There is a brief preface by Fohrer and a bibliography (pp. 169–86). There are no indexes.

The essays are: Part I: Zur Exegese. “Erzählung und Geschichtsbericht in Prophetenerzählungen” (pp. 3–31); “Der Tag YHWHs” (pp. 32–44); “Abgewiesene Klage und untersagte Fürbitte (Jer 14,2–15,2)” (pp. 45–55); “Der Israel-Prophet in Jeremia 30–31” (pp. 56–69); “Das ‘Gebet des Propheten Habakuk’ (Hab 3,1–16)” (pp. 70–79); “Man and Disease according to the Book of Job” (pp. 80–84); “Methoden und Moden in der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft” (pp. 85–97).

Part II: Zur Theologie. “Basic Structures of Biblical Faith” (pp. 101–31); “Die prophetische Botschaft und der heutige Mensch” (pp. 132–50); “Auslegung des Alten Testaments—einige Hinweise für Nichtexegeten” (pp. 151–59); “Christliche Fehldeutungen der Hebräischen Bibel” (pp. 160–66).

Alttestamentliche Studien, by Hartmut Gese. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1991. Pp. viii + 307. DM 59 (paper).

This is a collection of sixteen essays by Professor Gese, fifteen previously published (1976–1987) and one unpublished (chap. 2). There is a brief foreword by the author. The volume concludes with indexes of names and subjects, Hebrew words, and biblical references.

The essays are: "Die dreifache Gestaltwerdung des Alten Testaments" (pp. 1–28); "Die Komposition der Abrahamserzählung" (pp. 29–51); "Die ältere Simsonüberlieferung (Richter c. 14–15)" (pp. 52–71); "Ezechiel 20,25f. und die Erstgeburtsoffer" (pp. 72–83); "Jakob und Mose: Hosea 12,3–14 als einheitlicher Text" (pp. 84–93); "Komposition bei Amos" (pp. 94–115); "Das Problem von Amos 9,7" (pp. 116–21); "Jona ben Amittai und das Jonabuch" (pp. 122–38); "Die Einheit von Psalm 19" (pp. 139–40); "Psalm 50 und das alttestamentliche Gesetzesverständnis" (pp. 149–69); "Die Frage nach dem Lebenssinn: Hiob und die Folgen" (pp. 170–88); "Das Geschichtsbild des Danielbuches und Ägypten" (pp. 189–201); "Die Bedeutung der Krise unter Antiochus IV. Epiphanes für die Apokalyptik des Danielbuches" (pp. 202–17); "Die Weisheit, der Menschensohn und die Ursprünge der Christologie als konsequente Entfaltung der biblischen Theologie" (pp. 218–48); "Hermeneutische Grundsätze der Exegese biblischer Texte" (pp. 249–66); "Der auszulegende Text" (pp. 266–82).

Text und Sinn im Alten Testament: Textgeschichtliche und bibeltheologische Studien, by Adrian Schenker. OBO 103. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991. Pp. v + 302. SFr 75.

This volume contains fourteen essays by Prof. Schenker, all but one of which (the last) has been previously published (1978–87). There is a foreword by the author and there are indexes of biblical references and authors.

"Gott als Vater—Söhne Gottes. Ein vernachlässigter Aspekt einer biblischen Metapher" (pp. 1–53); "Elemente volkstümlicher Religion im Alten Testament" (pp. 55–67); "Die Tafel des Herzens. Eine Studie über Anthropologie und Gnade im Denken des Propheten Jeremia im Zusammenhang mit Jer 31,31–34" (pp. 68–81); "Unwiderrufliche Umkehr und neuer Bund. Vergleich zwischen der Wiederherstellung Israels in Dt 4, 25–31; 30,1–14 und dem neuen Bund in Jer 31, 31–34" (pp. 83–96); "Saure Trauben ohne stumpfe Zähne, Bedeutung and Tragweite von Ez 10 und 33, 10–20 oder ein Kapitel alttestamentlicher Moraltheologie" (pp. 97–118); "Köper et expiation" (pp. 120–34); "Nebukadnezars Metamorphose vom Unterjocher zum Gottesknecht. Das Bild Nebukadnezars und einige mit ihm zusammenhängende Unterschiede in den beiden Jeremia-Rezensionen" (pp. 136–65); "Das Zeichen des Blutes und die Gewissheit der Vergebung im Alten Testament. Die sühnende Funktion des Blutes auf dem Altar nach Lev 17,10–12" (pp. 167–85); "Der monotheismus im ersten Gebot, die Stellung der Frau im Sabbatgebot und zwei andere Sachfragen zum Dekalog" (pp. 187–205); "Affranchissement d'un esclave selon Ex 21,7–11" (pp. 207–216); "Gerichtsverkündigung und Verblendung bei den vorexilischen Propheten" (pp. 217–34); "Die Lehre vom Ursprung des biblischen Schrift- und Aussprachesystems im Kairoer Prophetenkodex und das karäische Bekenntnis Mosche Ben Ashers" (pp. 236–45); "Was übersetzen wir? Fragen zur Textbasis, die sich aus

der Textkritik ergeben" (pp. 247-62); "Gleichnis eines gescheiterten Vergleichs? Mk 12,1-9 par" (pp. 263-71).

Exégète à Jérusalem: Nouveaux Mélanges d'Histoire Religieuse (1890-1939), by Marie-Joseph Lagrange. Foreword by Maurice Gilbert. CahRB 29. Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1991. Pp. 259. FF 370 (paper).

This is a collection of articles by Lagrange originally published in sources difficult to obtain. There is a brief introduction to the person and work of Lagrange by Maurice Gilbert (pp. 7-10); he also writes an opening paragraph for each article, placing it within the context of Lagrange's life and work. There are indexes of authors and biblical references.

The essays are: Part I: Archaeology and topography. "Au-delà du Jourdain" (pp. 13-38); "Ten Years in Palestine" (pp. 39-51); "Le sanctuaire de la lapidation de saint Étienne à Jérusalem" (pp. 53-81); "Bézétha, en collaboration avec L.-H. Vincent, O.P." (pp. 83-99); "American Excavations at Samaria" (pp. 101-108).

Part II: History of the ancient Near East. "La nouvelle histoire d'Israël" (pp. 111-28); "The Jewish Military Colony of Elephantine under the Persians" (pp. 129-44); "The Pretended Monotheism of Amenophis IV" (pp. 145-60); "L'empire palmyrénien" (pp. 161-75).

Part III: Biblical exegesis. "The Revealed Form of the Divine Name" (pp. 179-89); "Le sens de Luc, I, 1, d'après les papyrus" (pp. 191-95); "Some Points Recently Gained in the Study of the Epistle to the Romans" (pp. 197-205); "Les rétractations exégétiques de saint Augustin" (pp. 207-29); "La critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament" (pp. 231-42).

Terence E. Fretheim

Congress Volume Leuven 1989. Ed. J. A. Emerton. VTSup 43. Leiden: Brill, 1991. Pp. viii + 398. \$116.67.

This volume contains the Presidential address and 22 essays by as many contributors presented at the 13th Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament held in Leuven from August 27 to September 1, 1989. The Presidential Address by C. Brekelmans is entitled, "Joshua xxiv: Its Place and Function" (pp. 1-9). The essays are: "The Pentateuch in Recent Research: a Time for Caution," by E. W. Nicholson (pp. 10-21); "Elementare Erwägungen zur Quellscheidung im Pentateuch," by Werner H. Schmidt (pp. 22-45); "Gibt es die Endgestalt des Pentateuch?" by Erhard Blum (pp. 46-57); "The So-called Deuteronomistic Redaction of the Pentateuch," by John Van Seters (pp. 58-77); "Le cycle de Jacob comme Légende autonome des origines d'Israël," by Albert de Pury (pp. 78-96); "The Development of the Israelite Religion in the Light of Recent Studies on the Early History of Israel," by Niels Peter Lemche (pp. 97-115); "Geschichten und Geschichte: Verheißung und Erfüllung im deuteronomistischen Geschichteswerk," by Helga Weippert (pp. 116-31); "The Role of the Priesthood in the Deuteronomistic History," by Richard D. Nelson (pp. 132-47); "Deuteronomistische Redaktionsarbeit in den Elia-Erzählungen," by Winfried Thiel (pp. 148-71); "Die Propheten Micha und

Jesaja im Spiegel von Jeremia xxvi und 2 Regum xviii–xx. Zur Prophetie-Rezeption in der nach-joschijanischen Zeit,” by Christof Hardmeier (pp. 172–89); “Israelite Prophecy: Change versus Continuity,” by David L. Petersen (pp. 190–203); “Isaiah Chapters lxxv–lxxvi: Trito-Isaiah and the Closure of the Book of Isaiah,” by W. A. M. Beuken (pp. 204–21); “Arguing About Jeremiah: Recent Studies and the Nature of a Prophetic Book,” by Robert P. Carroll (pp. 222–235); “*Urtext*, texte court et relecture: Jérémie xxxiii 14–26 TM et ses préparations,” by Pierre-Maurice Bogaert (pp. 236–47); “Le corpus sapientiel et le Psautier: approche informatique du lexique,” by Jacques Trublet (pp. 248–63); “Psalm lxxxviii: der Rätsel Lösung?,” by Notker Füglistner (pp. 264–97); “The Relationship Between Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah,” by Sara Japhet (pp. 298–313); “Zur Frage von Korrespondenzen und Divergenzen zwischen den Chronikbüchern und dem Esra/Nehemia-Buch,” by K.-F. Pohlmann (pp. 314–330); “The Babylonian New Year Festival: New Insights from the Cuneiform Texts and Their Bearing on Old Testament Study,” by Karel Van Der Toorn (pp. 331–44); “The Original Shape of the Biblical Text,” by Emanuel Tov (pp. 345–59); “Fidelity and Editorial Work in the Complutensian Targum Tradition,” by L. Díez Merino (pp. 360–82); “The Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres,” by A. Pietersma (pp. 383–95). Contains no indexes.

Law and Ideology in Monarchic Israel. Ed. Baruch Halpern and Deborah W. Hobson. JSOTSup 124. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991. Pp. 235. £35.00/\$60.00 (£26.25/\$45.00 subscriber).

This volume contains essays presented as part of the first annual York University Seminar for Advanced Research (1986–87), constituting part of the Gerstein Lectures at York University, 1987. The essays are: “Jerusalem and the Lineages in the Seventh Century B.C.E.: Kinship and the Rise of Individual Moral Liability,” by Baruch Halpern (pp. 11–107); “The Function of the Law in the Development of Israel’s Prophetic Traditions,” by Brian Peckham (pp. 108–46); “Deuteronomy 13: The Suppression of Alien Religious Propaganda in Israel During the Late Monarchical Era,” by Paul E. Dion (pp. 147–216).

The Future of Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester. Ed. Birger A. Pearson in collaboration with A. Thomas Kraabel, George W. E. Nickelsburg, and Norman R. Petersen. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1991. Pp. xx + 509. N.P.

This Festschrift contains an introduction by the editor and 37 essays by 38 contributors. It concludes with an epilogue by the honoree. The essays are divided into 6 parts. Part 1, “The Environment of Early Christianity,” includes the following essays: “Early Christianity as a Religious-Historical Phenomenon,” by Kurt Rudolph (pp. 9–19); “Reflections of a New Testament Scholar on Plutarch’s Tractates *De Alexandri Magni Fortuna aut Virtute*,” by Dieter Georgi (pp. 20–34); “New Testament Papyrus Manuscripts and Letter Carrying in Greco-Roman Times,” by Eldon J. Epp (pp. 35–56); “The Godlessness of Germans Living by the Sea According to Philo of Alexandria,” by Dieter Lührmann (pp. 57–63); “The Messianic Banquet Reconsidered,” by Dennis E. Smith (pp. 64–73).

Part 2, "Archaeology and Early Christianity," contains the following essays: "The Bethsaida Excavations: Historical and Archaeological Approaches," by Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn and Rami Arav (pp. 77-106); "Archaeology and Eschatology at Thessalonica," by Holland Lee Hendrix (pp. 107-118).

Part 3, "Ancient Judaism," includes the following essays: "Moses Servant of God and the Servants: Text and Tradition in the Prayer of Nehemiah (Neh 1:5-11)," by Klaus Baltzer (pp. 121-30); "Philo and the Sabbath Crisis: Alexandrian Jewish Politics and the Dating of Philo's Works," by Robert A. Kraft (pp. 131-41); "The Tests of the Twelve Patriarchs: Forensic Rhetoric in Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews* 2.7-200," by Wilfred F. Bunge (pp. 142-48); "Iael Προστάτης in the Jewish Donative Inscription from Aphrodisias," by Bernadette J. Brootten (pp. 149-62); "Adolf Harnack's 'The Mission and Expansion of Judaism': Christianity Succeeds Where Judaism Fails," by Shaye J. D. Cohen (pp. 163-69).

Part 4, "New Testament," includes the following essays: "The Q Trajectory: Between John and Matthew via Jesus," by James M. Robinson (pp. 173-94); "*Logoi Prophētōn*? Reflections on the Genre of Q," by Richard Horsley (pp. 195-209); "The Divinization of Disorder: The Trajectory of Matt 8:20//Luke 9:58//*Gos. Thom.* 86," by Robert Doran (pp. 210-19); "The Apocalyptic Son of Man Sayings," by Adela Yarbro Collins (pp. 220-28); "The Antithetic Saying in Mark 16:16: Formal and Redactional Features," by Paul Allan Mirecki (pp. 229-41); "Secret Mark and the History of Canonical Mark," by Philip Sellew (pp. 242-57); "The Sermon on the Mount in Matthew's Interpretation," by Hans Dieter Betz (pp. 258-75); "The God-fearers Meet the Beloved Disciple," by A. Thomas Kraabel (pp. 276-84); "Salvation Is for the Jews: Secret Christian Jews in the Gospel of John," by Sarah J. Tanzer (pp. 285-300); "Contending with God: The Death of Jesus and the Trial of Israel in Luke-Acts," David L. Tiede (pp. 301-308); "Community of Goods in Acts: Idealization or Social Reality?," by S. Scott Bartchy (pp. 309-18); "Four Problems in the Life of Paul Reconsidered," by Hans-Martin Schenke (pp. 319-28); "The Man From Heaven in Paul's Letter to the Philippians," by Wayne A. Meeks (pp. 329-36); "On the Ending(s) to Paul's Letter to Rome," by Norman R. Petersen (pp. 337-47); "The Incarnation: Paul's Solution to the Human Predicament," by George W. E. Nickelsburg (pp. 348-57); "The Revelation of John and Pauline Theology," by Eduard Lohse (pp. 358-66); "A Genre for 1 John," by Julian V. Hills (pp. 367-77).

Part 5, "Early Christian Literature," includes the following essays: "The *Gospel of Thomas* and Christian Origins," by Ron Cameron (pp. 381-92); "The Suspension of Time in Chapter 18 of *Protoevangelium Jacobi*," by François Bovon (pp. 393-405); "'Masculine Fellowship' in the *Acts of Thomas*," by Harold W. Attridge (pp. 406-13); "'Seneca' on Paul as Letter Writer," by Abraham J. Malherbe (pp. 414-21); "God Language in Ignatius of Antioch," by Bishop Demetrios Trakatellis (pp. 422-30).

Part 6, "Gnosticism," includes the following essays: "New Testament Christologies in Gnostic Transformation," by PHEME Perkins (pp. 433-41); "The 'Mystery of Marriage' in the *Gospel of Philip* Revisited," by Elaine H. Pagels (pp. 442-54); "Pre-Valentinian Gnosticism in Alexandria," by Birger A. Pearson (pp. 455-66).

The epilogue by Helmut Koester is entitled "Current Issues in New Testament Scholarship" (pp. 467-76). The volume contains indexes of both ancient sources and modern authors.

Pauline Theology 1: Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon, ed. Jouette M. Bassler. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991. Pp. xiv + 289. N.P.

This volume contains sixteen essays by as many authors, two of which have been previously published (Krentz and Dunn), as well as five bibliographies. The essays originated in the Pauline Theology Consultation (later the Pauline Theology Group) of the Society of Biblical Literature from 1985–1988. It was decided to begin the study of Paul's theology with the shorter letters. "The purpose . . . was to free the shorter letters from the theological dominance that the *Hauptbriefe* usually exercise on the Pauline corpus" (pp. ix–x). It was further agreed that the theology of each letter was to be defined without recourse to the other letters of the Pauline corpus" (p. x). Finally, a gradual synthesis of the theologies of the various letters was attempted. The sixteen articles in this volume are divided into five sections, followed by the bibliographies.

Part I, "Methodology," contains three essays: "From Text to Thought World: The Route to Paul's Ways," by J. Paul Sampley (pp. 3–14); "Recasting Pauline Theology: The Coherence-Contingency Scheme as Interpretive Model," by J. Christiaan Beker (pp. 15–24); and "Finding the Way to Paul's Theology: A Response to J. Christiaan Beker and J. Paul Sampley," (pp. 25–36).

Part II, "The Theology of the Thessalonian Correspondence," contains four essays: "Early Pauline Thought: An Analysis of 1 Thessalonians," by Earl Richard (pp. 39–51); "Through a Lens: Theology and Fidelity in 2 Thessalonians," by Edgar Krentz (pp. 52–62) = "Traditions Held Fast: Theology and Fidelity in 2 Thessalonians," *The Thessalonian Correspondence* (ed. Raymond F. Collins; BETL 87; Leuven: University Press/Peeters, 1990), 505–15; "A Matrix of Grace: The Theology of 2 Thessalonians as a Pauline Letter," by Robert Jewett (pp. 63–70); and "Peace in All Ways: Theology in the Thessalonian Letters; A Response to R. Jewett, E. Krentz, and E. Richard," by Jouette M. Bassler (pp. 71–85).

Part III, "The Theology of Philippians," contains two essays: "Philippians: Theology for the Heavenly Politeuma," by PHEME PERKINS (pp. 89–104); and "Friends and Enemies in the Politics of Heaven: Reading Theology in Philippians," by Stanley K. Stowers (pp. 105–21).

Part IV, "The Theology of Galatians," contains three essays: "The Theology of Galatians: The Issue of Covenantal Nomism," by James D. G. Dunn (pp. 125–46) = "The Theology of Galatians," Chapter 9 in James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus, Paul, and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1990) 242–64; "The Singularity of the Gospel: A Reading of Galatians," by Beverly Roberts Gaventa (pp. 147–59); and "Events in Galatia: Modified Covenantal Nomism versus God's Invasion of the Cosmos in the Singular Gospel; A Response to J. D. G. Dunn and B. R. Gaventa," by J. Louis Martyn (pp. 160–79).

Part V, "Partial Syntheses of Paul's Theology," contains four essays: "Putting Paul Together Again: Toward a Synthesis of Pauline Theology (1 and 2 Thessalonians, Philippians, and Philemon)," by N. T. Wright (pp. 183–211); "Salvation History: The Theological Structure of Paul's Thought (1 Thessalonians, Philippians, and Galatians)," by Robin Scroggs (pp. 212–26); "Crucified with Christ: A Synthesis of the Theology of 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Philemon, Philippians, and Galatians," by Richard B. Hays (pp. 227–46); and "Salvation History: Theology in 1 Thessalonians,

Philemon, Philippians, and Galatians; A Response to N. T. Wright, R. B. Hays, and R. Scroggs," by David J. Lull (pp. 247–65).

The bibliographies include: "Pauline Theology: General Bibliography," by Calvin J. Roetzel (pp. 267–73); "1 Thessalonians," by Raymond F. Collins (pp. 273–76); "2 Thessalonians," by Edgar Krentz (pp. 276–79); "Philippians," by John Reumann (pp. 279–84); and "Galatians," by David J. Lull (pp. 284–89).

The Shepherd Discourse of John 10 and Its Context: Studies by Members of the Johannine Writings Seminar, ed. Johannes Beutler, S.J., and Robert T. Fortna. SNTSMS 67. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991. Pp. x + 172. \$34.50.

This volume contains seven essays by seven authors, one of which has been previously published, and an introduction coauthored by Sankt Georgen and Robert T. Fortna (pp. 1–5). The seven essays are modified forms of papers given at the Seminar on Johannine Writings of the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas at the 1985 (Trondheim, Norway) and 1986 (Atlanta, GA, USA) meetings. The volume editors were the co-chairs of the Seminar.

The seven essays are: "Open Questions on John 10," by Ulrich Busse (pp. 6–17) = "Offene Fragen zu Joh 10," *NTS* 33 (1987) 516–31; "Der alttestamentlich-jüdische Hintergrund der Hirtenrede in Johannes 10," by Johannes Butler, S.J. (pp. 18–32); "The History of Religions Background of John 10," by John D. Turner (pp. 33–52); "Tradition, History and Interpretation in John 10," by John Painter (pp. 53–74); "John 10 and its Relationship to the Synoptic Gospels," by M. Sabbe (pp. 75–93); "A Synactical and Narratological Reading of John 10 in Coherence with Chapter 9," by Jan A. Du Rand (pp. 94–115); "Johannes 10 im Kontext des vierten Evangeliums," by Hartwig Thyen (pp. 116–34). Notes (pp. 135–68) and an index of modern authors (169–72) follow.

The Principles and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism: Collected Essays of G. D. Kilpatrick, ed. J. K. Elliott. BETL 96. Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 1990. Pp. xxxviii + 489. BFr 3000 (paper).

This volume reprints sixty-nine articles on New Testament textual criticism by George Dunbar Kilpatrick (1910–1989), which appeared originally between 1939 and 1986. The volume includes an introduction (xvii–xxi) by the editor, a full bibliography of Kilpatrick's writings (pp. xxiii–xxxvi), a photograph of Kilpatrick (p. iv) and indexes of major biblical references (pp. 459–73), secondary biblical references (pp. 474–82), ancient writers (pp. 483–84), modern writers (pp. 485–87) and major themes (pp. 488–89). The essays are divided into two main sections, with the second further subdivided.

The first section, "The Principles of New Testament Textual Criticism," contains: "The Transmission of the New Testament and its Reliability" (pp. 3–14) = *Proceedings of the 945th Ordinary General Meeting of the Victoria Institute on 15 April, 1957* (Croydon: The Victoria Institute, 1957) 92–101; reprinted *BT* 9 (1958) 127–36; "Atticism and the Text of the Greek New Testament" (pp. 15–32) = *Neutestamentliche*

Aufsätze: Festschrift für Prof. Josef Schmid (ed. J. Blinzler, O. Kuss, F. Mussner; Regensburg: Pustet, 1963) 125–37; “The Greek New Testament Text of Today and the *Textus Receptus*” (pp. 33–52) = *The New Testament in Historical and Contemporary Perspective in memory of G. H. C. MacGregor* (ed. H. Anderson and W. Barclay; Oxford: Blackwell, 1965) 189–208; “Style and Text in the Greek New Testament” (pp. 53–62) = *Studies in the History and Text of the New Testament in Honor of Kenneth Willis Clark* (ed. Boyd L. Daniels and M. Jack Suggs; SD 29; Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1967) 153–60; “Literary Fashions and the Transmission of Texts in the Graeco-Roman World” (pp. 63–72) = *Protocol of Colloquy 19* (Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture; Berkeley: Graduate Theological Union/University of California, 1976) 1–8; “Eclecticism and Atticism” (pp. 73–79) = *ETL* 53 (1977) 107–12; “Some Thoughts on Modern Textual Criticism and the Synoptic Gospels” (pp. 80–97) = *NovT* 19 (1977) 275–92; and “Conjectural Emendation in the New Testament” (pp. 98–109) = *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis: Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger* (ed. Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon D. Fee; Oxford: Clarendon, 1981) 349–60.

The second section, “The Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism,” is subdivided into three parts. The first of these, “General,” contains: “Western Text and Original Text in the Gospels and Acts” (pp. 113–27) = *JTS* 44 (1943) 24–36; “Western Text and Original Text in the Epistles” (pp. 128–33) = *JTS* 45 (1945) 60–65; and “The Text of the Epistles: The Contribution of Western Witnesses” (pp. 134–57) = *Text, Wort, Glaube [Festschrift for Kurt Aland]* (ed. M. Brecht; Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 50; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1980) 47–68.

The second subsection, “Vocabulary and Grammar,” contains: “The Possessive Pronouns in the New Testament” (pp. 161–62) = *JTS* 42 (1941) 184–86; “The Order of Some Noun and Adjective Phrases in the New Testament” (pp. 163–66) = *NovT* 5 (1962) 111–14; reprinted *BT* 16 (1965) 117–19; “The Land of Egypt in the New Testament” (pp. 167–68) = *JTS* 17 (1966) 70; “The Historic Present in the Gospels and Acts” (pp. 169–76) = *ZNW* 68 (1977) 258–62; “Ἀγάπη as Love-Feast in the New Testament” (pp. 177–81) = *Parola e Spirito [Festschrift for Settinio Cipriani]* (ed. Cesare Casale Marcheselli; Brescia, 1982) I 157–62; “Ἀνακεῖσθαι and κατακεῖσθαι in the New Testament” (pp. 182–85) = *JTS* 17 (1966) 67–69; “Apollon – Apelles” (p. 186) = *JBL* 89 (1970) 77; “The Aorist of γαμεῖν in the New Testament” (pp. 187–88) = *JTS* 18 (1967) 139–40; “Διαλέγεσθαι and διαλογίζεσθαι in the New Testament” (pp. 189–90) = *JTS* 11 (1960) 338–40; “Ἐπιθίειν and ἐπικρίνειν in the Greek Bible” (pp. 191–94) = *ZNW* 74 (1983) 151–53; “Atticism and the Future of ζῆν” (pp. 195–200) = *NovT* 25 (1983) 146–51; “The Meaning of θύειν in the New Testament” (pp. 201–4) = *BT* 12 (1961) 130–32; “Ἰδοὺ and ἴδε in the Gospels” (pp. 205–6) = *JTS* 18 (1967) 425–26; “Κύριος in the Gospels” (pp. 207–12) = *LEvangile hier et aujourd’hui – Mélanges offerts au Professeur F.-J. Leenhardt* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1968) 60–70; “Kyrios in the Gospels” (pp. 213–15) = *Δελτίον τοῦ ΕΦΣΑ* 1969 (Famagusta, 1970) 163–65; “Κύριος Again” (pp. 216–22) = *Orientierung an Jesus: Zur Theologie der Synoptiker für Josef Schmid* (ed. Paul Hoffmann, Norbert Brox, and Wilhelm Pesch; Freiburg/Basle/Vienna: Herder, 1973) 214–19; “Πορεύεσθαι and its Compounds” (pp. 223–24) = *JTS* 48 (1947) 61–63; and “Φρόνιμος, σοφός, and συνετός in Matthew and Luke” (pp. 225–26) = *JTS* 48 (1947) 63–64.

The third subsection, "Articles on Specific Passages in the New Testament," contains: "Some Problems in New Testament Text and Language" (pp. 229–40) = *Neotestamentica et Semitica: Studies in honour of Matthew Black* (ed. E. Earle Ellis and Max Wilcox; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1969) 198–208; "Three Problems of New Testament Text" (pp. 241–44) = *NovT* 21 (1979) 289–92; "Scribes, Lawyers, and Lucan Origins" (pp. 245–49) = *JTS* 1 (1950) 56–60; "Matthew on Matthew" (pp. 250–58) = *Synoptic Studies: The Ampleforth Conferences of 1982 and 1983* (ed. C. M. Tuckett; JSNTSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984) 177–85; "Matthew iv.4" (pp. 259–60) = *JTS* 45 (1944) 176; "Some Notes on Markan Usage (i)" (pp. 261–69) = *BT* 7 (1956) 2–9, 146; "Some Notes on Markan Usage (ii)" (pp. 270–79) = *BT* 7 (1956) 51–56; "Mark i.45 and the Meaning of λόγος" (pp. 280–81) = *JTS* 40 (1939) 389–90; "Mark i.45" (pp. 282–83) = *JTS* 42 (1941) 67–68; "The Gentile Mission in Mark and Mark xiii.9–11" (pp. 284–98) = *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot* (ed. D. E. Nineham; Oxford: Blackwell, 1955) 145–58; "Mark xiii.9–10" (pp. 299–304) = *JTS* 9 (1958) 81–86; "Ἐπάνω Mark xiv.5" (pp. 305–6) = *JTS* 42 (1941) 181–82; 45 (1944) 177; "Mark xv.28" (pp. 307–11) = *Salvacion en la Palabra: Targum, Deresh, Berith [Diez Macho Memorial Volume]* (ed. Domingo Muñoz Leon; Madrid, 1986) 641–45; "Λαοί at Luke ii. 31 and Acts iv. 25, 27" (p. 312) = *JTS* 16 (1965) 127; "The Gentiles and the Strata of Luke" (pp. 313–18) = *Verborum Veritas [Festschrift for G. Stählin]* (ed. O. Böcher and K. Haacker; Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1970) 83–88; Luke xxii.19b–20" (pp. 319–26) = *JTS* 47 (1946) 49–56; "A Theme of the Lucan Passion Story and Luke xxiii.47" (pp. 327–29) = *JTS* 43 (1942) 34–36; "Luke xxiv.42–43" (pp. 330–32) = *NovT* 28 (1986) 306–8; "What John tells us about John" (pp. 333–44) = *Studies in John presented to Professor Dr. J. N. Sevenster* (NovTSup 24; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970) 75–87; "Some Notes on Johannine Usage" (pp. 345–50) = *BT* 11 (1960) 173–77; "John iv.9" (p. 351) = *JBL* 87 (1968) 327–28; "John iv.41 πλεῖον or πλεῖους?" (pp. 352–53) = *NovT* 18 (1976) 131–32; "John iv. 51 παῖς or υἱός?" (p. 354) = *JTS* 14 (1963) 393; "The Punctuation of John vii.37–38" (pp. 355–57) = *JTS* 11 (1960) 340–42; "An Eclectic Study of the Text of Acts" (pp. 358–69) = *Biblical and Patristic Studies in memory of Robert Pierce Casey* (ed. J. Neville Birdsall and Robert W. Thomson; Freiburg: Herder, 1963) 64–77; "The Two Texts of Acts" (pp. 370–79) = *Studien zum Text und zur Ethik des Neuen Testaments [Festschrift for Heinrich Greeven]* (ed. W. Schrage; Berlin/New York, 1986) 188–95; "Some Quotations in Acts" (pp. 380–99) = *Les Actes des Apôtres: Traditions, rédaction, théologie* (ed. J. Kremer; BETL 48; Gembloux/Leuven, 1979) 81–97; "The Spirit, God, and Jesus in Acts" (p. 400) = *JTS* 15 (1964) 63; "A Jewish Background to Acts ii. 9–11?" (pp. 401–3) = *JJS* 26 (1975) 48–49; "Acts vii. 52 ἔλευσις" (pp. 404–14) = *JTS* 46 (1945) 136–45; "Acts vii. 56: Son of Man?" (pp. 415–16) = *TZ* 21 (1965) 209; "Again Acts vii.56: Son of Man?" (pp. 417–18) = *TZ* 34 (1978) 232; "Acts xxiii.23 δεξιολάβοι" (pp. 419–20) = *JTS* 14 (1963) 393–94; "Galatians i.18 ἱστορήσαι Κηφᾶν" (pp. 421–26) = *New Testament Essays [T. W. Manson Festschrift]* (ed. A. J. B. Higgins; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959) 144–49; "Peter, Jerusalem and Galatians i.13–ii.14" (pp. 427–35, with a previously unpublished appendix, pp. 435–36) = *NovT* 25 (1983) 318–26; "Gal ii.14 ὀρθοποδοῦσιν" (pp. 437–44) = *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann* (ed. W. Eltester; ZNW Beiheft 21; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1954) 269–74; "βλέπετε Philippians iii. 2" (pp. 445–47) = *In Memoriam Paul Kahle* (ed. M. Black and G. Fohrer; ZAW Beiheft 103; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1968) 146–48; "Διαθήκη in Hebrews" (pp. 448–52) = *ZNW* 68 (1977) 263–65; "I Peter i.11: τίνα ἢ ποῖον χαίρον"

(pp. 453–54) = *NovT* 28 (1986) 91–92; and “Two Johannine Idioms in the Johannine Epistles” (pp. 455–56) = *JTS* 12 (1961) 272–73.

Jewish Civilization in the Hellenistic-Roman Period, ed. Shemaryahu Talmon. Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1991. Pp. 269. \$19.95 (paper). [Also published as JSPSup 10; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991. £30.00/\$50.00 (£22.50/\$37.50 subscr.)]

This volume is the publication of the papers presented in the summers of 1986 and 1987 at the Continuing Workshop on Teaching Jewish Civilization in Universities and Institutions of Higher Learning with Emphasis on Comparative Religion. It contains fifteen essays, three of which have been previously published, by fourteen authors. The essays are divided into two parts.

Part I, “History, Society, Literature,” contains: “The Internal Diversification of Judaism in the Early Second Temple Period” by Shemaryahu Talmon (pp. 16–43) = “Jüdische Sektenbildung in der Frühzeit des Zweiten Tempels: Ein Nachtrag zu Max Webers Studie über das antike Judentum,” in Max Weber, *Sicht des antiken Christentums: Interpretation und Kritik* (ed. W. Schluchter; Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, n.d.) 233–80 = “The Emergence of Jewish Sectarianism in the Early Second Temple Period,” in S. Talmon, *King, Cult and Calendar in Ancient Israel* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1986) 165–201; “The Material Culture of the Jews in the Hellenistic-Roman Period” by Uriel Rappaport (pp. 44–49); “Religious and National Factors in Israel’s War with Rome” by Thomas A. Idinopulos (pp. 50–63); “The Import of Early Rabbinic Writings for an Understanding of Judaism in the Hellenistic-Roman Period” by Gerald J. Blidstein (pp. 64–72); “Literary Typologies and Biblical Interpretation in the Hellenistic-Roman Period” by Devorah Dimant (pp. 73–80); and “The Book of Ben Sira: Implications for Jewish and Christian Traditions” by Maurice Gilbert (pp. 81–91).

Part II, “Qumran Between Judaism and Christianity,” contains: “The Qumran Scrolls: A Report on Work in Progress” by John Strugnell (pp. 94–106); “Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from the Judaean Desert: Their Contribution to Textual Criticism” by Emmanuel Tov (pp. 107–37) = *JJS* 39 (1988) 5–37; “Qumran and Rabbinic Halakhah” by Lawrence H. Schiffman (pp. 138–46); “Recent Qumran Discoveries and Halakhah in the Hellenistic-Roman Period” by Joseph M. Baumgarten (pp. 147–58); “Deviations from Scripture in the Purity Laws of the *Temple Scroll*” by Jacob Milgrom (pp. 159–67); “Qumran in Relation to the Apocrypha, Rabbinic Judaism, and Nascent Christianity: Impacts on University Teaching of Jewish Civilization in the Hellenistic-Roman Period” by James H. Charlesworth (pp. 168–80); “The Qumran Fragments of *1 Enoch* and Other Apocryphal Works: Implications for the Understanding of Early Judaism and Christian Origins” by George W. E. Nicklesburg (pp. 181–95); “The ‘Teacher of Righteousness’ and Jesus: Two Types of Religious Leadership in Judaism at the Turn of the Era” by Hartmut Stegemann (pp. 196–213); and “Between the Bible and the Mishnah: Qumran from Within” by Shemaryahu Talmon (pp. 214–57) = S. Talmon, *The World of Qumran from Within* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1989) 11–52.

The volume contains a preface (pp. 7–8), an index of references (pp. 259–65), and an index of authors (pp. 266–69).

Persuasive Artistry: Studies in New Testament Rhetoric in Honor of George A. Kennedy, ed. Duane F. Watson. JSNTSup 50. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991. Pp. 390. £40 (\$60).

This volume of seventeen essays is a Festschrift in honor of George A. Kennedy (1928–), Paddison Professor of Classics at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The contributors are either former students or professional colleagues of Kennedy.

The essays are: "Rhetorical Criticism and the Prophetic Discourse," by Yehoshua Gitay (pp. 13–24); "Did the Spirit Inspire Rhetoric? An Exploration of George Kennedy's Definition of Early Christian Rhetoric," by John R. Levison (pp. 25–40); "The Temple Conflict Scene: A Rhetorical Analysis of Matthew 21–23," by Rollin Grams (pp. 41–65); "An Oration at Olivet: Some Rhetorical Dimensions of Mark 13," by C. Clifton Black (pp. 66–92); "The Rhetorical Genre of Jesus' Sermon in Luke 12.1–13.9," by Wilhelm Wuellner (pp. 93–118); "A Comparative Study of the Use of Enthymemes in the Synoptic Gospels," by Richard B. Vinson (pp. 119–41); "Writing as a Rhetorical Act in Plutarch and the Gospels," by Vernon K. Robbins (pp. 142–68); "The Style of the Fourth Gospel and Ancient Literary Critical Concepts of Religious Discourse," by Frank Thielman (pp. 169–83); "Paul's Speech to the Ephesian Elders (Acts 20.17–38): Epideictic Rhetoric of Farewell," by Duane F. Watson (pp. 184–208); "Paul's Persuasive Language in Romans 5," by Michael R. Cosby (pp. 209–26); "The Rhetorical Function of Numerical Sequences in Romans," by Robert Jewett (pp. 227–45); "The Rhetoric of Reconciliation: 2 Corinthians 1.1–2.13 and 7.5–8.24," by Frank Witt Hughes (pp. 246–61); "Paul's Debt to the *De Corona* of Demosthenes: A Study of Rhetorical Techniques in Second Corinthians," by Frederick W. Danker (pp. 262–80); "Placing the Blame: The Presence of Epideictic in Galatians 1 and 2," by James D. Hester (pp. 281–307); "Historical Inference and Rhetorical Effect: Another Look at Galatians 1 and 2," by Robert G. Hall (pp. 308–20); "The Rhetorical Function of Commercial Language in Paul's Letter to Philemon (Verse 18)," by Clarice J. Martin (pp. 321–37); and "Isocrates and Contemporary Hermeneutics," by Stephen Mark Pogoloff (pp. 338–62).

The volume contains a photograph of Kennedy (p. 2), a preface by editor Duane F. Watson of Malone College, Canton, OH (pp. 7–8), and indices of biblical references (pp. 365–77), ancient authors (pp. 378–85) and modern authors (pp. 386–90).

David M. Scholer

Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult im Judentum, Urchristentum und in der hellenistischen Welt, ed. Martin Hengel and Anna Maria Schwemer. WUNT 55. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1991. Pp. 495. DM 278.

The nucleus of this volume had its origin in an Oberseminar conducted by Martin Hengel in the Winter semester of 1986/1987 on "New Hymnic Texts from ancient Judaism and early Christianity." It was developed in a symposium in May 1987, and further essays were added by Beate Ego and by Hengel himself. The theme of the volume was determined by the prominence of the metaphor of kingdom in the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice from Qumran. There are eleven essays by nine authors: "König und Vater. Streiflicher zur metaphorischen Rede über Gott in der Umwelt des

Neuen Testament," by Klaus W. Müller (pp. 21–43); "Gott als König und seine Königsherrschaft in den Sabbatliedern aus Qumran," by Anna Maria Schwemer (pp. 45–118); "Die Gottesherrschaft in der Verkündigung Jesu," by Helmut Merkel (pp. 119–61); "Reich Christi, Reich Gottes und Weltreich im Johannesevangelium," by Martin Hengel (pp. 163–84; an earlier form of this essay appeared in *Theologische Beiträge* 4 [1983] 201–16); "Thronversammlung und preisender Tempel. Beobachtungen am himmlischen Heiligtum im Hebräerbrief und in den Sabbatopferliedern aus Qumran," by Hermut Löhr (pp. 185–205); "Die Königsherrschaft Gottes bei Philon," by Naoto Umemoto (pp. 207–56); "Gottes Weltherrschaft und die Einzigkeit seines Namens. Eine Untersuchung zur Rezeption der Königsmetapher in der Mekhilta de R. Yishmael," by Beate Ego (pp. 257–83); "Der Gott der Welt ist unser König. Zur Vorstellung von der Königsherrschaft Gottes im Shema und seinen Benedictionen," by Thomas Lehnardt (pp. 285–309); "Irdischer und himmlischer König. Beobachtungen zur sogenannte David-Apokalypse in Hekhalot Rabbati §§ 122–126," by Anna Maria Schwemer (pp. 309–59); "Der Diener im Palast des himmlischen Königs. Zur Interpretation einer priesterlichen Tradition im rabbinischen Judentum," by Beate Ego (pp. 361–84) and "Platons König oder Vater Jesu Christ? Drei Beispiele für die Rezeption eines griechischen Gottesepithetons bei den Christen in den ersten Jahrhunderten und deren Vorgeschichte," by Christoph Marksches (pp. 385–441). There are indexes of passages, authors, subjects, and Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic expressions.

Templum Amicitiae: Essays on the Second Temple Presented to Ernst Bammel, ed. William Horbury. JSNTSup 48. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991. Pp. 519. £45 (\$65).

This collection of twenty essays from as many contributors is presented on the occasion of Prof. Bammel's sixty-seventh birthday on 20 January 1990. A frontispiece of Bammel is found opposite the title page. A preface by J. A. Emerton and a list of abbreviations precede the essays offered by former pupils, Cambridge colleagues, and other friends. The volume is rounded out with a bibliography of Prof. Bammel and indexes of biblical references and authors.

The essays are: "The Temple in the Books of Chronicles," by H. G. M. Williamson (pp. 15–31); "The Presence of God in the Second Temple and Rabbinic Doctrine," by G. I. Davies (pp. 32–36); "The Sibyl and the Temple," by Andrew Chester (pp. 37–69); "Temple Imagery in Philo: An Indication of the Origin of the Logos," by Margaret Barker (pp. 70–102); "Herod's Temple and 'Herod's Days,'" by William Horbury (pp. 103–49); "'Korah' and the Second Temple," by J. A. Draper (pp. 150–74); "The Second Temple: Focus of Ideological Struggle?" by C. C. Rowland (pp. 175–98); "The Trumpet Shall Sound: *Shofar* Symbolism and its Reception in Early Christianity," by Markus N. A. Brockmuehl (pp. 199–225); "The Desolate House and the New Kingdom of Jerusalem: Jewish Oracles of Ezra in 2 Esdras 1–2," by J. C. O'Neill (pp. 226–36); "Apocalyptic—Strangely Relevant," by J. K. Riches (pp. 236–63); "More Fruit from the Withered Tree: Temple and Fig-Tree in Mark from a Graeco-Roman Perspective," by William A. Telford (pp. 264–304); "Temple Traditions in Q," by David A. Catchpole (pp. 305–29); "[ὡς] φραγέλλιον ἐκ σχοινίων (John 2.15)," by B. D. Chilton (pp. 330–44); "Attitudes to the Temple in the Acts of the Apostles," by C. K. Barrett (pp. 345–67); "A House Not Made with Hands," by J. P. M. Sweet (pp. 368–90);

"οἰτινές ἐστε ὑμεῖς: The Function of a Metaphor in St Paul," by D. R. De Lacey; (pp. 391–409); "Hebrews and the Second Temple," by Barnabas Lindars, S.S.F. (pp. 410–33); "Better Promises: Two Passages in Hebrews against the Background of the Old Testament Cultus," by Robert P. Gordon (pp. 434–49); "The 'Sanctuary' in the Fourth *Ode of Solomon*," by P. Cameron (pp. 450–63); and "Law and Temple in Origen," by C. P. Bammel (pp. 464–76).

The Studia Philonica Annual: Studies in Hellenistic Judaism. Volume II, 1990, ed. David T. Runia, with David M. Hay and David Winston. BJS 226. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991. Pp. vi + 245. \$44.95 (\$29.95 member).

Items in this volume are presented under the following headings: "Articles" (pp. 1–104); "Instrumenta" (pp. 105–39); "Bibliography Section" (pp. 141–75); and "Book Review Section" (pp. 176–226). Among the end-matter are a section on "News and Notes" (pp. 227–28), an "Index Locorum" (pp. 229–37), "Notes on Contributors" (pp. 238–39), and "Instructions to Contributors" (pp. 240–45).

The first section contains the following five articles: "Judaism and Hellenism: Hidden Tensions in Philo's Thought," by D. Winston (pp. 1–19); "The Ethics of the Old Greek Book of Proverbs," by M. B. Dick (pp. 20–50); "Philo of Alexandria on Deification and Assimilation to God," by W. E. Helleman (pp. 51–71); "Agrippa I and *De specialibus legibus* IV 151–159," by N. G. Cohen (pp. 72–85); and "Philo's Moses and Matthew's Jesus: A Comparative Study in Ancient Literature," by P. L. Shuler (pp. 86–103).

The section on "instrumenta" contains a brief introductory notice by the editors (p. 105) and the article "How to Search Philo," by D. T. Runia (pp. 106–40).

The bibliography section has two items: "Philo of Alexandria: An Annotated Bibliography 1986–87," by D. T. Runia, R. Radice, and D. Satran (pp. 141–69); and "Supplement: Provisional Bibliography 1988–90" (pp. 170–75).

In the book review section the following 14 books are reviewed: C. Kraus, Reggiani, R. Radice, G. Reale, *Filone di Alesandria: La Filosofia Mosaica*, reviewed by John Dillon (pp. 177–82); S. Daniel-Nataf (ed.), *פילון האלכסנדרוני. כתבים* [*Philo of Alexandria: Writings*]. Vol. 1, *Historical Writings, Apologetical Writings*, reviewed by David Satran (pp. 182–84); A. Terian, *Alexander vel De ratione quam habere etiam bruta animalia* (*De animalibus*), reviewed by David Runia (pp. 184–86); R. Williamson, *Jews in the Hellenistic World: Philo*, reviewed by David Hay (pp. 186–87); L. L. Grabbe, *Etymology in Early Jewish Interpretation: The Hebrew Names in Philo*, reviewed by Richard Goulet (pp. 187–94); D. T. Runia, *Philo of Alexandria and the Timaeus of Plato*, reviewed by Bruce Rosenstock (pp. 195–201); L. A. Montes-Peral, *Akatalēptos Theos: der unfassbare Gott*, reviewed by Dieter Zeller (pp. 201–4); H. Burkhardt, *Die Inspiration heiliger Schriften bei Philo von Alexandrien*, reviewed by Folker Siegert (pp. 204–8); T. M. Conley, *Philo's Rhetoric: Studies in Style, Composition, and Exegesis*, reviewed by David Runia (pp. 209–11); A. Van den Hoek, *Clement of Alexandria and His Use of Philo in the Stromateis: An Early Christian Reshaping of a Jewish Model*, reviewed by Anita Méasson (pp. 211–14); C. Riedweg, *Mysterienterminologie bei Platon, Philon und Klemens von Alexandrien*, reviewed by Dieter Zeller (pp. 214–17); P. Borgen, *Philo, John, and Paul: New Perspectives on Judaism and Early Christianity*, reviewed by Karl-Gustav Sandelin (pp. 217–20); K.-G. Sandelin, *Wisdom as Nourisher:*

A Study of an Old Testament Theme, Its Development within Early Judaism and Its Impact on Early Christianity, reviewed by Peder Borgen (pp. 220–23); and M. J. Mulder (ed.), *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, reviewed by David Runia (pp. 223–26).

"No One Spoke Ill of Her." Essays on Judith, ed. James C. VanderKam. SBL Early Judaism and Its Literature 2. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992. Pp. vi + 98.

Five of the six essays in this volume were presented at the 1989 session of the Pseudepigrapha Group of the SBL. The sixth, by Mark Caponigro, was presented in 1988 in the SBL's Hellenistic Judaism Group. After a short introduction by the editor, the essays are: "In the Steps of Jael and Deborah: Judith as Heroine," by Sidnie Ann White (pp. 5–16); "Sacrifice and Salvation: Otherness and Domestication in the Book of Judith," by Amy-Jill Levine (pp. 17–30); "Achior in the Book of Judith: His Role and Significance," by Adolfo D. Roitman (pp. 31–45); "Judith, Holding the Tale of Herodotus," by Mark Stephen Caponigro (pp. 47–59); "Why Wasn't the Book of Judith Included in the Hebrew Bible?" by Carey A. Moore (pp. 61–71); and "Judith and Holofernes: Some Observations on the Development of the Scene in Art," by Nira Stone (pp. 73–93). There is an index of passages but no index of authors.

Qumran Cave Four and MMT. Special Report, ed. Zdzislaw J. Kapera. Cracow: Enigma, 1991. Pp. 120. \$15.00 (paper).

The volume combines two issues of the "Qumran Chronicle" edited by Kapera. It contains a long article on "The Unfortunate Story of the Qumran Cave Four," by Z. J. Kapera (pp. 5–53) and ten very brief contributions on 4QMMT, as follows:

"How Not to Publish 4QMMT in 1955–1991," by Z. J. Kapera (pp. 55–67); "Introductory Remarks on 4QMMT by Professor Sussman," by Piotr Muchowski (pp. 69–73); "A Preliminary Subject Bibliography of 4QMMT: 1956–91," by Z. J. Kapera (pp. 75–80); "4QMMT—Basic Sectarian Text," by L. H. Schiffman (pp. 81–83); "Sadducees in the Dead Sea Scrolls?" by Philip R. Davies (pp. 85–94); "A Response to Schiffman on MMT," by Robert Eisenman (pp. 95–104); "The Qumran Residents: Essenes, not Sadducees!" by James C. VanderKam (pp. 105–8); "The Significance of the Kings in 4QMMT," by George J. Brooke (pp. 109–13); "A Historically Justifiable Dating of 4QMMT," by Hans Burgmann (p. 114), and "Some Remarks on the Qumran Law and the Identification of the Community," by Joseph M. Baumgarten (pp. 115–17). The volume begins with a brief editorial.

John J. Collins

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Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis

John William Wevers

Students who used with profit John William Wevers's *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* (also available from Scholars Press) will welcome the publication of his *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*. Wevers spent most of his adult life studying the Septuagint, the last thirty years being devoted to the Pentateuch. The author considers the Greek text to be the first commentary on the Pentateuch ever written (in the third century B.C.E.) and not merely a collection for emendations of the Hebrew text. The work focuses on how the translator accomplished his task and on the vocabulary and syntax of the resulting text, rather than on either scholarly opinions on the text or how interpreters subsequently used the text. The *Notes* are intended for students who would like to use the Greek text intelligently, but who are not specialists in Hellenistic Greek or LXX studies. Over 900 pages in length, the volume includes an index to Greek words and phrases.

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THE POLITICS OF TEXTUAL SUBVERSION: A DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE ON THE GARDEN OF EDEN STORY

DAVID CARR

Methodist Theological School in Ohio, Delaware, OH 43015-0931

Although many agree that knowledge of a text's prehistory can be important in understanding its final form, most studies still focus on one or the other: either the artistry and shape of a text's final form or the pre-stages and historical context that led to that form.¹ This study of Gen 2:4b-3:24 (hereafter referred to as Genesis 2-3) studies both the text's prehistory and its final form, and relates the two. In particular, it will argue that Genesis 2-3 is an anti-wisdom story *that depends for part of its effect* on its artful subversion of an early creation account now contained in much of Genesis 2. Although not necessarily originating in the wisdom tradition, this early creation account serves well as the foil for an anti-wisdom text because of several elements in it, such as its overall optimistic picture of the created order. In sum, this article will argue that Genesis 2-3 in its final form is best understood as the result of a complex intertextual process, one where an early creation text has been adapted to represent a position, wisdom, which is then undermined by the (new) story as a whole.

I. The Tradition History of Genesis 2-3

Before proceeding any further, let us review data internal to Genesis 2-3 itself that can help isolate the early creation text mentioned above. Although much of this ground has been covered before, this tradition history is important enough to the subsequent argument to merit careful attention. We start by listing several long-recognized indicators of tradition history in the first part of the story (2:4b-15):

(1) First, as has long been recognized, the section regarding the rivers in vv. 10-14, disrupts the narrative style of the overall story and is only loosely

¹ See, e.g., the recent comment regarding Genesis 2-3 by T. Stordalen: "We need a new close reading of Genesis 2-3, with due attention to language and literary characteristics. To that reading, traditional questions for [*sic*] (literary or oral) sources do not apply" ("Man, Soil, Garden: Basic Plot in Genesis 2-3," *JSOT* 53 [1992] 5-6).

integrated with its context.² Though (as will be argued later) it has an important role to play, this section seems to be an insertion of independent origin. In addition, this river section in 2:10–14 seems to be prepared for by another insertion, v. 6, which describes how a spring watered the ground. This latter verse contrasts with the emphasis on the dryness of the earth in v. 5. Moreover, it disrupts the movement from v. 5's description of lack of humanity to v. 7's description of God's remedy of that lack. Thus, 2:6, along with 2:10–14, seems to be of independent origin, and both are linked to one another by a focus on watering and similar vocabulary to express this focus: *הַשְׁקָה* (2:6)//*לְהַשְׁקוֹת* (2:10).³

(2) Next, most of v. 15 duplicates v. 8b (placing the human in the garden) and seems to be part of the redaction that inserted the rivers section into its context. After the extended section regarding the rivers in vv. 10–14, v. 15 brings us back to the picture of the human in the garden. This then prepares for God's instructions regarding the garden orchard in vv. 16–17. The doublet with v. 8b and apparent relation to vv. 10–14 both suggest that most of v. 15 is a redactional addition.⁴

(3) We say “most of” v. 15, because there are grammatical indicators that its concluding infinitive phrases (*לְעַבְדָּהּ וּלְשָׁמְרָהּ*, “to work and protect it,” v. 15b β) were not originally part of this verse. The focus on work in these verses is somewhat out of place in the current context (see in particular the paradise orchard in 2:16). In addition, these phrases have feminine object suffixes which have no feminine antecedent in the preceding context. *גַּן* (“garden”) is grammatically masculine elsewhere in the Bible. These indicators suggest that these phrases were probably originally located after v. 8, where their suffixes would have referred to the *אֲדָמָה* (“ground”), which appears in vv. 5 and 7.⁵

(4) These considerations already suggest that an insertion including v. 9 (along with 10–15) separated the infinitive phrases in v. 15b β from the second sentence in v. 8. Indeed, v. 9 (like the addition in v. 15) duplicates a part of

² K. Budde, *Die biblische Urgeschichte (Gen 1–12,5)* (Giessen: J. Ricker, 1883) 237.

³ See the discussion in P. Weimar, *Untersuchungen zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Pentateuch* (BZAW 146; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1977) 114–15, 117.

⁴ H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (3d ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910) 26; J. Begrich, “Die Paradieserzählung: Eine literargeschichtliche Studie,” *ZAW* 50 (1932) 99; P. Humbert, “Mythe de création et mythe paradisiaque dans le second chapitre de la Genèse,” *RHPR* 16 (1936) 454–55; idem, *Études sur le récit du paradis et de la chute dans la Genèse* (Mémoires de l'Univ. de Neuchâtel 14; Neuchâtel: Secrétariat de l'Université, 1940) 15; C. Westermann, *Genesis*, vol. 1, *Genesis 1–11* (BKAT 1/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1974) 299.

⁵ On the grammatical problem, see Westermann, *Genesis*, 1. 299; and C. Dohmen, *Schöpfung und Tod: Die Entfaltung theologischer und anthropologischer Konzeptionen in Gen 2/3* (SBB 17; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1988) 70–72. Now placed in their present context, the phrases can function to refer to the *גַּן עֵדֶן* through referring to the genus of the absolute member (*עֵדֶן*) of the construct chain (*גַּן עֵדֶן*). In fact, Gen 2:15 is one of the major examples of this fairly rare phenomenon (C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax* [Neukirchen: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins, 1956] 14, section 16g).

v. 8, in this case the establishment of the garden. Moreover, there is a shift in emphasis between vv. 8 and 9. In moving straight from planting the garden (v. 8a) to placing the human in it (v. 8b), v. 8 focuses on the garden only insofar as it is a habitat for the human. Verse 9, however, focuses on the cultivation of trees in order to prepare for the instructions regarding them in vv. 16–17 and then the Genesis 3 narrative as a whole.⁶

In sum, these considerations suggest that v. 9 through most of v. 15 were inserted into a context that originally moved from v. 8 to the infinitive phrases at the end of v. 15. This addition consists of the rivers section in vv. 10–14 and two surrounding verses (2:9, 15) which duplicate parts of v. 8 in the process of incorporating the rivers section into the overall context. Also, we have noted that v. 6 seems to be secondary and preparatory to the additions discussed above.⁷

A closer look at these redactional additions and the material they modify reveals some important differences in how each presents life in the garden. The earlier creation materials (2:4b–5, 7–8 and the end of 15) move from an initial lack of plants and a human to work the earth to the exact provision of each:

(2:4b) When the LORD God created earth and heaven, (2:5) there was not yet any plant of the field, nor had any herb of the field sprung up because God had not yet caused it to rain on the earth and there was no human (אָדָם) to work the ground (הָאֲרֶצָה). (2:7) And the LORD God formed the human (הָאָדָם) of dust from the ground (הָאֲרֶצָה) and blew a life breath into his nostrils so that the human (הָאָדָם) became a living being. (2:8) And the LORD God planted a garden in Eden, in the East, and set the human (הָאָדָם) he had made there (2:15b) to work and protect it (feminine: the ground/הָאֲרֶצָה).

This story focuses throughout on the creation of a garden worker. In particular, it includes a wordplay on the words for human (אָדָם) and ground (הָאֲרֶצָה), which stresses the relation of the human to the ground he was created to work.⁸

■ Gunkel, *Genesis*, 26; see also Westermann, *Genesis*, 1. 287–88. Dohmen points out that this doublet is partial (*Schöpfung und Tod*, 61–62). In arguing that 2:9—not 2:8—was a redactional addition, Westermann's analysis represents a significant advance over earlier ones, such as Humbert's, which saw 2:9 as the earlier text. Generally such analyses assigned 2:9 to the earlier layer on the basis of its emphasis on הָאֲרֶצָה ("the ground"). Nevertheless, though this emphasis in 2:9 on הָאֲרֶצָה does pick up on terminology of early materials (2:5, 7, 19), it is probably just extending this theme. As pointed out above, 2:8 is not parallel only to 2:9, but also to 2:15, the latter being a clear redactional addition. Both 2:9 and 2:15 repeat and build on the themes introduced in preceding materials, and both seem to be additions.

⁷ Notably, although O. H. Steck ends up arguing against isolation of early sources or written traditions behind Genesis 2–3, he does detect sure signs of editorial activity in 2:9–15 and sees v. 6 as an insertion (*Die Paradieserzählung: Eine Auslegung von Genesis 2,4b–3,24* [Biblische Studien 60; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1970] 26, and nn. 40 and 41 on pp. 32–33).

⁸ For brief discussion of the use of the masculine pronoun here to refer to the human, see n. 23 below.

In contrast, the redactional additions in vv. 6 and 9–15ab α present a view of the garden where work is no longer the central category.⁹ Rather than being a place that must be worked (vv. 8, 15b β), now the garden is a well-watered (2:6, 10–14) orchard with edible fruit (2:9). This then prepares for the instructions regarding it in vv. 16–17 and the whole story in Genesis 3. When the humans disregard God's garden instructions (Gen 3:1–6), they are punished by being expelled from the garden to work the ground (3:23). This view of work as punishment toward the end of Genesis 3 (3:17b–19, 23) sharply contrasts with the emphasis in the reconstructed earlier materials on the original human destiny to work the ground (2:7–8, 15b β). Nevertheless, we have been prepared for this view of work by redactional additions in 2:6, 9–15ab α , and 16–17. Indeed, all of this material (2:6, 9–15ab α , 16–17) functions to prepare for the Genesis 3 story in two ways: (1) *redescribing* the garden farm of the early narrative (2:4b–5, 7–8, 15b β) as a well-watered orchard, and (2) introducing God's regulations regarding this orchard.

In focusing throughout on God's provision of an עֲזָרָה ("helper") for the first human worker (2:7–8, 15b β), 2:18–24 connects directly with the early creation materials discussed above. Moreover, just as those materials contrasted with Genesis 3 in their picture of human work, so the unit in 2:18–24 contrasts with Genesis 3 in its depiction of contemporary gender relations. Genesis 3 will portray women as now subject to a one-sided yearning for their husbands, husbands who now rule over them (3:16). In contrast, vv. 18–24 of chap. 2 stress the created and ongoing correspondence and connectedness between genders. Not only is the woman (unlike the animals) a truly corresponding helper to the man, but *the man is bound to her* because she was built from part of him (Gen 2:21–24). Just as the early creation materials discussed above stressed the relatedness of the man to the ground through a wordplay on אָדָם ("human") and אֶרֶץ ("ground"), so here the relatedness of the man to the woman is emphasized through a wordplay in 2:23 on אִישׁ ("man") and אִשָּׁה ("woman"). Later, Genesis 3 will depict much of this close connection between genders as a pre-fall reality. Nevertheless, the description of created connectedness, wordplay, and explanation of current marriage practices in 2:18–24 all stress an *ongoing* connectedness at odds with the depiction of present gender relations in Genesis 3. The section (2:18–24) culminates in the etiology of marriage practices (2:24). Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible such etiologies often conclude narratives, and v. 24 seems to serve just this function.¹⁰ In this case, 2:24 marks the end of an originally independent creation narrative which would have included 2:4b–5, 7–8, 15b β , and 18–24.

⁹ On this see the early comments by J. Meinhold, "Die Erzählung vom Paradies und Sündenfall," in *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft Karl Budde* (ed. Karl Marti; BZAW 34; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1920) 126; and H. Schmidt, *Die Erzählung von Paradies und Sündenfall* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1931) 7–13.

¹⁰ Begrich, "Die Paradieserzählung," 107–8.

Verse 25 comes after the final note sounded by v. 24 and does not directly develop the themes of the preceding section.¹¹ Instead, it depicts the humans' initial lack of shame as a prelude to the description of the humans' shame after eating of the fruit of knowledge (3:7–11). Thus, like other redactional additions to chap. 2 (2:6, 9–15ab α , 16–17), this verse forms a bridge between early creation materials in chap. 2 and the crime-and-punishment story in chap. 3.

Finally, the bulk of Genesis 3 seems to be a part of the redactional modification of an early creation narrative. Just like those redactional modifications to chap. 2, chap. 3 shows no signs of having originally been independent.¹² It cannot stand alone. Not only does it presuppose the contents of the redactional additions to chap. 2 (especially 2:9 and 16–17); it presupposes also portions of the early creation narrative. Thus Genesis 3 presupposes throughout the presence of three characters “created” in the early creation materials: an animal (the snake), the woman, and the man. Yet more striking are the specific references in a number of subordinate clauses in Genesis 3 to early material in Genesis 2: 3:19 and 23 refer back to the creation of the human in 2:7; 3:1 and 14 refer back to the creation of animals in 2:19–20; and 3:12 refers to the creation of woman in 2:21–22.¹³ These indicators suggest that Genesis 3 never existed independently of the early creation materials in Genesis 2. Instead, it was composed as a conscious extension of the early creation narrative.

In sum, the arguments up to this point have distinguished an early creation story (2:4b–5, 7–8, 15b β , 18–24) from a redactional extension of it into a creation-*and*-fall story (new verses include 2:6, 9–15ab α , 16–17, 25 and most

¹¹ Dohmen, *Schöpfung und Tod*, 94–96. To be sure, the note in 2:25 picks up on the emphasis of vv. 18–24 on togetherness by mentioning that the two were not ashamed before each other. Nevertheless, this emphasis disappears in the later treatments of the same topic: 3:7–11 and 21.

¹² This with Humbert (“Mythe de création,” 458; *Études*, 74–77) and contra Westermann, *Genesis*, 1. 262–65, 287–88, 299, 303–4. Westermann posits an independent garden narrative (“B”) that was joined to the creation narrative (“A”) by the Yahwist. But whereas he is able to reconstruct a complete narrative A (p. 261), he is not able to do the same for his narrative B (p. 288). Similarly, W. H. Schmidt was able to isolate elements of an independent creation narrative, but could not do the same for the garden narrative (*Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift* [2d ed.; WMANT 17; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967] 203–4 [creation narrative] and 221–22 [fall narrative]).

Certainly the composer of Genesis 2–3 had access to some kind of tradition regarding an expulsion from Eden. Ezekiel 28:12–19 seems to reflect a similar tradition. Moreover, the preexistence of such an expulsion tradition could help explain why there is not only a pronouncement of punishment (3:14–19) but also an expulsion (3:23). Nevertheless, there is not enough evidence to establish the existence of a written crime-and-punishment precursor to Genesis 2–3. Instead, it is just as likely that the author of Genesis 2–3 drew on oral traditions (similar to those behind Ezek 28:12–19) in the process of revising the early creation narrative. For further discussion of biblical and ancient Near Eastern antecedents to the wisdom-centered fall story in Genesis 3, see J. Van Seters, “The Creation of Man and the Creation of the King,” *ZAW* 101 (1988) 335–41.

¹³ Humbert, *Études*, 72–73, who also notes parallel terminology for vegetation and its growth in 3:18 and 2:5.

of chap. 3). So far the arguments have focused primarily on internal indicators (breaks, doublets, etc.). The results of this analysis are confirmed by contrasts in conceptuality and form between the two blocks of material that have been distinguished. In the early creation story God is almost the exclusive subject of the verbs and is portrayed exclusively as providential. In the redactional extension of this story—both 2:16–17 and Genesis 3 as a whole—human subjectivity appears and God is jealous of divine prerogatives.¹⁴ Another point of contrast lies in the different depiction of human capabilities before the fall. The early creation story portrays humans as knowledgeable adults, able to cultivate the earth (2:8, 15bβ), name animals (2:20), recognize and celebrate God's success (2:23), and have sex and marry (2:24). In contrast, the later redactional extension depicts them as naïve and childlike before the expulsion from the garden: unashamed of nakedness (2:25) in contrast to “cleverness” of the snake (3:1), unable to recognize the characteristics of the garden tree (2:9a) until prodded by the snake (3:4–6), and unenlightened until their “eyes are opened” through eating the fruit (3:7a).¹⁵ As part of this, their sexual awareness (3:7) and desire (3:16) are portrayed in this redactional layer not as the aim of divine action (cf. 2:24 at the conclusion of the early creation story) but as results of the garden crime.¹⁶ Finally, there is a difference in form between the two. Below we will discuss in more detail ways in which the final form of Genesis 2–3 is dominated by a concentric pattern centering on the garden

¹⁴ Note that the entire emergence of subjectivity documented in such a detailed way by Hugh White is contained in 2:16–17 and Genesis 3 (“Direct and Third Person Discourse in the Narrative of the ‘Fall,’” in *Genesis 2 and 3: Kaleidoscopic Structural Readings* [ed. Daniel Patte; *Semeia* 18; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980] 91–106).

¹⁵ Notably S. Niditch's observations regarding the “non-differentiation” of humans prior to their “emergence” pertain almost exclusively to redactional materials: easy food (2:9, 16), lack of awareness of nudity or sexuality (2:25), and even the emphasis on the pre-crime reality being nonhierarchical, an emphasis that Niditch herself sees more in 3:14–19 than in the Genesis 2 materials themselves (S. Niditch, *Chaos to Cosmos: Studies in Biblical Patterns of Creation* [SBL Studies in Humanities 6; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985] 30–31). In this way, Niditch shows how the redactional extension of the original creation story artfully recreated a mythic pattern. It extended the early creation narrative into a rite of passage out of the (“communitas”) garden into adulthood and society. Other approaches similarly reading Genesis 2–3 as a story of maturing include D. E. Burns, “Dream Form in Genesis 2:4b–3:24: Asleep in the Garden,” *JSOT* 37 (1987) 3–14; and E. J. van Wolde, *A Semiotic Analysis of Genesis 2–3: A Semiotic Theory and Method of Analysis Applied to the Story of the Garden of Eden* (*Studia Semitica Neerlandica* 25; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1989) 69–231, esp. 214–27.

¹⁶ The above contrasts are discussed in Westermann, *Genesis*, 1. 261–62; Humbert, “Mythe de création,” 448–49; idem, *Études*, 61–65.

These differences in tone and conceptual structure of Genesis 2 and 3 are so pronounced that Guichard's otherwise synchronic analysis posits separate diagrams of structural relationships for each chapter: J. Guichard, “Approche ‘materialiste’ Du Récit de la Chûte, Gen 3,” *Lumière et Vie* 26 (1977) 70–75.

crime.¹⁷ The important thing for our purposes here is the observation that this pattern partially breaks down precisely at the point where the new, concentrically arranged materials in chap. 3 are composed in correspondence with the earlier, nonconcentrically arranged early creation story. Thus, for example, the curse section in 3:14–19, while composed in relation to Gen 2:7–24, deviates from that material in its ordering: from the man–animals–woman ordering of the early creation account (2:7–24*) to snake–woman–man (3:14–19).¹⁸

More could be done here, particularly in treating the “tree of life” texts in 2:9b; 3:22, 24 (and possibly 3:20). These verses may be remnants of a separate source or later redactional additions. In either case, the inclusion of these texts into Genesis 3 seems to postdate both the early creation story and extension of it into a creation-and-fall account. Therefore, at least 3:22 and 24 (along with the final part of 2:9) will be bracketed out of our subsequent discussions of the transformations effected through the addition of the [bulk of] Genesis 3.¹⁹ Otherwise, the two-stage tradition-historical analysis given above is enough for the present purposes. It essentially extends previous investigations by Humbert and Westermann.²⁰ Moreover, it is less dependent on questionable divine name criteria and simpler than analyses that have attempted to find two or more parallel creation-and-fall documents running through Genesis 2–3.²¹

¹⁷ See below, pp. 585–88. These patterns were originally observed by J. T. Walsh, “Genesis 2:4b–3:24: A Synchronic Approach,” *JBL* 96 (1977) 169–71; and P. Tribble, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality* (OBT; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978) 105–7, 120–23.

¹⁸ This clash in concentric correspondences seems to be a major factor in J. Rosenberg’s focus on intertextual relations across 2:25–3:19a rather than those between 3:14–19a and Genesis 2 (*King and Kin: Political Allegory in the Hebrew Bible* [Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986] 48–68, particularly his “subpalistrophe” on p. 62).

¹⁹ 3:20 and 21 may also be later parts of this narrative, but are included in the analysis because their status is less clear. Whether 3:20 and 21 are left in or out, the results of the analysis are not significantly affected.

²⁰ Humbert, “Mythe de création,” 445–61; idem, *Études*, 10–78; Westermann, *Genesis*, I. 190–96, 211, 219–20. Authors who have concurred with the basic conclusions of Humbert and Westermann include Schmidt (*Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift*, 196–205), L. Ruppert (“Die Sündenfallerzählung [Gn 3] in vorjahwistischer Tradition und Interpretation,” *BZ* 15 [1971] 187–88), P. E. S. Thompson (“The Yahwist Creation Story,” *VT* 21 [1971] 200–202), H. Gese (“Der bewachte Lebensbaum und die Heroen: Zwei mythologische Ergänzungen zur Urgeschichte der Quelle J,” in *Wort und Geschichte: Festschrift für Karl Elliger zum 70. Geburtstag* [ed. H. Gese and H. P. Rüger; AOAT 18; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973] 77), K. Jaros, “Die Motive der Heiligen Bäume und der Schlange in Gen 2–3,” *ZAW* 92 [1980] 204–15), and N. Wyatt (“Interpreting the Creation and Fall story in Genesis 2–3,” *ZAW* 93 [1981] 11–12). This position was anticipated by two earlier, documentary treatments of Genesis 2–3: Schmidt, *Die Erzählung von Paradies und Sündenfall*, 7–13; and Begrich, “Die Paradieserzählung,” 107–8.

²¹ These include Gunkel, *Genesis*, 25–28; R. Smend, *Die Erzählung des Hexateuch: Auf ihre Quellen untersucht* (Berlin: Reimer, 1912) 18–20; Meinhold, “Die Erzählung vom Paradies und Sündenfall,” 122–31; O. Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch Synopse: Die Erzählung der fünf Bücher Mose und des Buches Josua mit dem Anfange des Richterbuches* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1962; later edition of original, Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1922) 3*–5*, 254*–255*; Schmidt, *Die*

II. Textual Subversion in Genesis 2–3

Literary Transformations

Having looked at the tradition history of Genesis 2–3, we can now examine the literary transformations produced by this compositional process. As discussed above, the process began with an originally independent story that described the creation of a human from the ground to work it (2:4b–5, 7–8, 15bβ) and then the creation of a helper in this garden work (2:18–24). A structural outline of this story follows:

Creation Story: Humans	2:4b–5, 7–8, 15bβ, 18–24
I. Prologue: pre-creation	4b–5
II. Creation account proper	7–8, 15bβ, 18–23
A. Initial situation: need for worker (wordplay אָרְמָה/אָרַם)	7–8, 15bβ
1. Creation of human	7
2. Provision of garden for human to work	8, 15bβ
B. Resulting situation: need for helper (wordplay: אִישׁ/אִשָּׁה)	18–23
1. Recognition: need for helper	18
2. Attempted solutions	19–23
a. Failed attempt: animals	19–20
b. Successful attempt: woman	21–23
(1) Building + presentation proper	21–22
(2) Certification of success: human's response	23
III. Etiological epilogue: marriage practices	2:24

In contrast to the later creation-and-fall story (Genesis 2–3), the movement of this early creation story is linear throughout, culminating in the creation

Erzählung von Paradies und Sündenfall; Begrich, “Die Paradieserzählung,” 93–116; S. Mowinkel, *The Two Sources of the Predeuteronomistic Primeval History (JE) in Gen. 1–11* (Oslo: Dybwad, 1937) 8–9, 17–20; W. Zimmerli, *I. Moses 1–11: Die Urgeschichte* (3d ed.; Zurich: Zwingli, 1967; original ed. 1943) 109–85, esp. 121, 125–27, 176–77, 183–85; G. Hölscher, *Geschichtsschreibung in Israel: Untersuchungen zum Jahwisten und Elohisten* (Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-samfundet i Lund 50; Lund: Gleerup, 1952) 271–73; H. Haag, “Die Komposition der Sündenfall-Erzählung (Gn 2,4b–3,24),” *TQ* 146 (1966) 1–7; W. Fuss, *Die sogenannte Paradieserzählung: Aufbau, Herkunft und theologische Bedeutung* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1968) 25–82; J. Scharbert, “Quellen und Redaktion in Gen 2,4b–4,16,” *BZ* 18 (1974) 45–64; and H.-F. Richter, “Zur Urgeschichte des Jahwisten,” *BN* 34 (1986) 39–49.

For redactional approaches much more complex than the one adopted in this paper, see P. Weimar, *Untersuchungen zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Pentateuch*, 112–31; and Dohmen, *Schöpfung und Tod*, 37–208. Both of these studies postulate many minute revisions of earlier material, frequently on the slightest of grounds. If in fact the revisions were so minute and difficult to spot, they are probably unrecoverable by any ongoing tradition-historical investigation. This article, however, attempts to show the plausibility of a much simpler and more elegant tradition-historical alternative.

and celebration of the woman.²² The story as a whole creatively reinterprets already existing marriage practices and relationships between Hebrew words (אָדָם ["human"]/אֶרֶץ ["ground"] and אִישׁ ["man"]/אִשָּׁה ["woman"]) as testimonies to the primal, divinely created connectedness of man to the earth he works and the woman he loves. Its closest biblical analogy is the song in praise of the good wife which concludes Proverbs (31:10–31). Although Genesis 2* and Prov 31:10–31 conceive the work differently—farming in Genesis 2*; running a household and business in Prov 31:10–31—both texts seem designed to lead their male audiences to appreciate and praise their wives as able helpers (see in particular the focus on praise in Gen 2:23 and Prov 31:10–31 passim).²³

The addition of the story of crime and punishment in chap. 3 radically reoriented the significance of this creation story. Whereas previously the creation story emphasized the ongoing created connectedness between male and female, this new story of creation and fall relegates much of that to the past. Now, the creation story in chap. 2 is a description of an idyllic state that has been lost, of past gender connectedness in a well-watered orchard full of good fruit (2:6, 9*, 10–14, 15abα, 16). This can serve as the foil for showing how far we have fallen. At this point, the only anticipation of the fall is the giving of the prohibition in 2:17.

One way the subsequent crime-and-punishment story reverses the early creation materials is through incorporation of them into a new concentric pattern, one where each element of the creation materials is now artfully counterbalanced by elements in the crime-and-punishment story. A structural

²² See here Steck, *Die Paradieserzählung*, 51–52, who finds such an ending unsatisfying ("unbefriedigend") and thus implausible, ending as it does without an explicit solution of the problems mentioned in 2:4b–5. Here his insights into the *present* close relationships between early creation materials in Genesis 2* (particularly 2:4b–5) and Genesis 3 (see his pp. 31 and 33–39) seem to have hindered him from seeing how Genesis 2* can also be interpreted on its own as a complete and independent narrative. The reasons for such an interpretation are given in the tradition-historical section above. See also in this respect E. Kutsch's similar arguments against Westermann in "Die Paradieserzählung Gen 2–3 und ihr Verfasser," in *Studien zum Pentateuch: Walter Kornfeld zum 60. Geburtstag* (ed. G. Braulik; Vienna/Freiburg/Basel: Herder, 1977) 18–21.

²³ Clearly, this reading posits a consistent androcentrism in this story (contra Trible and others). Throughout we have the "human" on the one hand, and, on the other hand, we have the "woman," "his wife," a "helper corresponding to him." Terming the first person אָדָם ("human") rather than using a more specifically masculine term results from the wordplay at the outset of the narrative on אָדָם ("human") and אֶרֶץ ("ground"). Notably, this wordplay is temporarily suspended in 2:23–24 in order to develop a new wordplay on אִישׁ ("man") and אִשָּׁה ("woman"). But later in Genesis 3, the אָדָם terminology for the man is resumed. This resumption produces an insidious contrast between the "human," on the one hand, and the "woman," on the other, in Genesis 3. For a fuller critique of Trible's reading, see S. Lanser, "Feminist Criticism in the Garden: Inferring Genesis 2–3," *Semeia* 41 (1988) 70–72. See also L. Mikaelsson, "Sexual Polarity: An Aspect of the Ideological Structure in the Paradise Narrative, Gen 2,4–3,24," *Themnos* 16 (1980) 86–91; and D. J. A. Clines, "What Does Eve Do to Help?" in *What Does Eve Do to Help? And Other Readerly Questions to the Old Testament* (JSOTSup 94; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990) 25–41.

outline of the result follows, with concentric relationships indicated by lines to the left and new elements in bold type:

Primeval origins narrative		Gen 2:4b-3:21, 23
I.	Creation report (prologue): pre-crime connectedness and ease of food procurement	2:4b-25
A.	Pre-creation	4b-6
B.	Creation proper: man, animals, woman	
	[Connectedness, permission to eat fruit of most trees and prohibition of tree of knowledge]	7-24
C.	Transitional epilogue: lack of shame	25
II.	Crime scene	3:1-7
A.	Setting of scene: introduction of snake	1a
B.	(Three-part) dialogue	1b-5
C.	Results of dialogue	6-7
	1. Crime proper	6
	2. Immediate consequence: shame	7
III.	Trial scene: resulting reversal of created connectedness and ease	3:8-21, 23
A.	(Three-part) interrogation scene	8-14
B.	Divine speech report: pronouncement of punishment [alienation]	3:15-19
C.	Epilogue: notes on post-crime events	3:20-21, 23

Generally, the parallels between sections are antithetical. For example, the snake initiates the three-part dialogue in 3:1-5; the woman is more prominent than the man; and God is not a participant. The corresponding divine interrogation in 3:9-13 likewise consists of three parts (question and answer). Nevertheless, God initiates the interaction; the man is more prominent than the woman; and the snake is not a participant.²⁴ Moreover, in retracing the order of causality in 3:1-6, the interrogation reverses the order followed in those

²⁴ This is the locus for some provocative and interesting structuralist readings of Genesis 2-3 which observe a possible subtle link between the snake and God, given their complementary positioning in the narrative. See, e.g., D. Crossan, "Response to White: Felix Culpa and Foenix Culprit," in *Genesis 2 and 3: Kaleidoscopic Structural Readings* (ed. Daniel Patte; *Semeia* 18; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980) 107-11.

verses. Whereas 3:1–6 moved from snake to woman to man, 3:9–13 moves from man to woman to snake.²⁵

This concentrically structured set of crime-and-interrogation scenes then becomes the pivot point for the unraveling of the pre-crime reality. The concentric pattern of the new creation-and-fall account continues, even as new elements in Genesis 3 begin to correspond to what were once parts of the originally independent creation account in Genesis 2*. In this case, the concentric parallels help highlight the complete reversal of the state of affairs described by that story. Piece by piece the “intimacy” of the early creation story is replaced by “alienation” (Hauser); the “Eros” is “contaminated” (Trible).²⁶ Already this change is implicit in the shame, hiding, and blaming described in the interrogation scene discussed above (3:8–13). With the pronouncement of punishment (3:14–19) and expulsion (3:23) this reversal of the creation story becomes more explicit. In both, God is the primary actor; the primary focus is on the relationships of the three other characters (human, animals, and woman) to each other; and there is an etiological focus. These similarities, however, heighten the reversals that have occurred as a result of the garden crime:²⁷

Creation story (new material is in bold type)

Human enjoyment of easy food from garden trees (2:9–15, 16; this is new material)

Human mastery over animals (2:19–20)

Created connectedness and mutuality between the man and woman (2:21–24)

Ends with focus on nakedness (2:25)

Etiologies interpret various aspects of the audience's reality (as testimonies to original connectedness)

“Fall” story sentence and expulsion

Endless alienated toil working the soil outside the garden (3:17–19, 23)

Two-sided battle with snake (3:15)

Rule of the man over the woman who yearns for him (3:16)

Ends with focus on clothing (3:21)

Etiologies interpret various aspects of the audience's reality (as testimonies to the awful consequences of questioning and disobeying God)

²⁵ Walsh, “A Synchronic Approach,” 170–71; Trible, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality*, 116–22, esp. the table on p. 121.

²⁶ A. J. Hauser, “Genesis 2–3: The Theme of Intimacy and Alienation,” in *Art and Meaning: Rhetoric In Biblical Literature* (ed. D. J. A. Clines et al.; JSOTSup 19; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982) 20–36; Trible, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality*, 105.

²⁷ See Walsh, “A Synchronic Approach,” 170.

In sum, inclusion of the early free-standing creation account into this new creation-and-fall narrative transformed it from an argument for present gender connectedness into a creation prologue to a story of crime and punishment.²⁸ Whereas the early materials all focused on the need for a garden worker and a helper for the man, now everything revolves around the garden crime. The audience is urged to see many negative aspects of their present reality—relations with snakes, pain in childbirth, unreciprocated female yearning for males, alienated labor—as punishments for one crime committed in the garden: defying God and eating of the fruit of knowledge.

The Garden Crime

It is precisely at this point in the text where diversity in the history of the interpretation of the passage has been most acute. On the one hand, both critical and precritical interpreters have often agreed on the overall contours of the movement from paradise to life outside the garden. On the other hand, these same interpreters have varied widely in their perception of what caused this movement: discovery of sexuality, pride, search for independence, pagan influence, or seeking after knowledge proper to God.²⁹ Each of these proposals has some root in the biblical text, and yet the text curiously seems to resist being pinned down. On the one hand, the logic of the text is simple: humans are punished for disobeying God (2:17; 3:11, 17). On the other hand, the history of interpretation of this text suggests that interpreters are rarely satisfied with that answer. Instead, they attempt to penetrate behind the symbols of the text—nakedness, snake, shame, knowledge, being like God—to understand *why* God prohibited the man from eating of the tree and subsequently punished him and the woman for doing so.

This very attempt to determine the rationale behind God's prohibition seems to partake of the very enterprise against which the text polemicizes: independent human determination of good and evil. As argued above, everything in the story revolves around problems caused by one thing: the humans'

²⁸ Here again, Steck's observations (*Die Paradieserzählung*, 51–54) regarding intricate relations between Genesis 2* and the curse section in Genesis 3:14–19, though accurate, only establish a compositional relationship between these units, not necessarily common authorship. In particular, his arguments do not rule out the possibility that 3:14–19 and Genesis 3 as a whole were composed in conscious relation to and dependence on a preexisting creation narrative in Genesis 2*.

²⁹ For further discussion and bibliography, see Westermann, *Genesis*, 1. 330–37. See also M. Görg, "Die 'Sünde' Salomos: Zeitkritische Aspekte der jahwistischen Sündenfallerzählung," *BN* 16 (1981) 42–59; K. Holter, "The Serpent in Eden as a Symbol of Israel's Political Enemies: A Yahwistic Criticism of the Solomonic Foreign Policy?" *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 1 (1990) 106–12.

disobeying God's stark prohibition (2:17) and eating of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. This expression, *הַדַּעַת טוֹב וָרָע* ("knowledge of good and evil"), and similar ones are used elsewhere in the Bible to characterize wisdom lore (1 Kgs 3:9, 11; cf. Sir 39:4), indeed a godlike wisdom that can be possessed by some humans (2 Sam 14:17, 20).³⁰ Moreover, as G. Mendenhall and others have pointed out, there are other associations between the garden crime and wisdom in 3:1–7.

(1) The tree is often used in wisdom literature as an image of wisdom — for example, Prov 3:18.³¹

(2) The snake, who plays such a crucial role in questioning the divine prohibition, is a frequent symbol of wisdom in the ancient Near East,³² and this text puts particular emphasis in 3:1a on the idea that the snake is superlatively *עָרִים* ("prudent, clever"), a term occurring elsewhere in the Bible only in Proverbs and Job. In Proverbs, the term is usually part of a standard wisdom contrast between the way of the prudent (*עָרִים*), which leads to success, and the way of the fool (*אֲוִיל*), which leads to disaster.³³

(3) Wisdom terminology abounds in the text's description of the woman's perception of the desirability of the fruit: *תִּצְחָה* ("delight"), the word used to describe the desirable appearance of the fruit, is particularly prominent in Proverbs and Psalms, including Prov 13:12—"a desire attained is a tree of life." *נְחָמָר* ("desirable"), the word used to describe the usefulness of the fruit for insight, occurs elsewhere in the Bible (in addition to 2:9) only in Prov 21:20 and Ps 19:11. Finally, the infinitive *הִשְׁכִּיל* with the meaning to "become wise" appears in Prov 16:23; 21:11; Ps 32:8 and then primarily in several clearly post-exilic texts (Nehemiah, Chronicles, Daniel).³⁴

Taken together, these clues strongly suggest that the crime-and-punishment story in Genesis 2:3 is polemicizing against the wisdom tradition — more specifically, against the kind of independent human determination

³⁰ L. Alonso-Schökel, "Motivos Sapienciales y de Alianza en Gn 2–3," *Bib* 43 (1962) 301–2. M. Clark argues for a specifically legal background to this phrase in texts such as 1 Kgs 3:9 and 2 Sam 14:17 ("A Legal Background to the Yahwist's Use of 'Good and Evil' in Genesis 2–3," *JBL* 88 [1969] 266–78), yet when he turns to apply this to Genesis 2–3, wisdom connotations rise to the foreground (pp. 276–77).

³¹ A. Gardner, "Genesis 2:4b–3: A Mythological Paradigm of Sexual Equality or of the Religious History of Pre-Exilic Israel?" *SJT* 43 (1990) 14.

³² On the wisdom associations of the snake image, see K. R. Joines, "The Serpent in Gen 3," *ZAW* 87 (1975) 4–9.

³³ G. Mendenhall cites Prov 12:16, 23; 13:16; 14:8, 15, 16; 22:3; 27:12 in his article "The Shady Side of Wisdom: The Date and Purpose of Genesis 3," in *A Light unto My Path: Old Testament Studies in Honor of Jacob M. Myers* (ed. H. Bream, R. Hein, and C. Moore; Gettysburg Theological Studies; Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974) 328. See also the earlier observations along these lines by Alonso-Schökel, "Motivos Sapienciales," 302–3.

³⁴ Mendenhall, "The Shady Side of Wisdom," 328.

of good and evil characteristic of that tradition. For this tradition is characterized by a reasoning based more on collected human experience than divine *fiat*. It is exactly this experiential type of "knowledge of good and evil" that is portrayed as problematic in Genesis 3.

Moreover, this knowledge is portrayed as problematic whether or not it ends up being more accurate than raw divine pronouncement. Thus, the "wise" snake turns out to be more right than God: right about the humans not dying if they disobeyed and right about the knowledge that would come with eating the fruit. It is just this kind of experiential observation of a discrepancy between divine threat and actual consequences that forms the heart of such wisdom texts as Job and Qohelet. Whereas wisdom literature repeatedly argues that prudent "cleverness" (עָרוּם) leads to success, Genesis 3 polemically portrays the snake's clever questioning as leading the humans to disaster, a painful alienation from God, each other, and the earth. Wrong or right, God's commandment in Gen 2:17 is seen as enough, and any questioning or reevaluation of it is depicted as the source of many contemporary evils.³⁵

Since wisdom literature tended to focus on investigation of the order of creation, a creation story like Genesis 2–3 would be particularly effective at undermining wisdom thought. This can be seen through comparison of this story with wisdom's song in Proverbs 8. In this song a female wisdom figure calls for her audience to seek her because of her early role in God's creation. This role in creation then makes it possible for her to grant fame, prosperity, long life, and divine favor to those who seek her. Likewise, in the Garden of Eden story a female figure is prominent in creation and then plays the dominant role in the search for independent, wisdomlike knowledge of good and evil (3:6). But this search is evaluated quite differently in Genesis 2–3 than in Proverbs 8. Here, the eating of the fruit of knowledge leads not to fame but to shame (3:7), not to divine favor but to disfavor (3:8–24), not to prosperity but to suffering (3:16–19), and not to long life but to death (3:19).

Finally, in the process of arguing against the wisdom enterprise, the Garden of Eden story builds on the celebration of woman in Genesis 2, but inverts it. Previously the crown of creation, she is now blamed for a prominent role in expulsion from the garden. The early creation story in Genesis 2* shared with Proverbs 31:10–31 the *general aim* of praise of the able and wise wife. But now the Garden of Eden story *picks up specific terminology* from Proverbs 31 in the process of contradicting its picture of the wise woman point by point: the woman knows "good" and "evil" (Prov 31:12, 17), but this brings disaster (Gen 3:6–23). Rather than "girding" herself with strength (Prov 31:17), she and her husband now "gird" themselves with fig leaves (Gen 3:7).³⁶

³⁵ On this, see Clark's discussion of the forbidden tree as the "tree of commandment" ("Background to Use of 'Good and Evil,'" 277–78). See also the discussion in W. Brueggemann, *Genesis* (Interpretation; Atlanta: John Knox, 1982) 51–52.

³⁶ Later the man and woman are "clothed" in skins by God; cf. the good wife's "clothing" of her family in scarlet (Prov 31:21) (L. Alonso-Schökel, "Motivos Sapienciales," 304).

Like the good wife in Proverbs (Prov 31:26), the first woman opens her mouth in wisdom (Gen 3:1b–5), but this leads to negative results. Finally, the Proverbs text ends with a call to “give her of the fruit of her hands” (Prov 31:31), while the Garden of Eden story argues that this “fruit of [the first woman’s] hands” leads to alienation and endless toil.³⁷

Sociohistorical Dimensions of the Inversion of Tradition in Genesis 2–3

Overall, the Garden of Eden story seems designed to discourage an independent human search for wisdom. In the process of achieving this end, the composer of the Garden of Eden story directly engaged those attracted to wisdom by incorporating a text—the early creation story—that could represent their language world.³⁸ To be sure, this early story shows no specific signs of itself deriving from the wisdom tradition.³⁹ But the institutional origins of the early story are not as important to its role in the final form of the text as its suitability for representing some central claims of the wisdom tradition. Several elements in the creation story—its bright picture of an orderly world, specific focus on the first woman (now corresponding to “Wisdom”), and shared aim with a wisdom text (Prov 31:10–31)—would have made it unusually amenable to serving as a “texteme” representing wisdom discourse, whatever the story’s origins. Moreover, the other extant primeval traditions regarding the first human (Job 15:7–8) and Eden (Ezek 28:12–19) both pose some kind of problematic connection between the first human’s divine wisdom and pride. Primed by such traditions, the audience for Genesis 2–3 would have been well prepared to see a connection between the early creation story—focusing as it does on the first humans in Eden—and the problem of wisdom. The more they accepted the authority of this early creation story (and knew of any parallel oral traditions), the more effectively the new overall narrative would have engaged them.⁴⁰

³⁷ Alonso-Schökel, “Motivos Sapienciales,” 303–4.

³⁸ The theoretical structure for this part of the argument is adapted from Bakhtin’s concept of the novel as dialogical—incorporating within itself varied, socially rooted languages in an active engagement of the anticipated reader. See in particular M. Bakhtin, “Discourse in the Novel,” in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (ed. M. Holquist; trans. C. Emerson and M. Holquist; Slavic Series; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990) 259–366.

³⁹ F. Festorazzi proposes that resonances with Prov 31:10–31, wordplay, and the explanatory focus establish the wisdom associations of Genesis 2–3—all elements that particularly predominate in the reconstructed early creation story of Genesis 2* (“Gen. 1–3 e la sapienza di Israele,” *RivB* 27 [1979] 43–44). Such associations, however, are not enough to establish a wisdom institutional context for the story. On this see the important cautions in J. Crenshaw, “Prolegomena,” in *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* (ed. J. Crenshaw; New York: Ktav, 1976) 9–13.

⁴⁰ H. Bloom’s concept of criticism as analysis of textual deviation may be helpful for analyzing this incorporation and revision process (*The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1973]).

Such intense intertextual engagement certainly does not occur in a vacuum. In this case, the closest analogies to the ideology present in Genesis 2–3 occur in the late preexilic and early exilic periods. To be sure, there are other arguments against traditional wisdom—from Isaiah’s polemics against the wise (e.g., 5:21; 29:13–14) to Qohelet’s late “anti-Instruction” subversion of traditional wisdom motifs.⁴¹ Nevertheless, in the late preexilic and exilic periods we see both: (1) the continued viability of the wisdom tradition (see Jer 8:8–9; Prov 25:1), thus indicating an audience to whom that language world had continuing validity, and (2) a specific contrast between the claims of “law” and “wisdom” similar to that appearing in Genesis 2–3. More specifically, texts in the Deuteronomistic History claim that the Torah of Moses is true wisdom (Deut 4:6–8), the true source of knowledge of “good and evil” (Deut 30:15).⁴² Then, Jer 8:8–9 is especially close to Genesis 2–3 in its explicit pronouncement of judgment on those who call themselves “wise” and say “the Torah of Yahweh is with us,” but in fact have rejected Yahweh’s word.⁴³

These texts from the Deuteronomistic History and Jeremiah witness to an intense process of interinstitutional struggle in the late preexilic and/or early exilic periods.⁴⁴ In such a context, ancient traditions are not just collected, but are reevaluated, recontextualized, and then employed to make points with wider audiences who hold those traditions to be authoritative. Thus, the Deuteronomistic history incorporates vast swathes of earlier material into a new framework, one begun with and oriented toward the Deuteronomistic law. Likewise Genesis 2–3 incorporates older material—the early creation story—but radically reorients it through addition of a crime-and-punishment sequel. This sequel in turn is focused, like the Deuteronomistic History, on law, symbolized by the all-important prohibition in Gen 2:17. Thus, although exhibiting few specific connections to one another (Genesis 2–3 does not seem to be Deuteronomistic), Genesis 2–3 and the Deuteronomistic History both appear to be polemical scribal reconceptualizations of the significance of earlier

Though intriguing in many ways, Brisman’s execution of this type of criticism on Genesis suffers from a somewhat implausible tradition-historical premise, that J is a “strong misreading” of P (L. Brisman, *The Voice of Jacob: On the Composition of Genesis* [Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature; Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990] 3–8).

⁴¹ See also J. Blenkinsopp’s observations along similar lines regarding the succession narrative in “Theme and motif in the succession history (2 Sam. xi 2ff) and the Yahwist corpus,” in *Volume du congrès: Genève 1965* (VTSup 15; Leiden: Brill, 1966) 44–57.

⁴² For a much fuller discussion of wisdom in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History, see M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972) 244–308, esp. 256 on Deut 4:6–8 and 307–8 on Deut 30:15–20.

⁴³ Alonso-Schökel, “Motivos Sapienciales,” *Bib* 43 (1962) 301–2.

⁴⁴ Exact determination of the redactional status and dating of the Deuteronomistic passages under discussion will not be attempted here. The range asserted above encompasses the major alternatives.

wisdom and narrative traditions;⁴⁵ both include a focus on the problem of law and wisdom; and both seem to have been produced in the midst of the turmoil and gradual institutional breakdown of the late preexilic and/or early exilic periods.⁴⁶

To be sure, such suppositions about the historical context of Genesis 2–3 are necessarily tentative and require confirmation through similar study of other texts with which Genesis 2–3 is often associated (e.g., Genesis 4; 6:1–4; etc.). Nevertheless, these initial reflections on sociohistorical context are important in suggesting that the textual subversion implicit in Genesis 2–3 was not a disinterested exegetical process.

III. Concluding Reflections

As has been noted throughout this study, Genesis 2–3, although composite, is an elegantly constructed whole. There is no necessary conflict here between tradition-historical process and artful composition. We conclude, however, with some final reflections on how an understanding of this tradition-historical dimension of Genesis 2–3 can even inform consideration of more purely synchronic investigations of the text's final form.

One example of the difference such understanding can make is in making sense of a striking polarity that has developed in recent approaches to this story as an integrated whole. On the one hand, a diverse group of interpreters such as Tribble, Meyers, and Bloom have proposed reading Genesis 2–3 as potentially liberating—or at least not necessarily oppressive—to women.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ For discussion of scribalism and its relation to the Deuteronomistic History, see Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 158–78.

⁴⁶ An additional bit of data supporting this relatively late dating of Genesis 2–3 is its relation to Ezek 28:12–19 (exilic) and Job 15:7–8 (probably early postexilic). As is well known, both of these texts stand fairly close to Genesis 2–3 in their overall understanding of the problem of wisdom and in their focus on the first human, but neither exhibits specific knowledge of the Genesis 2–3 story. This combination of data suggests that Genesis 2–3 was probably (1) composed fairly close to the time of these other texts and written in light of oral traditions held in common with them (particularly Ezek 28:12–19), yet (2) not yet achieved wide enough circulation to be reflected in them. On the complex relationship between Ezek 28:12–19 and Genesis 2–3, see Steck, *Die Paradieserzählung*, 43–48, and Van Seters, "The Creation of Man and the Creation of the King," 335–41.

⁴⁷ P. Tribble, "Depatriarchalising in Biblical Interpretation," *JAAR* 41 (1973) 30–48; eadem, "Eve and Adam, Genesis 2–3 Reread," *ANQ* 13 (1973) 251–58 (reprinted in *WomanSpirit Rising: A Feminist Reader in Religion* [ed. C. Christ and J. Plaskow; San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1979] 74–83); eadem, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality*, 72–143; Brueggemann, *Genesis*, 50–51; C. Meyers, *Discovering Eve: Ancient Israelite Women in Context* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) 72–121; D. Rosenberg and H. Bloom, *The Book of J* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1990) 175–87. See also N. Aschkenasy, *Eve's Journey: Feminine Images in Hebraic Literary Tradition* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986) 40–43; A. L. Laffey, *An Introduction to the Old Testament: A Feminist Perspective* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) 21–27.

On the other hand, an equally diverse group of interpreters such as Lerner, Jobling, Lanser, and Clines have argued that this text is more inherently oppressive than the former group would have it.⁴⁸

Each reading has roots in the present text. Thus, those who read the text as oppressive tend to draw on the final text's emphasis on not questioning authority and its picture of the tragic consequences of doing so (including patriarchy).⁴⁹ Those who read the text as liberating, although explicitly focusing on the text's final form (e.g., Tribble), take as their beginning point the initial positive picture of gender relations in the subverted creation text.⁵⁰

And indeed, this creation text has not been fully relativized by the final form. As discussed in the tradition-historical analysis above, conflicts in views of work and gender remain, among several others. So, though it is tempting to attempt to resolve these conflicts through an ever more elegant reading, this text seems built to resist such closure. Partly by virtue of its tradition history, Genesis 2–3 is irresolvably multivalent. This is certainly not to suggest a resulting primary focus on the earliest tradition present in Genesis 2–3.⁵¹ Instead, it is to maintain that investigation of the complex intertextual rela-

⁴⁸ L. Mikaelsson, "Sexual Polarity," 84–91; G. Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986) 181–84; D. Jobling, "Myth and its limits in Genesis 2:4b–3:24," in *The Sense of Biblical Narrative: Structural Analyses in the Hebrew Bible, II* (JSOTSup 39; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986) 17–43 (particularly 40–43; see also earlier versions of this essay: "A Structural Analysis of Genesis 2:4b–3:24," in *SBL 1978 Seminar Papers* [ed. P. J. Achtemeier; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978] 61–69, and then "The Myth Semantics of Genesis 2:4b–3:24," in *Genesis 2 and 3: Kaleidoscopic Structural Readings* [ed. Daniel Patte; Semeia 18; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980] 41–49); S. Ruth, "Bodies and Souls/sex, Sin and the Sense in Patriarchy: A Study in Applied Dualism," *Hypatia* 2 (1987) 158–59; Lanser, "Feminist Criticism in the Garden," 67–84; Gardner, "Genesis 2:4b–3," 1–18; Clines, "What Does Eve Do to Help?" 25–48.

⁴⁹ For examples (in addition to those cited above in n. 48), see especially J. M. Kennedy, "Peasants in Revolt: Political Allegory in Genesis 2–3," *JSOT* 47 (1990) 3–14; D. Patrick and A. Schult, *Rhetoric and Biblical Interpretation* (JSOTSup 82; Sheffield: Almond, 1990) 103–25.

⁵⁰ Similarly, R. Alter interprets the early material of Genesis 2 almost as if it were an independent pericope (*The Art of Biblical Narrative* [New York: Basic Books, 1981] 29–32). In a different vein, Jobling's creative approach ("Myth and its limits in Genesis 2:4b–3:24," 17–43) examines the entire final form of the text from the perspective of the early creation story's focus on finding "a human to till the earth." The resulting reading poses God as both supporter and opponent of this aim. He sees the snake and woman as narrative devices to pull the plot forward to its conclusion in 3:23–24. Van Wolde executes a similar approach, attempting, however, to get God out of the "opponent" role (*A Semiotic Analysis of Genesis 2–3*, 80–120). See also T. Stordalen's recent refinement of their approach in "Man, Soil, Garden," 3–26.

⁵¹ Such a move would just replay the mistakes of previous historical criticism, a criticism that all too often focused exclusively on digging beneath the final form of the text to recover some kind of early, more authoritative core. In addition, the early creation story discussed above has its own weaknesses: not only its thoroughgoing androcentrism but its excessive optimism about human life and gender relations.

tions implicit in this text's tradition history can add an important dimension to any interpretation of its final form.⁵²

⁵² An earlier version of this article was read in the Narrative Research on the Hebrew Bible Group at the 1991 Society of Biblical Literature annual meeting. The author would like to thank the participants in that session for their responses, and also the following scholars, who read other drafts of the project and provided invaluable feedback, including Professors Robert Tannehill and Rolf Rendtorff. Of course, the author assumes full responsibility for the present contents of this article.

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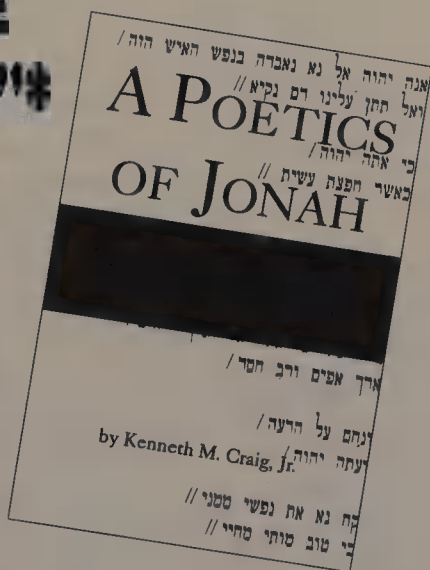
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JOEL'S LOCUST PLAGUE IN LIGHT OF SARGON II'S HYMN TO NANAYA

VICTOR AVIGDOR HUROWITZ

Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheba, Israel

The present brief article will discuss an extrabiblical source that bears striking parallels to the description of the locust plague in Joel 1:4-20.¹

Some ninety years ago F. Martin, H. Winckler, J. A. Craig, and K. MacMillan published various editions of a text from Nineveh (K 3600 + DT 75) containing a partially preserved hymn to the goddess Nanaya concluding with a prayer on behalf of Sargon II, king of Assyria (721-705 BCE).² This text has been reedited now by A. Livingstone.³ Following genre nomenclature typically applied to Sumerian hymnic literature,⁴ the piece may be characterized as a divine hymn with a request for the king. Its *Sitz im Leben* could be the dedication of a divine statue or a temple, both events being occasions for introducing a divine statue into a temple.⁵ The larger portion of the text is an elaborate hymn to the goddess Nanaya and need not concern us here. The concluding portion of the composition (rev. II 17'-31'), which is of more

¹ The parallel to be presented here is mentioned *en passant* by J. A. Thompson ("Joel's Locusts in the Light of Near Eastern Parallels," *JNES* 14 [1955] 55), but no discussion is offered and no particular significance is ascribed to the composition. Subsequent scholars, who dutifully refer to Thompson's study, also pay no particular attention to this text. For all intents and purposes, biblical scholars seem unaware of the content and language of this document, and whatever importance it may have for understanding the book of Joel may be considered largely unexplored.

² F. Martin, *Textes religieux assyriens et babyloniens* (ser. 1; Paris: Létouzey et Ané, 1903) 196ff.; J. A. Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts, being prayers, oracles, hymns &c. copied from the original tablets preserved in the British Museum*, Vol. 1 (Assyriologisch bibliothek 13/1; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1895) 54-55; H. Winckler, *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, II (Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1893) 2/3; K. MacMillan, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 5/5 (1906) no. IV 564.

³ A. Livingstone, *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea* (State Archives of Assyria 3; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1989) 13-16 no. 4. Livingstone reports the existence of two additional fragments possibly belonging to this composition which he intends to publish. Since the passage to be discussed here is fully preserved, the new material should be of little relevance.

⁴ See J. Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns: Sumerian Royal Hymns Glorifying King Šulgi of Ur* (Bar-Ilan Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Culture; Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1981) 21-28.

⁵ See V. (A.) Hurowitz, *I Have Built You an Exalted House: Temple Building in the Bible in Light of Mesopotamian and Northwest Semitic Writings* (JSOTSup 115; JSOT/ASOR Monograph Series 5; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992) 32 n. 2, 260-84.

immediate interest, is an actual prayer containing a list of requests, all expressed in the second person feminine singular imperative tense or the precative. This passage begins "Rest/calm down, daughter of Sin, settle in your abode."⁶ This is followed by a request that the goddess bless Sargon and grant him long life and a stable reign. There then comes a wish for the well-being of the king's teams of select horses, which is tantamount to asking for victory on the battlefield. The goddess is called upon next to grant good health to the king. All these requests are standard concerns of other prayers on behalf of kings, even though the terminology applied in this composition is at times somewhat idiosyncratic.⁷

After all these matters, we find the following request, which, to the best of my knowledge, is without parallel in Mesopotamian literature (rev. II 24'–28').

šennu erebu muḥalliq ašna[n]
 lemnu zirziru mubbil šippāti
 pārisu sattukkī ša ilī u ištara[ti]
 šēmēki dEllil māharki⁸ dTutu
 ina qibītiki limmani zaqīqīš.

The evil locust which destroys the crop/grain,
 the wicked dwarf-locust which dries up the orchards,
 which cuts off the regular offerings of the gods and goddesses —
 (Verily) Ellil listens to you, and Tutu is before you —⁹
 may by your command it be turned into nothing.

⁶ See Hurowitz, *I Have Built You an Exalted House*, 260–84, for settling in a temple; and pp. 330–31 for the relationship between divine rest and temple building. Note also P. Machinist, "Rest and Violence in the Poem of Erra," *JAOS* 103 (1983) 221–26; and S. E. Loewenstamm, "Some Remarks on Biblical Passages in the Light of Their Akkadian Parallels" (Hebrew), in *Bible Studies Y. M. Grintz in Memoriam* (ed. B. Uffenheimer; Te'udah 2; Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Ha-me'uchad, 1982) 187–96 for aspects of divine rest, especially following divine rampages.

⁷ For the royal prayers, see Hurowitz, *I Have Built You an Exalted House*, 285–300, esp. 296 n. 1. Solomon mentions locusts ('arbeh ḥāsīl) in his Temple dedication prayer (1 Kgs 8:37), a prayer that is a peculiar biblical variation on the typical Mesopotamian royal prayers associated with building inscriptions.

⁸ This is Livingstone's reading, and he translates and indexes the passage accordingly. He makes no comment on it and it is not listed in the collations at the end of the volume. All previous editions and copies read clearly *ma-gir-ki*, and the resultant verb sequence *šēmū/magāru* is well attested. Collation should be called for.

⁹ This passage is difficult. It separates the subject of the request, which is the locust described in lines 24'–26', from the predicate in line 28'. MacMillan has finessed the translation by rendering "May Bel, who heareth thee, (and) Marduk, who favoreth thee, at thy command destroy as a storm." This is clearly incorrect grammatically. Livingstone improves greatly with "Illil listens to you, in front of you is Tutu." Moreover, he separates this line from the ones preceding and following it with hyphens and indicates thereby that it is a parenthetical remark. Not only this, but his note to the passage suggests that the line may actually have been misplaced accidentally by an ancient scribe. Indeed, it would be much better were it placed between 28' and 29', and this may well be the best solution. To defend the extant positioning of the line we would suggest

The occasion for this unique request may be an actual locust plague that afflicted Assyria during the time of Sargon. Such an infestation is indicated by at least three letters from the archives of Sargon recently reedited by S. Parpola.¹⁰ More important for the present inquiry, however, is that nearly every detail in this passage has either general or quite specific parallels in Joel's description of the locusts afflicting Judah.

The prayer mentions two types of locusts, the *erebu* and the *zirziru*. These seem to be distinct species and not different stages in the metamorphosis of a single type of locust.¹¹ Since the *zirziru* is a dwarf locust (cf. its Sumerian equivalent *buru₅.tur*), the two terms taken together may be considered a merismus meaning "large and small locusts" with the connotation of "locusts of all sizes." The mention of two types of locusts indicating locusts of many types fulfills the same function as Joel's enumeration of four species of locusts at the beginning and the end of his oracle (1:4; 2:25).

The insects are described respectively by the synonymous adjectives *šennu* and *lemnu*, wicked and evil. These designations have no specific parallels in the Hebrew text.

The first locust is further described by the apposite phrase *muḥalliḳ ašnan*, "destroyer of the grain." Now, the Akkadian verb *ḫalāqu* is synonymous and interchangeable with the verb *abātu*, which, in turn, is the semantic and

that Ellil and Tutu/Marduk, as gods of atmosphere and wind, are being invoked to assist Nanaya in her task of ridding the land of locusts. Note that in the biblical account of the locust plague in Egypt, the locusts are brought by an easterly wind and removed by a wind blowing in the opposite direction (Exod 10:13, 19). The difficulty with this possibility is that the name Tutu is not particularly associated with any windy aspect of Marduk even though in Enuma Elish 7.20 this name is explained *il šāri ṭābi bēlu tašmē u magāri*, "god of the good wind, lord of obedience and compliance" (for the names of Marduk in Enuma Elish 7 and the way in which they are derived, see J. Bottéro, "Le noms de Marduk, l'écriture et la 'logique' en mésopotamie ancienne," in *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein* (ed. M. de Jong Ellis; Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts & Sciences 19; Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1977) 5–28, esp. 7 no. 20 and 20 no. 20).

¹⁰ S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II: Part I, Letters from Assyria and the West* (State Archives of Assyria 2; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1987) 86–87 nos. 103 and 104, pp. 170–71 no. 221. Letters 103 and 104 are from Ṭab-šil-E-šarra, the governor of Assur. They are addressed to the king. Letter 103 comes from Nineveh (Kouyunjik), and 104 is from Kalhu (Nimrud). Letter 104 mentions as being locust-infested the heartland (Assur?) as well as the village Mē-ṭabute near Assur, Amante and Kasappa (Tell Keshef on the Upper Zab, due south of Nimrud, for which see J. N. Postgate, *The Governor's Palace Archive* [Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud 2; London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1973] 225). Letter 221, found at Kouyunjik, was dispatched from the Lower Khabur area and mentions the city Ṭabtaia, which Parpola identifies with Thebeta known from classical sources (p. 239). This document is to a certain Nabû-duru-ušur and sent by one of his underlings named Rimutte. Since the letters are not dated, there is no way of knowing whether the letters refer to the same event, in which case it would be a quite extensive locust plague, or to as many as three different, more localized occurrences. It is also impossible to draw any certain connection between these three letters, the Nanaya hymn, and the eighth-century BCE glazed brick orthostat from Assur depicting a worshiper, a god, and a locust (see n. 19 below).

¹¹ See B. Landsberger and I. Krumbiegel, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien nach der 14. Tafel der Serie HAR-RA = HUBULLU* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1934) 122–23.

etymological equivalent of the Hebrew verb *'ābad*. This verb appears at the end of Joel 1:11 *kî 'ābad qēšîr sādēh*, “for the harvest of the field is destroyed.” The harvest of the field is none other than the wheat and barley mentioned earlier in the same verse. Wheat, barley, and, in general, harvest of the field are all subsumed by the Akkadian noun *ašnan*. There is thus a full functional and lexical equivalence between the *muḥalliḳ ašnan* of the Nanaya hymn and the *'ābad qēšîr sādēh* of the Hebrew prophet.

The second locust is described as *mubbil šippāti*. Martin translated this expression “qui détruit les plantation,” while MacMillan rendered it “that wastes the fruit-trees.” These suggestions look like little more than guesswork based on context and parallelism. CAD E 257b s.v. *erbu* rendered it “which makes off with the fruit,” clearly deriving the participle from *(w)abālu*, “to carry off.” However, the dictionary soon had a change of heart, and four years later vol. Š 203 s.v. *šippatu* rendered it “which dries up” followed by a question mark. The question mark disappeared in vol. A I 30, which places our passage under *abālu* B, “to dry up, out,” as well as in Z 137b s.v. *zirziru*. AHW p. 3 also places this verb under *abālu* I, and Livingstone, following the tide, translates “which dries up the orchards.” The expression is clearly synonymous with *kol 'āšê haššādēh yābēšû*, “all the trees of the field dried up,” in Joel 1:12 in reference to pomegranates, date palms, and apples. Note that the root *ybš* is used several times in the pericope in relation to *tîrôš* (wine, v. 10:), the vine (v. 12) and grain (v. 17). It is also used to describe water courses later on in the prophecy (v. 20). It is further employed in describing the farmers (v. 11), but perhaps with a double meaning of being dried up as well as being embarrassed.¹² The root *'bl* itself appears once in respect to the land in v. 10,¹³ and when it refers to the priests in v. 9 there may be a double entendre intended. The priests mourn, but they are also dried up because of the vegetable offerings and libations cut off from the Temple. There is thus, once again, a full functional and lexical correspondence between the Akkadian and Hebrew texts. It should be noted, incidentally, that the reference to dryness in the biblical text serves as confirmation to a certain extent of the now commonly accepted interpretation of the Akkadian expression!

The two locust types together are referred to as *pārisu sattukkī ša ilī u ištārāti*, “which cuts off the daily offerings of the gods and goddesses.” This expression is a most interesting parallel to the biblical statement *hokrat minḥâ wānēsek mibbêt YHWH*, “vegetable offering and libation have been cut off from the Temple of YHWH” (Joel 1:9), Akkadian *parāsu* being the interdialectal equivalent of Hebrew *krt*. Note also the other statements using the same verb in v. 5 (“on the wine which has been cut off from your mouths”) and v. 16 (“Has

¹² See E. D. Mallon, “A Stylistic Analysis of Joel 1:10–12,” *CBQ* 45 (1983) 537–48, for discussion of several of the double meanings of the words.

¹³ Although Ibn Ezra takes this to refer to the inhabitants of the land, inferring that they mourn, *Targum Yonathan* correctly renders the expression *ḥārobat 'ar'ā*.

not before our very eyes food been cut off from the Temple of our God? [Has not there been cut off] joy and happiness?"). Of relevance as well is probably v. 13b, "for vegetable offering and libation are restrained from the Temple of your God," where *nimna'* replaces *hokrat/nikrat*.

The locust passage in the Nanaya hymn concludes with a request for the goddess to command that the locusts disappear. This is parallel, of course, to the promise to rid the land of the locust plague central to Joel 2:18–27.¹⁴ These parallels are pervasive. They cover three consecutive lines and possibly a fourth of the brief Akkadian passage as well as much of the more lengthy Hebrew prophecy. Furthermore, the words and ideas shared by these two texts are expanded on and otherwise manipulated by the Hebrew text through word-play, punning, double entendres, and the use of terms as *Leitwörter*. The parallel demonstrates that the locust-plague language has provided much of the grist for the prophet's poetic mill or points of crystallization for his rhetorical constructs. Were they not there, Joel would have little medium on which to perform his artistry. The parallels are therefore hardly trivial but go to the very core of the respective compositions.

Moreover, the parallels are not the necessary consequence of a common theme. Admittedly, locust plagues are a universal and eternal phenomenon affecting widely scattered areas in identical manners. Nevertheless, they need not be described in precisely those terms which link the two passages being compared here. Significantly, the Bible refers to locusts on various occasions, but the terms discussed above as common to Joel and the Nanaya hymn are nowhere to be found. Even in Exod 10:1–20, which tells at length of the locust plague in Egypt, there is no reference to destroying grain or drying up orchards. While both grain and trees are decimated by this affliction, the only word used there is *'ākal*, "eat, consume" (vv. 5, 12, 15). The same is true of Ps 105:33–34, which parrots the language of Exodus and speaks only of eating (twice) rather than destroying or desiccating. Ps 78:46 is even briefer and uses no verb at all to depict the locusts' activity. To be sure, the verb *'ākal* is used several times by Joel in describing the locusts (1:4 [3x]; 2:25), once in describing fire (1:18), and twice in depicting the restoration of plenty (2:26 [2x]), but not at all in the Nanaya hymn. Further, the reference to the huge numbers of locusts (Joel 1:6) is quite commonplace in both biblical (Exod 10:5, 6, 14; Judg 6:5; 7:12; Jer 46:23; Nah 3:15, 17) and extrabiblical literature, especially as a metaphor for huge numbers of destructive individuals, but it does not appear in the Nanaya hymn.¹⁵ In other words, the common images shared by Joel and other

¹⁴ As already suggested by Thompson, "Joel's Locusts," 55.

¹⁵ For some extrabiblical sources, see G. W. Ahlström, *Joel and the Temple Cult of Jerusalem* (VTSup 21; Leiden: Brill, 1971) 62 n. 5. For locusts in Sumerian literature, see W. Heimpel, *Tierbilder in der sumerischen Literatur* (Studia Pohl 2; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1968) 440–46 (paragraphs 78.1–4); and *The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania* (ed. Å. W. Sjöberg; Philadelphia: The Babylonian Section of the University Museum, 1984) vol. B 206ff. s.v. *buru₅*. A hitherto unknown metaphor involving locusts has recently

descriptions of locust plagues (eating,¹⁶ huge numbers, extended duration¹⁷) are not found in the Nanaya hymn, while the rare motifs shared by the Nanaya hymn and Joel (destroying, desiccating) are not found in other biblical or Akkadian accounts. The correlation is thus unique.

Most significant, it seems, is the shared reference to cutting off grain from the temples. The plight of the sanctuaries can hardly be the first thing an ordinary person would worry about when seeing fields and orchards being consumed by locusts. Once again, contrast with the Exodus plague narrative proves instructive. Although the tenth plague is considered to be "judgments" upon the gods of Egypt as well as its ruler and people (Exod 12:12; Num 33:4; cf. Exod 6:6; 7:4), and although Egyptian religious functionaries (magicians and diviners) are major characters throughout the plague narrative, no reference is deemed necessary in the locust plague (the eighth) to the certain consequence of depriving the Egyptian temples and gods of needed sacrificial material. In other words, in precisely the place where the Bible could be expected to use a motif, were it a common one, it does not. The contrast with the theologically laden Exodus pericope makes the parallels between Joel and the Nanaya hymn all the more striking.

The unique and striking correlation between the two texts calls for some explanation. It is hard to imagine that two such similar texts are completely unrelated, but how may they be connected? If the passage from the Nanaya hymn were found instead in the book of Psalms or in a Ugaritic prayer, it could be seized upon without hesitation as the source of Joel's locust language. But since it comes from a more remote Assyrian text, such a conclusion is, of course, more difficult.

come to light in the newly published inscriptions of Ninurta-kudurru-ušur, governor of Mari and Suḫu in the eighth century BCE. See A. Cavigneaux and B. K. Ismail, "Die Statthalter von Suḫu und Mari im 8. Jh. v. Chr.," *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 21 (1990) 321–456 + pl. 35–38 esp. 344 col. ii 2–3 and passim, *šiltahū kīma eribū eli harrānija išubbū*, "javelins quivered over my camp like locusts." In this metaphor the comparison with the locusts illustrates the number, sharpness, speed, altitude, sound, and unsteady motion of a massive number of javelins in flight.

¹⁶ Among the references listed in CAD E 257 s.v. *erbu* cl', *akālu* is the only term used to describe the locusts' destructive effect. The only exception is the passage from the Nanaya hymn. *'ākal* is also employed in Amos 7:2 to describe the *gōbay*.

¹⁷ Joel 2:25 speaks of the "years" during which the locusts devoured the land. This indicates several repeated visitations and not some swift, one-time event such as the locust plague in Egypt. Nor are such extended attacks unknown in Akkadian sources. A letter from Mari speaks of a three-year infestation of locusts. See C. F. Jean, "Lettres de Mari IV transcrites et traduites" *RA* 42 (1948) 53–78, esp. 70 no. 10 line 5 *ištu šanāti 3-kam ina qāt erbiḥ halši eburam ul ēpušma*, "for three years because of the affliction of the locust, the district has not produced crops." The same period of time for a locust plague is given by a much later Babylonian astronomical diary. See H. Hunger, *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings* (State Archives of Assyria 8; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1992) no. 502:15–16 [1] MUL.zi-ba-ni-tum a-dir MU-3-KÁM BURU₅.ĪI.A ZI-ma BURU₁₄ KUR KÚ KI.MIN BURU₅.ĪI.A. KUR KÚ [x] BURU₁₄ im-ṭi-i KUR KÚ MU-3-KÁM is-[x]-ka, "[If Libra is dark: for three years locusts will attack and devour the harvest of the land. variant: locusts will devour the land; the land will have to eat a reduced harvest; three years. . ."]

At the very least, the parallel indicates that Joel has employed traditional language which only by chance has not been recorded elsewhere.¹⁸ It is certainly possible that both works reflect independently the traditional, formulaic diction of a larger body of still-unknown *liturgical* compositions¹⁹ used in the temples of the ancient Near East in the not-unlikely event of a locust plague. If so, Joel's penchant for traditional rhetoric, established thus far on the sole basis of biblical parallels, is seen to be even greater than previously assumed.²⁰

¹⁸ Following previous commentators, W. S. Prinsloo goes to considerable lengths to list both "traditions" and stereotyped phraseology employed by Joel (*The Theology of the Book of Joel* [BZAW 163; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1985] *seriatim*). The language discussed here deserves at the very least a prominent place in the second category. J. Jungmann has in the most intense effort to date devoted eighty-six pages (10–50, 80–126) to cataloguing and analyzing diachronically all the linguistic and stylistic parallels between Joel and other biblical books ("Major literary phenomena in the book of Joel as a key to the problem of its unity and date of composition" [Ph.D. dissertation, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1987] Hebrew with English abstract). Few of the parallels adduced involve greater similarity than the parallels between Joel and the Nanaya hymn. The fact that certain language or ideas are nowhere else attested in the Bible does not mean that they are any less "traditional" or "stereotyped" than well-attested idioms and concepts. After all, the prophets and scribes of ancient Israel were certainly and certifiably familiar with and drew upon a larger written or oral corpus of literature than that preserved in the extant twenty-four books of the Hebrew Bible.

¹⁹ Apart from the Nanaya hymn there are several other indications of concern with locusts in Assyrian religious praxis. An incantation concerning locusts is listed in the famous "exorcist's manual" from Assur, KAR 44 line 22. It is referred to as KÚ! (written KA) BUR₅ DIB.BI.DA (= *akāl* [written *pû*] *erbi šūtuqi*), "(an incantation for) removing the devouring (written mouth) of the locust" (reading and interpretation according to J. Bottéro, *Mythes et Rites de Babylone* (Geneva/Paris: Slatkine-Champion, 1985) 78. Such an incantation may actually be preserved in the still-unpublished and fragmentary K. 8151 + K. 3270, which contains the colophonic title line [x]BUR₅ DIB.BI.DA.KE₄ (see C. Bezold, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum* [London: British Museum, 1889–99] 2. 899). The often-reproduced glazed brick orthostat from Assur picturing a single locust above the head of a worshiper may also be related to a locust plague. It can be imagined that the supplicant is asking his god to drive off the locusts or thanking him for having done so. For the picture and interpretation, see *inter alia* W. Andrae, *Coloured Ceramics from Ashur, and earlier ancient Assyrian wall paintings, from photographs and water colours by members of the Ashur expedition organised by the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1925) 10, 29–31 and ANEP 314 n. 535.

²⁰ P. R. Andriach, "The Locusts in the Message of Joel," VT 42 (1992) 433–41 appeared too late to be considered in this paper. His conclusion that Joel's locusts are not real but symbolic is based partially on metaphoric use of locusts in Mesopotamian sources. Were he aware of the Nanaya hymn he would have to revise his conclusions.

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A HYMN FROM A CAVE FOUR HODAYOT MANUSCRIPT: 4Q427 7 i + ii

EILEEN SCHULLER

McMaster University, Hamilton, Ont. L8S 4K1

Among the manuscripts found in cave 4 at Qumran are six fragmentary scrolls of poetic texts, 4Q427–432. These clearly overlap with the much larger and better preserved manuscript from cave 1 published by E. L. Sukenik in 1954 as the *Thanksgiving Scroll* (מְנִילַת הַהַדְרִיּוֹת).¹ The cave 4 copies of the *Hodayot*, five of parchment and one of papyrus, were assigned to the allotment of John Strugnell for publication. In 1956, Strugnell gave a brief description of those manuscripts: “Ils complètent le ms. de 1Q en plusieurs endroits où il est lacuneux, et nous permettent de voir que l’ordre des hymnes dans la collection était variable.”²

In 1990, Strugnell asked me to prepare the 4QH manuscripts for publication in a forthcoming volume of the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series (DJD). Although none of the 4QH manuscripts had been published to date, a great deal of work had already been done on them. In the late 1960s Strugnell had prepared transcriptions and translations, a detailed study of paleography and orthography, and the first draft of a commentary; these he has generously made available to me. In addition, Hartmut Stegemann worked extensively on these texts at various times between 1964 and 1985, together with Strugnell; in addition to Stegemann’s own transcriptions, I have had access to two documents from him (of about fifty pages each) of notes, new readings and restorations, suggestions and critiques. In the preparation of this article, I have worked through all of this once again; although the actual writing has been

¹ *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*, edited by E. L. Sukenik, prepared for the press by N. Avigad (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1954; English edition 1955). Although it has been customary to designate this large manuscript simply as 1QH, 1Q35 contains overlapping material and thus is another copy of the same work (as was recognized many years ago by John Strugnell and Hartmut Stegemann; see the note by H.-W. Kuhn, in *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil* [SUNT 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966] 17 n. 1; also E. Puech, “Quelques aspects de la restauration du Rouleau des Hymnes (1QH),” *JJS* 39 [1988] 38–40). Thus, it would be more correct to speak of 1QH^a (= 1QH) and 1QH^b (= 1Q35). However, for this paper I will keep to the more established designation 1QH (especially since 1QH^b = 1Q35 does not play a part in the discussion).

² J. Strugnell, “Le travail d’édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumrân,” *RB* 63 (1956) 64.

my work and the final decisions my responsibility, what is presented here reflects a long process of collaborative work.³

This article is a preliminary publication of the largest and one of the most interesting pieces found in the 4Q *Hodayot* collection. 4Q427 7 has two columns preserving thirty-nine lines, two-thirds of them virtually complete. There is overlap with fragments from 1QH, 4QH428 and 4QH431 (see below) which allows the restoration of some additional lines and lacunae. One of the most interesting aspects of this hymn is the relationship of its first section to the puzzling fragment 4Q491 11 i, published by M. Baillet under the title "Cantique de Michel et cantiques des justes";⁴ the parallels will be indicated in the Commentary section and discussed further in the General Comments. In addition, there is another small fragment, 4Q471b, with approximately twenty words of text, which seems to be another version of this work.⁵

The publication of 4Q427 7 adds a significant hymn to the collection of the *Hodayot*. Hopefully presentation in this preliminary form, even though certain problems remain unresolved, will stimulate discussion of this text before the final edition.

I. Introductory Remarks

Although 4Q427 7 is the most complete copy of this hymn found at Qumran, it does overlap with other more fragmentary copies of this work: 4Q427 7 i 10–22 overlaps with 1QH xxvi 6–17 (= frgs. 56 ii 1–5; 46 ii 1–5; 55 ii 1–3);⁶ 4Q427 7 ii 2–10 overlaps with 4Q431 1.1–9; 4Q427 7 ii 7–19 overlaps

³ In addition, I would like to thank E. Puech for consultation on readings and various other suggestions.

⁴ M. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4, III (4Q482–4Q520)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982) 26–29.

⁵ 4Q471b is the designation given to this fragment in the preliminary list of texts published by E. Tov, "The Unpublished Qumran Texts from Caves 4 & 11," *JJS* 43 (1992) 125. It will be published by E. Eshel. This is the fragment referred to by Baillet as 4QSl 86 frg. 6 in his notes on the Michael text.

⁶ The placement of 1QH frgs. 56 ii, 46 ii, 55 ii and 7 ii in col. xxvi 6–17 is based on the reconstruction of 1QH prepared H. Stegemann as part of his 1963 dissertation (unpublished) for the University of Heidelberg. It should be recalled that Sukenik had published 1QH as 18 columns and 66 unplaced fragments. Already in 1955, in his review of this first edition, J. Milik had recognized that "il faudra essayer de mettre [ces fragments] en ordre, autant que sera possible" (*RB* 62 [1955] 601). J. Carmignac took up the challenge in a series of articles in which he recognized a number of significant joins (especially frgs. 15b + 18 + 22), although his specific division of the material into two separate manuscripts has not stood the test of time (for bibliography and critique of Carmignac's work, see Puech, "Quelques aspects de la restauration," 38–55). Puech, working independently of Stegemann, reconstructed the order of the manuscript (an outline of which is published in "Quelques aspects de la restauration," 40–53) and came up with virtually the same arrangement of columns. Thus, in describing col. xxvi, Puech writes (p. 51), "La deuxième colonne de cette dernière feuille est composée des fr. 56 II + 46 II + 55 II et de 7 II."

Stegemann is preparing to publish a complete reconstruction of 1QH, with extensive notes and commentary, and I am grateful to him for making available a preliminary copy. In referring to 1QH, I have used first the revised numbers for columns and lines (according to Stegemann's reconstruction) with the Sukenik numbers in parentheses for easy reference.

with 1QH xxvi 26–38 (= frg. 7 ii 1–13); 4Q427 7 ii 20a–23 overlaps with 4Q428 15.1–4.

The height of the column in frg. 7 can be established as twenty-three lines. In frg. 7 ii, the fullest column preserved in 4Q427, there are twenty-one lines. Given the overlap with 1QH and 4Q431 1, and recognizing that the lines in 4Q427 7 i are slightly shorter than the lines of 1QH xxvi, it can be established that two lines must be missing from the top of col. 7 ii, thus fixing a height of twenty-three lines. Throughout this article, the lines in frg. 7 are numbered according to the original column. The width of the lines in col. i averages forty-two corrected letter spaces; col. ii (according to the restorations proposed) is slightly wider, about forty-eight corrected letter spaces.

According to the study made by Strugnell, this hand can be classified as late-Hasmonean or early-Herodian semicursive;⁷ it can be dated to the period 75–25 BCE. As is typical in semicursive hands, there are many examples of medial letters used in final position, and the spacing between words is at times erratic. The scribe indicates erasure with a dot above the letter (the clearest example is in 7 ii 16; see discussion at 7 ii 9, 20a and 20). The orthography is generally full in its use of *waw* and *yod*, although there are some anomalous forms (e.g., יבא in 7 i 10). כיא is spelled regularly with *aleph*.

Although it cannot be proved absolutely, col. ii is best taken as a continuation of the hymn in col. i, rather than as a new hymn. In support of this, we can note (1) it is unlikely that 7 i 22 is the conclusion of a hymn with a new hymn beginning in the lacuna of 7 i 23 (there is scarcely enough space for a suitable opening formula, especially if there is an indentation);⁸ (2) a new hymn cannot have begun in 7 ii 1 since the last word of 7 i 23, ומקור, requires some completion; (3) theoretically a new hymn could have begun in 7 ii 2 or even 7 ii 3, but the words restored from 4Q431 in lines 2 and 3 are hardly suitable as initial phrases of a hymn;⁹ (4) the first person plural occurs in both columns, although it is rare in the *Hodayot* (appearing only in 1QH vi 13 (= frg. 18.2); vii 13, 17, 18, 19 (= frg. 10.2, 6, 7, 8)).¹⁰ Thus I will treat cols. i and ii as a single hymn.

⁷ According to the typology developed by F. M. Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (ed. G. E. Wright; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961) 182 and fig. 4 on p. 149. A fuller paleographic study will be part of the definitive edition of 4Q427 in DJD.

⁸ The scribal practice of spacing between hymns in 4Q427 cannot be established with certainty since there are so few examples. In 4Q427 3 ii 5, there seems to be a partial line *vacat* and then a new section begins למשכיל with no indentation.

⁹ The only other extended eschatological passage in the *Hodayot* 1QH xi 20–37 (= iii 19–36) comes toward the end of the hymn.

¹⁰ Other readings of first person plural that have been proposed in the past can now be eliminated: frg. 55 ii 2, which Sukenik read as פילנו, is to be read as ויהשןפיל נועדות as confirmed by the overlap with 4Q427 7 i 20; frg. 47.1, which Sukenik read as גשמח, Stegemann now reads בשמחה.

II. Text

	Col. i
[	5
[דע	6
[תי	7
[כאלים	8
[] [בלשון יעודני	9
[צ רע לקדושים ולוא יבא	10 ול
[ולכבו] די לוא ידמה כ[י] א אני עמ אלימ מעמ[ן]	11
[וכבד או הד] לא כפו אכ " " לי וכתם או ביורים לוא	12
[בי וה] לוא יחשב כי זמרו ידידמ שירו למלכ	13
[הכבוד שמחו בע] דת אל הרנינו באהל יצועה הללו במעון	14
[קודש ר] וממו יחד בצבא עולם הכו גדול לאלנו וכבוד למלכנו	15
[הקדי] שו שמו כשפתי עז ולשון נצח הרימו לבד קולכמה	16
[בכ] ול קצימ השמיעו הגידנה הביעו בשמחות עולמים ואין	17
[ה] שבת השחוו כיחד קהל ברכו המפלי גאות ומודיע עז ידו	18
[ל] חתומ רזים ולגלות נסתרות להרימ כושלים ונופליהמה	19
[לש] ב לכת קוי דעות ולהשפיל נועדות רומ גאים עולם	20
[להת] מ רזי ה[וד] ולהק[ים] פל[א]ות כבוד השופט באפ כלה	21
[] בחסד צדקה וברוב רחמים תחנה	22 ל
[] רחמים למפרי טוב גדלו ומקור	23
	Col. ii
[	1]
[ותמה רשעה	2]
[שבתה מ] דהבה[ן] שבת נוגש בזעם	3]
[כלת] ה רמיה ואין נעוות כלוא דעת הופיע אור וש[מחה תביע אבד]	4
אבל ונס יגון הופיע שלום שבת פחד נפתח מקור לב[רכת עד]	5

- 6 ומרפא בכול קצי עולם כלה עוון שבת נגע לאין מחלנה נאספה עולה]
- 7 [ואשמ]ה לואן תהיה [עוון]ה שמינו ואמן]רו גדול אל עושה פלא]
- 8 כיא השפיל גבהות רוח לאין שרית וירם מעפר אביון ל]רום עולם]
- 9 ועד שחקים יגבירוהו בקומה ועמ אלים בעדת יחד ורפ []
- 10 אפ לכלת עולם וכושלי ארצ ירים לאין מחיר וגב]ורת עד עם]
- 11 מצעדס ושמחת עולם במכונהמה כבוד נצח ואין השבת [לעולמי עד]
- 12 יומרו ברוכ אל ה]מפ[לי פ]לאות גאות ומגדיל להופיע גבורה] ומצדיק]
- 13 בדעת לכול מעשיו וטוב על פניהמה בדעתמה ברוכ חס]דיו והמון]
- 14 רחמיו לכול בני אמתו ידענוכה אל הצדק והשכלנון כאמתכה מלך]
- 15 הכבוד כיא ראינו קנאתכה בכוח גבורתכה והכרנו מ]שפטיכה בהמון]
- 16 רחמיכהם והפלא סליחות מה בשר לאלה ומה יחש]ב עפר ואפר]
- 17 לספר אלה מקצ לקצ ולהתיצב כמעמ]ן לפניכה ולבוא ביחד עם]
- 18 בני שמים ואין מליצ להשיב] דבר כפיכה ו []
- 19 לכה כיא העמדתנו לרצ]ונכה בגבול עולה ונעצור]
- 20 שמע נפלאותיכה] []
- 20 כוח להשיב לכה כ]אלה []
- 21 דברנו לכה ולוא לאיש כ]נים והטיתה]
- 22 או]ן]למוצא שפטינו השמי]עו ואמורו ברוך אל הדעות הנוטה]
- 23 שמים בכוחו וכול מחשביהמה מ]בין כ]עוון ארצ בגבור]תו []

Overlap indicated with solid line:

- 7 i 10-14 = 1QH xxvi 6-10 (frg. 56 ii 1-5)
 7 i 14-18 = 1QH xxvi 10-14 (frg. 46 ii 1-5)
 7 i 19-22 = 1QH xxvi 15-17 (frg. 55 ii 1-3)
 7 ii 2-10 = 4Q43I 1.1-9
 7 ii 20a-23 = 4Q428 15.1-4

Overlap indicated with broken line:

- 7 ii 7-19 = 1QH xxvi 26-38 (frg. 7 ii 1-13)

Translation:

6.] ...
 7.] ..

8.] among the heavenly beings
 9.] . [] with a tongue *he will connect me*;
 10. [and . . .] . . *evil* to the holy ones,
 and it will not come[/¹¹
 and to] my [glo]ry it will not be comparable.
 As for me, [my] place is with the heavenly beings,
 [/¹²and glory or *splen*]dor I will not [] for myself by gold,
 and refined gold or *precious material* [I will] not [/¹³ for myself,
 and] will not be reckoned for me.

Sing, *O beloved ones*,
 sing to the king of [/¹⁴glory,
 rejoice in the assem]bly of God,
 ring forth joy in the tents of salvation,
 give praise in the [holy] habitation,
 /¹⁵[ex]tol together among the eternal hosts,
 ascribe greatness to our God and glory to our king;
 /¹⁶[*make ho*]ly his name with strong lips and mighty tongue,
 lift up your voices *as one*/¹⁷ [at al] times,
 proclaim the sound of a ringing cry,
 rejoice with everlasting joy
 and /¹⁸ unceasingly *bow down* in the united assembly.

Bless the one who wonderfully does majestic deeds,
 who makes known his strong hand,
 /¹⁹[se]aling mysteries and revealing hidden things,
 raising up those who stumble and those among them who fall
 /²⁰[*by res*]toring *the way* of those who wait for knowledge,
 but casting down *the lofty assemblies of the eternally proud*,
 /²¹[*confirm*]ing mysteries of *spl*[endor] and establ[ishing] glorious
ma[rvels];

(bless) the one who judges with destructive wrath,
 /²²[.

] in loving-kindness, righteousness, and in abundant mercy,
 favor

/²³[]

mercy for those who *frustrate his great goodness*,
 and a source of/¹

2 and wickedness perishes

3 and op]pression [ceases; the oppressor ceases with indignation]

/⁴deceit [end]s and there are no witless perversities,

light appears, and j[o]y *pours forth*;

/⁵grief [disappears], and groaning flees;

peace appears, terror ceases,
 a fountain is opened for et[ernal blessing] /⁶ and (for) healing for
 times everlasting;
 iniquity ends, affliction ceases so that there is no more sick[ness,
injustice is removed /⁷ and *guilt is* no m[ore].

Pr]oclaim and say:

Great is God who ac[ts *wonderfully*],
 /⁸for he casts down the haughty spirit so that there is no remnant,
 and lifts up the poor from the dust to [*the eternal height*],
 /⁹and to the clouds he magnifies him in stature,
 and (*he is*) with the heavenly beings in the congregation of the
 community,
 and . . . [] /¹⁰wrath for eternal destruction.
 Those who stumble on earth he lifts up without price,
 and [*everlasting*] *mi[ght is with]* /¹²their step and eternal joy in their
 habitations,
 everlasting glory without ceasing [*forever and ever*].

/¹²They are to say:

Blessed is God who [works m]ighty marvels,
 who acts mightily to reveal (his) power,
 who does righteously /¹³in knowledge to all his creatures
and (in) goodness upon their faces,
 so they might know the abundance of his loving-[*kindnesses*,
 and the multitude of] /¹⁴his mercies to all the children of his truth.

We have known you, O God of righteousness,
 and we have understood [*your truth*, O king of] /¹⁵glory;
 for we have seen your zeal with your powerful strength,
 and we have recognized [your] ju[dgments in abundant] /¹⁶mercies
 and marvelous forgiveness.

What is flesh in relation to these things?

How are [*dust and clay*] to be reckoned /¹⁷to recount these things
 continually

and to take a stand in place [*before you*
and come into community with] /¹⁸the sons of heaven?

There is no intermediary to ans[wer at your command
 and] /¹⁹to you;

for you established us at [your good] p[leas]ure at *the limit of iniquity*

[
 and we retain] /²⁰strength to hear marvels *like [these*

[]
 /²¹we spoke to you and not to an interme[diary]

[
and you inclined] /²²an ear to the utterance of our lips .

Procl[aim and say:

Blessed be the God of knowledge

who stretched out] /²³the heavens in his might,

and est[ablished] all their structures [by] his strength,

the earth by [his] might[

III. Commentary

7 i 6: רע [: The second letter is *dalet* or *resh*. The first letter could possibly be a *yod* with an unusually narrow head.

7 i 9: בלשון יעדני [: It is difficult to distinguish *yod* and *waw*; however, the use of the first person elsewhere in lines 10–13 supports the first person suffix. The head of the fourth letter is anomalous, but more likely *dalet* than *resh*. The word could possibly be taken as an adverbial form from עור (though this is not used in suffixed form in the *Hodayot*), or from the verb יער (note the nominal form in line 20 נוערות). However, in light of the parallel text in 4Q491 11 i 17 יועדני (and the same form in 1QH xxiv 7 = frg. 50.3 + 9.2), this can be taken from the root עור, an orthographic variant of the form *yu'udeni*).¹¹

7 i 10: רע לקרושים ולוא יבא [: The position of the detached fragment is materially certain with the two pieces joining at the *waw* of לקרושים. The first letters of the line are restored from 1QH xxvi 6 (= frg. 56 ii 1), though the exact reading is very uncertain.¹²

The traces after the lacuna are somewhat odd; the last letter is best taken as a medial *ṣade* with the width of the arm accounting for the distance of the first bit of ink. The context as a whole and the reference to אלים in lines 8 and 11 suggest taking קרושים as the angelic holy ones, a usage that is very frequent in the *Hodayot*;¹³ however, קרושים could also designate earthly “holy ones” (cf. 1QH xix 15 [= xi 12]). It is possible to read רע either as “evil” or as “companion,” and it is difficult to decide between the two. The parallel phrases in 4Q491 11 i 16 רע הרמה ביא [] ומיא, and in 4Q471b 6.6 רע לק [] are equally ambiguous.¹⁴ If the speaker is describing himself as “a companion

¹¹ I owe this interpretation to E. Qimron, who is publishing an extended discussion of similar forms elsewhere in the Dead Sea Scrolls. For the root עור with a meaning “connect,” see H. Yalon, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Philological Essays* (Jerusalem, 1967) 86 (Hebrew).

¹² This and many other readings from 1QH will be discussed in fuller detail in the forthcoming commentary by Stegemann (see n. 5).

¹³ Kuhn, “Exkurs IV: Der Ausdruck ‘die Heiligen’ in den Qumrantexten und im sonstigen Spätjudentum,” in *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 90–93.

¹⁴ In 4Q491 11 i 16 Baillet restores בןקל (which is somewhat too short) and reads “et y a-t-il quelque compagnon qui se soit rendu semblable à moi?” M. Smith reconstructs ומיא [לסבר] רע

to the holy ones,” it is difficult to propose a subject for יבא and ידמה; perhaps we have here a contrast between an evil figure who “does not come . . .” and “is not comparable” and the speaker who describes his exalted position in the next line (כיא אני עם אלים).

7 i 10–11: [] : ולא יבא : One or two words at the beginning of line 11 complete the colon. The verb is *qal*, not *hiphil*, given the form יבא in the overlap in 1QH xxvi 7 (= frg. 56 ii 2) and in 4Q491 11 i 13 ביא יבא ולא; here, the defective orthography is unusual.

7 i 11: לוא ידמה : ולכבודי לוא ידמה : cf. 4Q491 11 i 13 [כבודי לוא ידמה (though here ידמה is expunctuated), and 11 i 15 ומיא בכבודי ידמה לוא. The reconstruction with *waw* before כבודי presumes the same subject for ידמה as for יבא, since the space in the lacuna is so short.

[כין] אני עם אלים מעמון : The last word is damaged, but quite certain. The colon, though not found in this precise form elsewhere, incorporates much standard phraseology of the *Hodayot*. For the statement of being with (עם) the angels, cf. 1QH xi 22 (= iii 21), xix 10, 16, 17, 28 (= xi 7, 13, 14, 25), xxiii 34 (= frg. 2.14), vii 17, 18 (= frg. 10.6, 7), xxv 5 (= frg. 5.3);¹⁵ מעמד is used ten times, especially מאתכה מעמדי 1QH x 24 (= ii 22); for אלים as a term for angels, cf. 1QH vii 28 (quoting Exod 15:11), x 8, xxiii 23, 30 (= frg. 2.3, 10), 4Q491 11 i 14, 18, 4Q471 6.4, six examples in 4QShirShabb.

7 i 12: לי : [וכבוד או הדר] לא כפו אכ : לי is restored from 1QH xxvi 8 (= frg. 56 ii 3). This may be a parallel colon describing the psalmist's communion with angels (cf. 4Q491 11 i 18 המלך עם בני המלך) with לא כפו beginning a new colon, but the space is very short. Instead I have restored או הדר as a double object of the verb (based on a similar reading for the next phrase כחם או כיורים, but see below for discussion of the difficulties here); for the combination cf. 1QH xx 18 (= xii 15), 1Q19 13–14.2, 1QS iv 7, 8. A restoration [כול יקר לי בכבוד] based on 4Q491 11 i 14 is slightly too long.

Although the verb is uncertain, the general sense of these two cola seems to be the standard wisdom maxim that certain things of real value cannot be purchased for money and gold (cf. 1QH vi 31 (= xiv 20), 4Q525 1 iii 2–7). 4Q491 11 i 18 reads [כפן] לוא כחם אופירימן,¹⁶ which does not help with restoring the verb; 4Q471 6.8 has only כפן כחם. The traces do not lend themselves to an expected verb; they might fit אכמה (cf. Ps 63:2), but that is difficult in this context.

ידמה ביא, “and who is like me [in bearing] evil?” (“Ascent to the Heavens and Deification in 4QM^a,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* [ed. L. H. Schiffman; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990] 185).

¹⁵ For further examples, see Kuhn, “Die Gemeinschaft mit den Engeln in den Qumrantexten,” in *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 66–67.

¹⁶ Both Baillet and Smith restore [כפן], but there seems to be sufficient space to read [כפן].

7 i 12–13: בין] וכתם או ביורים לוא : There are two different ways of approaching this difficult phrase. The translation proposes taking ביורים and כתם as two parallel nouns. For כתם by itself, cf. Job 31:24; Prov 25:12; 4Q179 1 ii 11; Sir 6:29 = 2Q2 10. The otherwise unattested noun ביורים would have to be a rare and specialized term for precious material.¹⁷ The other alternative is to take this as a scribal error for אופירים; cf. Isa 13:12; Job 28:16; Ps 45:10; note especially 4Q491 11 i 18. However, the orthography of *waw/yod* in ביורים is then very difficult to explain. The final word in the colon (בי or בו) is from 1QH xxvi 9 (= frg. 56 ii 4).

7 i 13: לוא יחשב כי [וה : On material grounds, the verb could also be read נחשב; cf. 4Q491 11 i 15 [מ]יא לבח נחשב ביא.

זמרו ידירם שירו למלכ [הכבוד : ידירים can best be taken as the vocative – that is, those summoned, whether angels or humans, to give praise in this long series of imperatives. For ידירים as a title of endearment in the plural for humans, see Ps 60:7 = 108:7; 127:2; Jer 11:15; and the frequent use of *agapētoi* in the NT; as an angelic title, see *Ascension of Isaiah* 4:1 et al. The term appears in the singular in 4Q471 6.6 [ידיר המלך רע לק. Less likely alternatives are to take ידירים as the object “sing lovely things” (though in this case ידירות would be more usual; cf. Ps 45:1); or as a divine epithet “sing to the Beloved” (cf. Isa 5:1).

At the start of line 14, מלך הכבוד fits the space exactly. For מלך הכבוד, see Ps 24:7–10; 1QM xii 9, xix 1; frequently in 4QShirShabb; the same phrase is partially restored in 7 ii 14–15. For the parallelism זמר/שיר, see Pss 68:5, 33; 105:2; 108:2.

7 i 14: שמחו בעזרת אל : שמח is restored from 1QH xxvi 10 (= join of frg. 56 ii 5 and 46 ii 1); this is clearly another imperative, rather than a noun. Other restorations would fit the very slight traces which remain of the next word, e.g., גבורת אל, but the parallel phrases do not suggest mention of a quality. For בעזרת אל, the heavenly council, see Ps 82:1 and its quotation in 11QMelch ii 10; 4Q427 3 i 5; 1QM iv 9 and related expressions (עזרת אלים, 1QM i 10; עזרת בני שמים, 1QH xi 23 [= iii 22]; עזרת קדושיכה, 1QH xxv 5 [= frg. 5.3]; עזרת משרתי, 4Q405 23 i 3).

באהלי כבוד וישועה : Cf. 1QH xx 6 (= xii 3) הרנינו באהלי ישועה.¹⁸

7 i 14–15: הללו במעון [קדש] : A number of different restorations can be proposed: קדש gives the best alignment of the margin (cf. 1QH xx 5 [= xii 2]); קדשו is possible, though other phrases in this section are without the suffix; הקדש, as in 4Q491 11 i 15 and 20, may be a bit long; כבוד (cf. 1QH xxiv 12 [= frg. 9.7]) is unlikely in light of the restoration in line 14.

¹⁷ John Huehnergard (private correspondence) suggested *burumitu* (“lapis lazuli”) attested in South Babylonian lexical texts. E. Puech has suggested the Akkadian *bu’aru* (“health, prosperity”), a root that may account for the apparent diphthong behind the *yod/waw* spelling.

¹⁸ The reading is that of Strugnell and Stegemann; Sukenik had read איהלו ב וישועה.

7 i 15: רְוַמּוֹ יחד בצבא עולם : The verb is confirmed by 1QH xxvi 11 (= frg. 46 ii 2). For יחד as “in oneness/in unison,” see Job 38:7; Isa 52:8; Ps 98:8; Isa 65:25 (באחד as compared to יחד in Isa 11:6).¹⁹ For צבא עולם, cf. צבא עד, 1QH xix 16 (= xi 13).

הבו גדול לאלנו וכבוד למלכנו : A reworking of common biblical phrases: Deut 32:3, הבו גדל לאלהינו; הבו כבוד, cf. Ps 29:1, 2; 96:7, 8. For the alteration מלכנו/אלהים, see Ps 47:7. For the aramaizing noun גדול, see 1QH xviii 18 (= x 16), xix 32 (= xi 29), vi 34 (= xiv 23), viii 30 (= xvi 12).

7 i 16: הקדי[שו שמו בשפתי עז ולשון נצח] : [הקדי[שו] fits both the traces (assuming a more formal *shin*, as in 7 ii 6) and the space before the margin. Other verbs more commonly used with “name” as the object are either too short (e.g., ברכו) or do not fit the traces (e.g., הללו). Although often it is God who makes holy his name (Ezek 36:22–28), humans (cf. Isa 29:23) and angels do so also. For שפתי עז ולשון נצח, see Ps 68:34 (קול עז) and a possible restoration of כפי עז in 1QH xxv 33 (= frg. 8.9); נצח as parallel to עז has the sense of “strong, mighty.”²⁰

7 i 16–18: The section from הרימו to קהל can be divided into cola in a number of ways, but the division in the translation produces the most regular and idiomatic cola.

הרימו לבד קולכמה [בכ]ל קצים : הרימו לבד here would seem to indicate oneness, unison; cf. יחד in line 15; Zech 12:12–14.

7 i 17: השמיעו הנירנה : Although the scribe certainly wrote a *dalet*, the imperative הנירנה cannot be correct and is to be emended to רנה,²¹ especially given the same expression in 4Q491 11 i 21, ה[שמיעו בהניא רנה]. Apart from the specific designation ספר ההגי (1QS^a i 7; CD x 6, xiii 2, xiv 8), הגי occurs by itself in 1QH xix 5, 24 (= xi 2, 21) and 4Q418 2 i 16, 17; here the sense must be more that of “resounding music” rather than “meditation.”²²

הביעו בשמחות עולמים : The verb is taken as the *hiphil* of the Aramaic בוע; cf. 1QM xix 7; 4Q525 2 ii 2.²³ For the expression שמחות עולמים, see Isa 35:10; 61:7; 4Q427 7 ii 11/1QH xxvi 30 (= frg. 7 ii 5), xxiii 16 (= xviii 15); 1QS iv 7.²⁴

¹⁹ See the discussion of M. Weinfeld, “The Heavenly Praise in Unison,” in *Meqor Hayyim: Festschrift für G. Molin* (ed. I. Seybold; Graz: Akademische Druck u. Verlagsanstalt, 1983) 427–37, esp. 428.

²⁰ E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986) 93, and the bibliography there.

²¹ For another possible interchange of *dalet* and *resh*, see 1QH xiii 15 (= v 13) ורנת/ורנה; see the discussion of S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (Åarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960) 95 n. 29.

²² Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 20.

²³ J. Carmignac, *La règle de la guerre des fils de lumière contre les fils de ténèbres* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1958) 261; Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 500.1.

²⁴ On the frequency of plurals in Qumran Hebrew, see Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 330.3; note Ps 16:11; 45:16.

7 i 18: השח״ו בִּיחַר קהל : The letter after *shin* is best read as *he* or *het*; other readings like השירׁו are difficult on material grounds. This may be a scribal error for השח״ו (but this proposal can only be very tentative). Only faint traces remain of ביחר, but these fit the reading at this point in 1QH xxvi 14 (= frg. 46 ii 5). The combination קהל יחר is not found elsewhere.

אתה האל, ברכו המפלי גאות ומודיע עז ידו : The phrase is close to Ps 77:15, עשה פלא הודעת בעמים עזך (כי גאות עשה). Note also Isa 12:5 (הנמפלי [פלאות גאות]). For the participle מפליא, see Judg 13:19; 4Q427 3 i 8; 4Q491 8–10 i 6. 4Q491 11 i 23 has an infinitive rather than a participle at this point, ה להודיע ידו בכוחן.

7 i 19: [ל]חתום ריום ולגלות נסתרות : I have taken lines 19–21 as a series of three contrasts: להתם/להקיים, להרים/להשפיל, לחתום/לגלות (see discussion below), for the phrase “to seal the mystery,” see 1QH xvi 12 (= viii 11); for “to seal the vision,” see Dan 9:24; 4Q300 1 ii 2; for “to reveal the hidden things,” see CD iii 13–14.

7 i 19–20: להרים כושלים ונופליהמה [לש]ב לכת קוי דעות ולהשפיל נוערות רום גאים : The translation takes the basic contrast as between ולהרים and ולהשפיל, therefore treating the intermediate phrases as subordinate. The reversal motif of casting down and raising up is well attested in hymns; see 2 Sam 2:6–8; Ps 145:14; Sir 10:14; 11:5–6; Luke 1:52; 1QM xiv 11, 15 (= 4Q491 8–10 i 8, 12). See also 7 ii 8, 10.

To keep the right margin, only two letters can be restored in line 20; thus the proposal ולשיב = [לש]ב להשיב; cf. לאין השב (1QH xi 28 [= iii 27]) and ולשיב (1QH xx 23 [= xii 20]). For this sense of לכת, see 1QS iv 5, v 4, viii 2. The expression קוי דעות is not found elsewhere, but is obviously a designation of the pious.

The phrase ולהשפיל נוערות רום גאים עולם is long. It might be possible to break earlier (after רום or even נוערות) and take the remaining words as object of the infinitive to be restored at the start of line 21; but there is no *waw* and line 21 then becomes more difficult. Although various nominal forms of יעד are attested (1QH vii 17 [= frg. 10.6], xiii 25 [= v 23], 4Q403 1.16, 25), the feminine plural form נוערות is not found elsewhere; the overlap in 1QH xxvi 16 (= frg. 55 ii 2) has the singular נוערת עולם. גאים must be either in apposition or read as the construct גאי with the addition of a *mem*.²⁵ Much of the vocabulary is dependent on Isa 2:11–12.

7 i 21: [להתם] רוי הַיּוֹד [ולהקנים] פלאות כבוד : It is difficult to restore this final bicola with any degree of certainty, though if the pattern of contrasting infinitives is still operative, this can provide the basic framework. להקנים is

²⁵ The addition of a nasal to a word ending with an open syllable is more common than often noted in the scrolls; for a brief discussion, see Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 27. Qimron proposes another occurrence in line 22 (וכרוב רחמים תחנה), although it is less certain certain there.

not certain (the final traces could be a *samek*) but is supported by the corresponding line in 4Q491 11 i 22, [ם להקים קרן מען]. Restoring [להת] fits the space well and gives a good contrast with [להקים]; however, it is difficult to maintain the negative sense since a phrase such as רוי פשע (cf. 1QH xiii 38 [= v 36], xxiv 9 [= frg. 50.5]) cannot fit the traces. Perhaps in this final phrase, the contrast is not so emphasized, and [להת] has more the sense of “bring to completion”; רוי הוד is not attested elsewhere, but the more common expressions (רוי שכל, רוי פלא) are eliminated on paleographic grounds. The restoration נפלאות is very tentative; the space and traces would also allow מזמות or מזמות.

7 i 21–22: [ל] : השופט באפ כלה : The articular participle suggests that the phrase is a continuation from line 18: ברכו... השופט. The specific expression באפ כלה is not attested; cf. 1QH xx 17 (= xii 14).

7 i 22: [: At this point it becomes difficult to restore even the basic construction. The *lamed* at the beginning of line 22, restored from 1QH xxvi 17 (= frg. 55 ii 3), might suggest that another series of infinitives followed the participle שופט, but this is not certain. On some photos the first letter of the final word looks very much like *aleph* (e.g., איננה), but on the better photos תחנה is clearly the best reading.

7 i 23: [: רחמים למפרי טוב גדלו ומקור : The sense could continue to be positive, taking למפרי as the *hiphil* participle of פרה/פרא, “[he grants] mercy to those who bear fruit of his great goodness”; cf. Hos 13:15. Or the sense could be negative, the line reflecting a more dualistic division into the good and the evil as the hymn moves toward the eschatological section. Then the participle would be from פרר, e.g., “[he withholds] mercy from those who frustrate his great goodness.” מקור could be followed by a negative noun (cf. 1QS iii 19], מקור הנדה [1QH ix 24 (= i 22), xx 28 (= xii 25)]); or a positive noun as is more common after מקור (צדקה, רעת, ברכה, cf. 7 ii 5), but a negative verb (e.g., “a fountain of [blessing he shuts up]”).

7 ii 2: [ותמה רשעה] : Restored from 4Q431 1.1. Cf. 1Q27 1 i 6, כן יתם הרשע לער. The pattern of abstract noun plus verb that begins here in line 2 (or perhaps in line 1) continues to line 7.

7 ii 3: שבתה מן רהבהן שבת נוגש בזעם : The initial שבתה is restored tentatively on the basis of Isa 14:4, אך שבת נגש שבתה מרהבה. Though the MT of Isa 14:4 is often emended to מרהמה (cf. 1QIsa^a), מרהבה is clear in 1QH xi 26 (= iii 25), xx 21 (= xii 18); 4Q418 176.3; 4Q416 2 ii 14 (perhaps מרהובם, CD xiii 9). The final phrase may be בזעם אפי (cf. Lam 2:6).

7 ii 4: כלת[ה רמיה ואין נעויות כלוא רעת : כלה occurs also in line 6, but the author tends to repeat verbs (שבת, הופיע); other restorations are possible, e.g., אבר[ה or שבת[ה. For the cluster of רשעה, רמיה, מרהבה, see 1QH xx 19–21 (= xii 16–18) and 4Q427 3 ii 15. The final phrase must function as the conclu-

sion of this series of statements about the cessation of bad things; cf. 1QH ix 24–25 (i 22–23), רוח החועה ונעוה בלא כינה.

הופיע אור ושנמחה תביע : For the motif of the eschatological appearance of light and joy, see Zech 14:7; 1 Enoch 1:8; 38:2, 4; 45:4; 58:3–6; 96:3; 2 Enoch 65:9; 2 Bar. 73:1–3; Jub. 23:30 et al. After ושנמחה, there are some slight traces in 4Q431 1.3 that can best be read as תביע. The appearance of a prefixed verb in this series may be related to the change in word order (noun first) in this colon (cf. 7 ii 7, [ואשמ]ה לואן תהיה [ענוד]. The verb could be from the root בוע or נבע.²⁶

7 ii 4–5: אבל ונס יגון [אבר : אבר] is only a suggestion; שבת is eliminated because the space in 4Q431 1.3 is somewhat shorter than the measurement of שבת in lines 4 and 5. For ונס יגון, see Isa 35:10; 51:11; 2 Bar. 73:2.

7 ii 5: הופיע שלום שבת פחד נפתח מקור לברכת ער : שולם, often combined with שבת as here, is standard in eschatological promises; see 1QS iv 7; 1QM i 9, xvii 7; 1QH xix 30 (= xi 27); Jub. 1:29; 23:29; 1 Enoch 5:6; 10:16–17; et al. For מקור ברכה, see 4Q427 3 i 13; 4Q418 31.1; for ברכות ער, see 1QS iv 7.

7 ii 6: ומרפא ככול קצי עולם : Healing is also standard in eschatological descriptions; see Ezek 47:9; Zech 14:1; Mal 3:20; Rev 22:1–2; 1QS iv 6; Jub. 1:29; 23:29; 1 Enoch 10:7; 96:3. For קצי עולם, see 1QH v 26 (= frg. 20.4), ix 26 (= i 24).

כלה עון שבת נגע לאין מחלה : The cessation of both iniquity and physical sickness is associated in 1QH xix 25 (= xi 22) in very similar terminology: כלות עולה ואין מכאוב [ואין נגע להחלות]. See also 4 Ezra 8:54; 2 Bar. 73:1–3; 2 Enoch 65:9.

7 ii 6–7: נאספה עולה ואשמ]ה לואן תהיה [ענוד : The medial *pe* in נאספה in 4Q431 1.5 indicates a feminine subject. The traces of *he* as the first letter in line 7 are quite certain; words such as עולה and חלי are eliminated because the *lamed* would appear.

7 ii 7: השמיעו ואמנורו : Although most of the surface is missing, the traces are not inconsistent with the text of 4Q431 1.6 for השמיעו. The form of the second imperative with *waw* in the second syllable is well attested.²⁷

גרול אל עושה פלא : Before the actual statement of what is said there is a small *vacat* in this manuscript, but none in 4Q431 1.6; nor is there room for a *vacat* in the reconstruction of 1QH xxvi 26. גרול is one of the standard adjectives for God in the Deuteronomistic formula; see Deut 10:17 et al.; also Ps 77:14; 95:3; 11QPs^a xxvi 9; 4Q372 1.29. In 4Q427 3 i 8 what seems to be a new hymn begins גרול אל המפלי.²⁸ The final traces are minimal but fit 4Q431

²⁶ Assuming that בוע, like the root שמח, had a basic meaning of “grow up, flourish”; see J. Greenfield, “Lexicographical Notes II,” *HUCA* 30 (1959) 144–50.

²⁷ Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 311.14.

²⁸ 4Q427 3 i 8–16 is a hymn, very fragmentarily preserved, not found in the preserved sections of 1QH.

1.6, אל עושה. After עושה there are a number of possibilities to fill the space: עושה פלא (Exod 15:11; Ps 77:15), עושה חסד (Jer 32:18), עושה חיל (1QM xii 11, xix 3).

7 ii 8: כִּי־אֵלֶּיךָ הִשְׁפִּיל נַבְחָת רֹחַ לֵאמֹר שְׂרִית: Both theme and vocabulary are similar to 7 i 19–20; see parallels there. In place of רֹחַ, 1QH xxvi 27 (= frg. 7 ii 2) and 4Q431 1.7 read רוֹם. It can be argued that רֹחַ was original, and the mistaken writing of רוֹם was influenced by passages such as Isa 2:11 (עֵינִי לְהַשְׁפִּיל), plus the similar wording of 7 i 20 (נִבְחָת אֶרֶם שָׁפַל וְשָׁח רוֹם אֲנָשִׁים), and even לְרוֹם עוֹלָם if correctly restored at the end of line 8. This would give a valuable example of 1QH and 4Q431 sharing a common error. For the destruction of the wicked שְׂרִית, see 1QM xiv 5; 1QS iv 14, v 13.

וְיָרֵם מִעַפְרָא אֲבִינָא לְרוֹם עוֹלָם (cf. 1QH xi 21 [= iii 20]; 1QS^b v 23) is somewhat short for 4Q431 unless it was written in an unusually broad manner, but a restoration from 1 Sam 2:8 (לְהוֹשִׁיב עִם נְרִיכִים) is too long; לְרוֹם עוֹלָם (cf. 1QH xix 15 [= xi 12]) is another possibility.

7 ii 9: וְעַד שְׁחָקִים יִנְבִּירָהוּ בְּקוֹמָה: For שְׁחָקִים, see Ps 36:6; 57:11; 108:5; 1QH xiv 19 (= vi 16). Instead of יִנְבִּירָהוּ, both 1QH xxvi 28 (= frg. 7 ii 3) and 4Q431 1.8 have יִנְבִּיָה. The variation might attest the laryngeal pronunciation of *resh* at Qumran. The single dot over the *waw* in יִנְבִּירָהוּ is puzzling; it is unclear if the scribe wanted to delete the הוֹ suffix or to change to the root נִבָּה. For נִבָּה with בְּקוֹמָה, see Ezek 31:10, 14; Ps 151:5.

7 ii 9–10: וְעַם אֱלֹהִים בְּעֶרְתָּ יַחַד וְרַפָּא [] אִם לְכַלֵּת עוֹלָם: The phraseology picks up again the vocabulary both of lines 7 i 8–15 (יַחַד, עֶרְתָּ, אֱלֹהִים, עַם) and of line 21 (בְּאִף כָּלָה), with a description of the communion of the author with the angels and the destruction meted out to the wicked. For עֶרְתָּ יַחַד, see 4Q171 3–10 iv 19; 1QS^a ii 21. It is unclear whether וְעַם אֱלֹהִים בְּעֶרְתָּ יַחַד is a nominal sentence (cf. 7 i 11) or whether it belongs with a verb יַרְפָּא; in the latter case, the restoration is not obvious. In either case, the second part introduces the contrasting destruction of the proud. For לְכַלֵּת עוֹלָם, see 1QS ii 15, v 13; 1QM i 5, ix 5–6; 4Q510 1.7. The other two copies have no *vacat* after עוֹלָם.

7 ii 10: לֹא בְּמַחִיר, וְכֹשֶׁלִי אֶרֶץ יִרְיָם לֹאִין מַחִיר: Cf. 7 i 19. For לֹאִין מַחִיר, cf. 1QS (1QS v 17), לֹא בְּמַחִיר (4Q416 2 ii 7; 4Q417 1 ii 9).

7 ii 10–11: וְגִבּוֹרֹת עַד עַם מְצַעֲדָם: The restoration makes this the first of a series of nominal clauses. For גִּבּוֹרֹת עַד, cf. 1QH xvii 25–26 [= ix 25]; 1QS^b v 25). Another possibility, though somewhat less parallel, is to restore some expression with גִּבּוֹרִים, “the mighty ones (i.e., the angels) are with their step”; e.g., גִּבּוֹרֵי כֹחַ (cf. 1QH xvi 12 [= viii 11], xviii 36–37 [= x 34–35]); or גִּבּוֹרֵי פֶלֶא (1QH xiii 23 [= v 21]).

7 ii 11: וְשִׂמְחַת עוֹלָם בְּמִכְנֻזְהֶמָּה כְּבוֹד נִצַּח וְאִין הַשְׁכָּת [לְעוֹלָמִי עַד]: Cf. 7 i 17. At the end of the line, there is space for some type of concluding שְׂמִיחָה עוֹלָמִים.

phrase like לעולמי עד (1QH ix 10 [= i 8], xv 34 [= vii 31]) or לעולמים (1QM xiii 7; 4Q405 23 i 4). Or there may have been a *vacat* at the end of the line, though, as compared with 7 ii 7, the *vacat* would be expected after יומר.

7 ii 12: יִּמְרוּ : The partial first letters are better read as *yod/waw* rather than *waw/yod*; the traces do not allow יורמו. For the phonetic orthography יִּמְרוּ = יוארמו, see 1QS vi 13; 4Q176 1.5; 4Q286 10 ii 1; et al. The prefixed verb seems to correspond to the imperatives in 7 ii 7: “they are to say” followed by the words spoken.

אל ברוך : The third person formula of blessing is found in 1QM xiii 2, xiv 4, and frequently in the collections of prayers (4Q502, 4Q503, 4Q504, 4Q509); elsewhere in the *Hodayot* the blessing formula is always second person ברוך אתה.²⁹

הַנְּמַלִּי לְאֹתָא נְאֻתָא : The reading is an attempt to make sense of the slight traces; נְאֻתָא might be possible. For פלאות, see Ps 119:129; Dan 12:6; 1QH xii 30 (= iv 29); 4Q381 38.2, though the combination הַמְּפַלִּי פלאות is not attested.

וּמַגְדִּיל לְהוֹפִיעַ נְבוֹרָה : 1QH xxvi 31 (= frg. 7 ii 6) is complicated at this point and may have suffered an accidental omission of text. For our purposes here we can note that frg. 7 ii 6 has לְהוֹדִיעַ נְבוֹרָה with dots above and below and traces of erasure at this point. This is the more conventional phrase, but the more poetic לְהוֹפִיעַ may be original (cf. 1QH xxiii 7 [= xviii 6]). The final word could be read as נְבוֹרָתָן.

7 ii 12–13: וּמַצְדִּיק בְּדַעְתָּ לְכוֹל מַעֲשֵׂיו וְטוֹב עַל פְּנִיהֶמָּה : The most recent photos of 1QH frg. 7 ii 6 allow the reading of all but the last letter of וּמַצְדִּיק.

7 ii 13–14: בְּדַעְתָּמָּה בְּרוּב חֲסִידָיו וְהַמּוֹן רַחֲמָיו לְכוֹל בְּנֵי אֱמָתוֹ : All of these phrases are common terminology in the *Hodayot*. For the supplement וְהַמּוֹן רַחֲמָיו, see 1QH xii 37 (= iv 36), xiv 12 (= vi 9), xv 33 (= vii 30), xv 38 (= vii 35) et al.

7 ii 14–15: יִדְעֻנּוּכָּה אֵל הַצֶּדֶק וְהַשְׁכַּלְנוֹן בְּאַמְתָּכָּה מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד : Those speaking now in the first person plural are presumably those spoken to elsewhere in the hymn (7 i 13–17; 7 ii 7, 12). For the confession that the psalmist “knows God,” see 1QH xx 14, 19 (= xii 11, 22). For the title אֵל הַצֶּדֶק, see 1QM xviii 8; see also Ps 4:2; 1QS x 11, xi 15. Although there are many possible restorations for the object after וְהַשְׁכַּלְנוֹ, the trace after *bet* in 1QH xxvi 33 (= frg. 7 ii 8) seems to be that of an *aleph*, making אֱמָתָּה or אֱמוּנָה obvious restorations. For מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד, see note on 7 i 13–14.

7 ii 15: בְּכוּחַ נְבוֹרָתָכָּה : כִּיָּא רַאֲיֵנוּ קִנְאָתָכָּה בְּכוּחַ נְבוֹרָתָכָּה is a standard phrase; see 1QH xii 33 (= iv 32), xxiii 9 (= xviii 8), v 15 (= frg. 15.4); CD ii 5, xiii 11; 4Q491 11 i 9. 1QH xxvi 34 (= frg. 7 ii 9) has נְבוֹרָה.

²⁹ For further discussion, see E. Schuller, “Some Observations on Blessings of God in Texts from Qumran,” in *Of Scrolls and Scribes: Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism and Christian Origins* (ed. H. W. Attridge, J. J. Collins, T. H. Tobin; New York: University Press of America, 1990) 133–43.

7 ii 15–16: והכרנו מן שפטיכה בהמון רחמיכה והפלא סליחות : For the parallelism of ראה and הכיר, see 1QH xvi 14 (= viii 13). The scribe wrote רחמיכה, then added *mem* and corrected to רחמים by expunctuation. For the restoration בהמון, see line 13; ברוך is also possible. הפלא is difficult grammatically, particularly with our reconstruction of the previous phrase; it may have more of an adjectival sense (cf. 2 Chr 2:8). For the association of רחמים and סליחות, see Dan 9:9; 1QH xiv 12 (= vi 9); 4Q400 1 i 18.

מה בשר אלה : מה בשר is a standard expression; see 1QH vii 34 (= xv 21), xii 30 (= iv 29), xxi 7 (= xviii 21). The precise referent of אלה is unclear; see מי בשר כואת (1QH xii 30 [= iv 29]); perhaps the author is thinking more specifically of God's judgment, mercy, and pardon of the preceding lines. Note אלה also in line 17.

7 ii 16–17: ומה יחשנך עפר ואפרן לספר אלה מקצ לקצ : There are various possibilities for the end of line 16. Our restoration continues with an expanded phrase about human weakness, leading directly into the infinitive לספר; cf. 1QH xii 30 (= iv 29), ומה יצר חמר להגדיל פלאות, עפר ואפר, see 1QH xviii 7 (= x 5), vii 34 (= xv 21), xxi 17 (= xviii 31); if it is not used in the next line, one could restore instead עפר לפניכה from 1QS xi 21.³⁰ Alternatively, in the lacuna one could restore a third very short question, as in 1QH xi 21 (= iii 24). For מקצ לקצ in the sense of “continually,” see 1QH vii 16 (= frg. 10.5), xvii 7–8 (= ix 7–8), xx 7 (= xii 4).

7 ii 17–18: ולהתיצב במעמדן לפניכה ולבוא ביחד עם בני שמים : The restoration of the last part of line 17 is difficult and depends, in part, on where we judge that the lament on the human situation ends and the speaker begins to describe his situation in a positive manner. He may be lamenting that there is no intermediary to speak for him, especially given the limitations of mere mortals to give answer (cf. 1QH xx 30, 34 [= xii 27, 31]). However, it seems more likely that ואין מליץ is a positive statement—because of what God has done for the psalmist there is no need for an intermediary; in the same vein, line 21 acknowledges human ability to speak to God directly, and not to איש כינים. The proposed restoration at the end of line 17 is based on 1QH xi 22–23 (= iii 21–22) להתיצב במעמד עם צבא קדושים ולבוא ביחד עם ערת בני שמים and 1QH xix 16 (= xi 13) ולהתיצב במעמד לפניכה. Another possible way of restoration is a specific positive statement: e.g., אתה יסדתנו עם בני שמים (cf. 1QH vii 34–35 [= xv 21–22] for a similar transition).

7 ii 18: ואין מליץ להשיכן דבר כפיכהו : Though מליץ can sometimes be a human figure in the *Hodayot* (cf. 1QH x 15, 16 [= ii 13, 14], x 33 [= ii 31], xii 8, 10 [= iv 7, 9], xxiii 12 [= xviii 11]), in this context of the heavenly realm (בני שמים, להתיצב במעמד), it is certainly an angelic figure, with a juridical function (i.e., להשיב דבר; Job 33:23). The closest parallel in 1QH is in xiv 16 (= vi

³⁰ Reading מה ישב as equivalent to מה יחשב with omission of the weak guttural.

13) ואין מליץ בנים לקן ושיבה לן השיב כרוח, but there the following text is badly damaged, and it is equally difficult to establish the precise statement being made.³¹ The final word is from 1QH xxvi 37 (= frg. 7 ii 12); כפי can be read quite clearly; כה is less certain, though reinforced by the second person לכה in line 19.

7 ii 19: הכין לרצונכה : כיא העמדתנו לרצונכה בנכול עולה : For הכין with the verb לרצונכה, see 1QH ix 12, 16 (= i 10, 14). בנכול is restored on the basis of very faint traces in the most recent photos of 1QH xxvi 38 (= frg. 7 ii 13); cf. בנכול רשעה, 1QH x 10 (= ii 8), xi 25 (= iii 24).

7 ii 19–20: ונעצור כוח להשיב לכה כן אלה /שמע נפלאותיכה : The restoration of ונעצור assumes a positive sense through lines 18–22; another possibility is to restore a rhetorical question (מי יעצור) or even a negative statement (cf. 1QH xviii 12–13 [= x 10–11]; Sir 43:28). The subject is taken as the speakers (“we”), and not a third person or the intermediary. 4Q428 15.1 reads here כוח לשמוע (less likely לשמיע). In our text there are traces of dots over all the letters of להשיב לכה erasing this phrase; שמע נפלאותיכה was added inter-lineally, though one expects לשמע since the *lamed* of להשיב is clearly expunctuated. The scribe wrote נפלאותיכה with the suffix (which is the more common form in the *Hodayot*), then expunctuated the suffix. Given that the final letter in line 20 is best read as *kaph*, a restoration like כאלה (cf. 1QH xviii 6 [= x 4]) is possible, especially given the use of אלה in lines 16 and 17.

7 ii 21: דברנו לכה ולוא לאיש בןנים : The sense seems to be that because of the exalted status of the speakers they can address God directly and not through an intermediary. Cf. 1 Sam 17:4, 23 (ויצא איש הבנים) and 1QH xiv 16 (= vi 13) (ואין מליץ בנים).

7 ii 21–22: [והמיתה] אוון למוצא שפתינו : The verb המה with God as subject is restored on the basis of Isa 37:17; Dan 9:18; Ps 116:1. The biblical expression למוצא שפתינו is very common at Qumran (1QS x 14; CD xvi 6; 4Q401 14 ii 8; 4Q403 1 i 35).

7 ii 22: השמיעו ואמור ברוך אל הדעות : The traces before the lacuna are problematic; the deeper base line may suggest a *kaph* (perhaps השכינולי), but that may only be because of the tear.

After these traces there is a lacuna of half a line, and then line 23 introduces doxological language of creation. The best way to account for this sudden transition is to assume the same type of construction as in 7 ii 7; thus, we reconstruct a double imperative, followed by a *vacat*, then an introductory formula (with either גדול, as in 7 ii 7, or ברוך, as in 7 ii 12). Given that the comparable *vacat* in 7 ii 7 is short (and there is no *vacat* in 7 ii 12), a participle

³¹ There is a slight overlap here with 4Q428 5.1–2, but not enough to help in any real way in understanding this difficult text.

plus some additional word(s) is required; the restoration is based on the occurrence of **אל הרעות** in creation contexts (see 1QS iii 15; 1QH ix 28 [= i 26], xx 13 [= xii 10], xxii 34 [= frg. 4.15], xxv 32–33 [= frg. 7 i 4 + 8.9]).

7 ii 22–23: **הנוטה] שמים בכוחו וכול מחשיבהמה מנכין בנעוֹז ארץ כגבורתו**: The passage draws upon traditional creation language (Jer 10:12; 51:15; Isa 47:12; 11QPs^a xxvi 11); for creation motifs in the *Hodayot*, see 1QH ix 7–17 (= i 7–15). 1QH ix 16 (= i 14), xi 33–34 (= ii 32–33), and 4Q504 1–2 vii 7 speak of the **מחשבים** of **ארץ** and **תהום**, but here these are **מחשבים** of heaven—hence the sense of “structures.”

It is difficult to decide where to divide the cola, and a number of restorations are possible. If the participle to be restored at the end of line 22 governs **שמים** and **מחשיבהמה** (and even possibly **ארץ**), it would need to be general, perhaps **המכין** or **הבורא**; if it only refers to **השמים**, then **הנוטה** is most obvious. On the basis of 7 i 18 and 7 ii 12, an articular participle is restored, followed by a nonarticular. The small fragment on the left in the last line actually comes about 2.5 mm to the left of where it is in the photo; at this point the final *nun* in **מנכין** would not appear. The reading in **בעוז** is very uncertain; **הבנורא** would also be possible (with a very narrow *resh*).

IV. General Comments

Although in this preliminary publication it is not possible to do a detailed analysis of the structure, prosody, and themes of this hymn, a few comments need to be made about some distinctive features. Full analysis is hampered by the absence of both the beginning and end of the hymn.

It is possible, however, to make a tentative proposal about where this hymn starts, given that the first line of text of 4Q427 7 i corresponds to 1QH xxvi 3. In the previous column, 1QH xxv 34 (= frg. 8.10) clearly begins a new section (**למשכיל מזמנר**);³² there is, therefore, either a short psalm at the end of col. xxv and then another psalm begins before xxvi 3, or there is a single psalm beginning in col. xxv and continuing in xxvi. A strong case can be made for the latter. Although there are some short Hymns of the Teacher, most of the Hymns of the Community in this section of 1QH are quite lengthy; it would be unusual to have a hymn here of ten lines at the longest (1QH xxv 34–xxvi 1). More significantly, 1QH xxv 35 (= frg. 7 i 7) ends with the phrase **מלכי קדם**, which is found also in 4Q491 11 i 12 (**כול מלכי קדם**). Unless the occurrence of this rather unusual phrase is taken as mere coincidence,³³ it would seem that the hymn we are dealing with in col. xxvi has already begun

³² For Puech's discussion of this section, see “Quelques aspects de la restauration,” 51, 53.

³³ In biblical Hebrew, the phrase occurs only in Isa 19:11. Although Baillet translates “les rois de l'Orient,” a more neutral sense would be “the kings of old,” that is, the past kings of Judah and Israel.

at this point. This produces a rather long hymn — over fifty-three lines in 1QH (1QH xxv 34 = xxvi 42 plus at least one more line).³⁴

It is impossible to say much about the beginning of this hymn. From 1QH xxv 34–xxvi 4 (= frg. 8.10–11 and frg. 7 i 6–9) only nine words remain, including the rubric למשכיל מזמנור, the phrase מלכי קדם, and two verbs — נהמתי and תרוממה. Then follow nine lines from which nothing or only a few letters remain. However, from this point on, the major divisions are clearer. Many of the individual elements are characteristic of other Hymns of the Community, both in form and content, for example, statements about the author's communion with the angels (lines 8–11, 19; for parallels in 1QH, see the references in the commentary), reflection in question form about the human condition (lines 16–18³⁵), and confession of God's saving actions (lines 14–16).

More distinctive is the unit in 7 ii 2–7, a tightly structured series of contrasts describing the disappearance of everything evil and the appearance of everything good. Unfortunately this unit begins somewhere in the lacuna in 7 ii 1 and 2, so we do not know how the transition was made between the previous section (the last lines of which, 7 i 22–23, are already fragmentary) and this eschatological description. One thinks immediately of the lengthy eschatological section in 1QH xi 27–37 (= iii 26–36), although there the form of the description is quite different (note that the verbs are infinitives, prefixed or *waw* + prefixed forms) and the focus is on cosmological turmoil and the final defeat of the powers of evil, with no development of final restoration and blessing. Another brief passage, 1QH xix 25–31 (xi 22–28), is actually much closer to what we have in 4Q427, both in its form and in its setting within a doxological context of blessings (note especially lines 29–30, ואין יגון ואנחה, ועולה לא [תמצא עוד] ואמתכה תופיע לכבוד ער ושלוש עולום). However, the closest parallels in form — that is, a series of short parallel sentences, both positive and negative, with an abstract noun as a subject plus a verb, occasionally amplified with adverbial phrases — are to be found in 4 Ezra 6:27–28; 7:33–35; 7:113–14; 8:52–53; 2 Bar. 73:1b–3; and 1Q27 (“Livre des mystères”) 1 i 5–8.³⁶

³⁴ Although many of the *Hodayot* are shorter, this is not by any means the longest hymn; note the hymn of sixty-nine lines in 1QH xiii 22–xv 8 (= v 20–vii 5) and that of forty-eight lines in 1QH v 12–vi 18 (see the restoration of E. Puech, “Un hymne essénien en partie retrouvé et les béatitudes,” *RevQ* 13 [1988] 59–88). In a number of places in 1QH the precise division of hymns is unclear. For example, both scribal practice and content suggest that 1QH xvi 5–xvii 36 (= viii 4–ix 36) is better taken as a single hymn of seventy-five lines, rather than being divided into two hymns (at 1QH xvi 41 = viii 40), as is often done. Puech proposes “un très long hymne” of 125 lines in 1QH xxii 34–xxv 33 “avec l’expression אל הדיעה formant inclusion” (“Quelques aspects de la restauration,” 53), but it seems more likely that this is a series of hymns. Puech allows that xx 7–xxii 34 might be a series rather than a single hymn.

³⁵ The “Elendsbetrachtung” sections of the Hymns of the Community include 1QH xi 25–26 (= iii 24–25), xii 30–31 (= iv 29–30), xv 35–36 (= vii 32–33), x 7–14 (= xviii 5–12), vii 34 (= xv 21), xxi 7–10 (= xviii 21–24), 1QS xi 20f.

³⁶ For a discussion of this form in 4 Ezra, see M. Stone, *Features of the Eschatology of IV Ezra* (HSS 35; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) 191–95; idem, *Fourth Ezra* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis:

Within the hymn, this list is followed immediately by an imperative summons to the community to give praise (הַשְׁמִיעוּ וְאָמְרוּ, 7 ii 7). We can recall the pattern found in Isaiah 11–12: an extended description of eschatological realities, followed by the summons to give praise (וְאָמְרָה בְּיוֹם הַהוּא, Isa 12:1, 4), then the actual words to be said. However, here the summons and the praise are not in terms of “on that day,” but now, in the present, the addressees are commanded הַשְׁמִיעוּ וְאָמְרוּ.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of this hymn (inasmuch as we can capture its overall movement from the parts preserved) is the alteration between three blocks of hymnic and doxological material intermingled with other sections more typical of the *Hodayot*:

- (1) 7 i 6–13: a series of “I” statements emphasizing communion with the angels
 (1b) 7 i 13–22: a series of imperative calls to praise followed by an extended description of the one to be blessed (וּמֹדִיעַ . . . הַשּׁוֹפֵט) (ברכו המפלי . . . ומודיע . . . השופט)
- (2) 7 ii 2–7: eschatological description
 (2b) 7 ii 7–14: a twofold summons to praise (הַשְׁמִיעוּ וְאָמְנוּרוּ, line 7; יוֹמְרוּ, line 12) followed by the actual words of two doxologies (גְּדוּל אֵל . . . עֲנוּשָׁה פֶּלֶא, line 7; . . . בּוֹרֵךְ אֵל הַנִּמְפָּלִי, line 12)
- (3) 7 ii 14–22: confession of God’s saving action and human weakness
 (3b) 7 ii 22–23: (according to the proposed restoration) another summons to praise (הַשְׁמִיעוּ וְאָמְרוּ) followed by a blessing (בְּרוּךְ אֵל).

The lengthy and carefully structured “summons to praise” section (7 i 13–18) forms a literary unit in itself.³⁷ The pattern of a series of imperatives is well attested in many of the psalms (e.g., Ps 66:1–3; 96:1–2, 7–9; 103:19–22; 148; 150), the Prayer of Azariah, and 4Q409 (“Times for Praising God”).³⁸ Such a series of imperative calls to praise, plus the actual texts of the blessings to be said, are not found in the other *Hodayot*³⁹ and give this hymn a much stronger liturgical flavor.

Finally, the section 7 i 8–21 raises special questions. As indicated at various places in the commentary, there are obvious and close links between this hymn and two other versions of a similar text found in 4Q491 11 and 4Q471b. The

Fortress, 1990) 165–66. There are, of course, many other eschatological descriptions that are somewhat similar but do not follow this precise form, e.g., 1 Enoch 10:16–11:2; 2 Enoch 65:9; Jub. 23:29–30; 2 Bar. 44:9.

³⁷ Apart from the summons to bless, there are twelve cola, all with different verbs in the imperative plural. The first colon names the people addressed יְיָדִידִים; the second names the one to be praised מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד; the next four are arranged in a chiasmic pattern with cola 3 and 6 giving the location of praise in terms of people (בְּעֶזְרַת אֵל, בְּצִבְכָּא עוֹלָם) and cola 4 and 5 the location in terms of place (בְּמַעַן קֹדֶשׁ, בְּאַהֲלֵי יִשׁוּעָה); the seventh colon contains verb plus double object; cola 8–11 have to do with speech; and 12 forms the conclusion.

³⁸ Note the extended summons to praise in this small fragment published by E. Qimron, “Times for Praising God: A Fragment of a Scroll from Qumran (4Q409),” *JQR* 80 (1990) 341–47.

³⁹ Within the *Hodayot*, the other series of imperatives is in 1QH ix 36–39 (= i 34–37), but these have a wisdom context and vocabulary.

full extent and nature of both the similarities and the differences become more obvious when our text and 4Q491 are examined schematically:

4Q427 7 i/1QH	4Q491 11 i	line
1QH xxv 35	כל ישבו בו כול מלכי קדם	12
1QH xxv 37	ולוא יתרומם זולתי	13
4Q427 7 i 8	כסא עזו בעדת אלים	12
	אני עם אלים אתחשנך	18
7 i 9	ומזל שפתי מיא יכיל ומיא יועדני	17
7 i 10	ומיא [] ל רע הרמה ביא	16
7 i 10	ולוא יבוא ביא	13
7 i 11	אני עם אלים אתחשב	14
	כיא אניא עם אלים אחשנך	18
7 i 12	לוא כבשר תאונתי [כול יקר לי	14
	בכבוד	
	לוא [בפן] ולוא כתם אופירים	18
7 i 13	אני עם אלים אתחשב	14
	כיא אניא עם אלים אחשנך	18
7 i 13	זמרוהו	20
7 i 14–15	[במעון הקדש זמרוהו]	20
7 i 14	[השמיעו בהגיא רנה]	21
7 i 17	[בשמחת עולמים	21
7 i 17–18	ואין כֹּׁ]	21
7 i 21	[להקים קרן מע]	22
7 i 18	להודיע ידו בכוח]	23

It is not easy to describe the relationship between these texts, and fuller discussion will come with the publication of 4Q471b. In the original allotment of fragments, the other two copies of this work were considered (on the basis of paleography, leather, and content) to be part of a *War Scroll*, though clearly 4Q491 and 4Q471 are different recensions than 1QH.⁴⁰ This

⁴⁰ With regard to 4Q491 this was recognized very early by C.-H. Hunzinger, "Fragmente einer älteren Fassung des Buchs Milhama aus Höhle 4 von Qumran," ZAW 69 (1957) 131–51; also J. Duhaime, "Dualistic Reworking in the Scrolls from Qumran," CBQ 49 (1987) 49–51; idem, "Etude

hymn(s)⁴¹ does not appear in 1QM, although there are many other victory hymns in cols. x–xiv and xix that clearly had their own history and are now incorporated into the *War Scroll*. Various proposals, none of them entirely satisfactory, have been put forth about both the speaker and the context of this hymn.⁴² The whole question is rendered even more complicated by recent suggestions that 4Q491 11 i and 4Q471b, on paleographic grounds, do not belong to a *War Scroll*;⁴³ this, however, has not yet been satisfactorily demonstrated.

Much more work will be required to establish the relationship between these three versions of this hymn and to determine, if possible, which is original. The copy in 4Q427 (late Hasmonean/early Herodian) is perhaps a bit earlier than the copy in 4Q491, which is very close in time paleographically to 1QH,⁴⁴ but all this really tells us very little about the date of composition. Thus, it is theoretically possible that the versions in 4Q471 and 4Q491 are a reworking of a text that originated in the collection of *Hodayot*. At present, I consider this the less likely scenario and suggest rather that the hymn in 4Q427 7 incorporates, in a somewhat reworked manner, material from a hymn(s) that originated independently of the rest of the *Hodayot*. This is suggested by the

comparative de 4QM^a fgg. 1–3 et 1QM,” *RevQ* 14 (1990) 459–72. For a discussion of the recension found in 4Q471, see E. and H. Eshel, “4Q471 Fragment 1 and *Ma’amadot* in the War Scroll,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11; Madrid: Universidad Complutense; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 2.611–20.

⁴¹ In 4Q491 11 i, there are clearly two hymns with a partial *vacat* line (line 19). In 4Q427 there is no division of this material. M. Smith (“Ascent to the Heavens and Deification in 4QM^a,” 185) suggests that there are three hymns: 4Q491 11 i 8–11a; 11b–18 (in fact ending in the first part of line 19), and 20–24. 4Q427 7 might support the proposal that 8–11a is a separate hymn, since there are no overlaps with this section. Further, if our suggestion about the beginning of the hymn is correct, the phrase *קדם מלכי* would then come very near the beginning in both versions. The obvious problem is that there would be only at most a short *vacat* between hymns 1 and 2 in line 11, whereas between hymns 2 and 3 most of a line is left as a *vacat*.

⁴² Baillet, noting that Michael is mentioned nearby (1QM xvii 6) called 4Q491 11 i 8–18 “cantique de Michel,” and the hymn after the *vacat* (lines 20–24) “cantique de justes.” M. Smith (“Ascent to Heaven and Deification,” 181–88) has pointed out at length the implausibility of this attribution to Michael, although Smith’s own interpretation of this hymn as a description of the “deification by ascent” of a teacher in the early years of Herod’s reign is equally problematic. In a paper recently presented to the IOQS Conference in Paris, June 1992 (“Some Remarks to 1QS^a, 1QS^b and Qumran Messianism”), H. Stegemann has proposed that 4Q491 11 i is an example of “collective messianism,” the “I” of the hymn = the collective people Israel.

⁴³ In a paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in 1990, and substantially revised in his unpublished dissertation (which he has kindly shared with me), M. Abegg divides the fragments which Baillet published as 4Q491 into manuscripts A, B, and C on the basis of paleography, height of letters, and orthography. Manuscript C, he concludes, is made up of 4Q491 11 i and 12, written by the same hand as MS B, but a separate hymnic work. Similarly, the listing of the fragment under discussion now as 4Q471b indicates that Esti Eshel considers this a separate manuscript from 4Q471 (a recension of the *War Scroll*) and 4Q471a (a polemical fragment). See n. 35.

⁴⁴ Baillet dates 4Q491 “vers le tournant de l’ère ou légèrement avant.” Cross dates 1QH to ca. 30–1 BCE (“Development of the Jewish Scripts,” 138).

number of lexical items that appear in this hymn, but nowhere else in the *Hodayot* (e.g., ירירים, לבר, קהל, גאים, and others). Similarly, the doxological praises in 7 ii 7–11 and 12–14 can stand on their own and may have had a separate origin; in particular we can note the form of the blessing ברוך אל in 7 ii 12 in contrast to the second person formula ברוך אתה, which is consistent in the *Hodayot*.

Some years ago, in a survey article on research on the *Hodayot*, Jerome Murphy-O'Connor observed that while we are on firmer ground in the study of the Hymns of the Teacher, there are many more unresolved questions about the Hymns of the Community: "the dates have not so far been established, nor has the question of their provenance been seriously investigated."⁴⁵ Such questions about the Hymns of the Community are only heightened now that we have a hymn with such a close relationship to other texts which are also preserved. Similarly, the ongoing debate about whether the *Hodayot* were actually used liturgically in the prayer of the community or whether they were more didactic and only for personal reflection needs to be reexamined now that we have a text with such a clear liturgical component. It is to be hoped that the preliminary publication of this fragment from 4Q427 7 will stimulate discussion of such still unresolved questions.

⁴⁵ J. Murphy-O'Connor, "The Judaean Desert," in *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* (ed. R. A. Kraft and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986) 132.

THE RABBI AND THE COIN PORTRAIT (MARK 12:15b, 16): RIGORISM MANQUÉ

PAUL CORBY FINNEY

Center of Theological Inquiry, 50 Stockton Street, Princeton, NJ 08540

I. The Larger Context

Early Christianity has been characterized as a form of religiosity opposed in principle to the use of pictures, a religiosity not just iconophobic in theory but aniconic and without images in practice. As a biblical and originally Semitic religion, early Christianity is grouped together with the other two religions of the Book, Judaism and Islam—all three, we are told, strictly opposed the use of pictures in religious contexts. Some scholars have even gone so far as to infer the existence of a so-called biblical mode of cognition, one that is verbal and auditory (God speaks, humans listen) but neither visual nor audiovisual (God speaks and reveals a form, humans listen and look). Here the imagined antinomy between biblical *Wortreligion* and Hellenic *Bild-* or *Gestaltreligion* is often pressed into service.¹

We have only one Synoptic passage whose literary scenario depicts the hero of the story in relation to a real visual image—that of a king on a coin obverse. This is the famous Marcan pericope (12:13–17) that centers on the question of Palestinian Jews paying taxes to Rome. Given the presumption that early Christianity was both iconophobic and aniconic, it might be reasonable to suppose that the editor of the second Gospel would make his hero either comment on or condemn the idolatrous image that is made the centerpiece of the pericope. But this Galilean rabbi does neither. Why?

II. The Coin in the “Tribute Money” Pericope

- 12:13 And they sent to him some of the Pharisees and some of the Herodians, to entrap him in his talk.
- 12:14a And they came and said to him, “Teacher, we know that you are true, and care for no man; for you do not regard the position of men, but truly teach the way of God.

¹ E.g., F. W. Deichmann, “Vom Tempel zur Kirche,” in *Mullus: Festschrift Th. Klauser*, JAC Ergänzungsband 1 (1964) 52–59; see my critical remarks: “TOPOS HIEROS und christlicher Sakralbau in vorkonstantinischer Überlieferung,” *Boreas* 7 (1984) 193–225.

- 12:14b Is it lawful to pay taxes (κῆνσος) to Caesar, or not?
 12:15a Should we pay them, or should we not?"
 12:15b But knowing their hypocrisy, he said to them, "Why put me to the test? Bring me a coin, and let me look at it."
 12:16 And they brought one. And he said to them, "Whose likeness and inscription is this?" They said to him, "Caesar's."
 12:17 Jesus said to them, "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's." And they were amazed at him.

The place is Jerusalem. It is Passover time. Large numbers of Jews are congregated in the city for the religious festival. Pilate, the governor,² is also present. At 12:13 members of two factions approach the hero of the story—they are his enemies and seek to entrap him.³ First (12:14a) they flatter⁴ him; then they deliver the fateful question⁵ in two parts (12:14b, 15a) on the subject of paying taxes. They expect a simple yes or no answer; either will be sufficient to damn their antagonist. If he responds in the affirmative, he will lose face with his fellow Jews seeking independence from Rome; but if he tells them not to pay taxes, he comes across as a disloyal and potentially dangerous subject of Rome, a troublemaker. In short, if Jesus answers the question in the manner anticipated by his enemies, he is a guaranteed loser.

But he does not so answer. Instead, the logion⁶ in 12:17 ups the ante by raising a larger question concerning spheres of authority—Caesar's on the one hand, God's on the other. Inserted into this invented literary context, the answer deflects the original question and its anticipated answer. As students of comparative NT exegesis are well aware, the saying in 12:17 has been made to support a wide range of interpretations, most of them centering on the separation of secular and religious obligations. But in fact the original setting in which these words were spoken is lost; and hence, exegetically speaking, it is impossible to know what was originally intended.

² Technically he was prefect: [. Po]ntius Pilatus [--- praef]ectus Iuda[ea]e; *L'Année Epigraphique* (1963) 104.

³ The literary form of the passage presents a classic paradigm of conflict: thus M. Dibelius, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (3d ed.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1959) 64, 221; R. Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (FRLANT 29; 4th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957) 39–56.

⁴ *Captatio benevolentiae* (rabbinic parallels): *Str-B* 1. 883.

⁵ See D. Daube, "Four Types of Questions," *JTS* n.s. 2 (1951) 45–48.

⁶ An authentic saying? On sayings attributed to Jesus, see Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 73–178; O. Linton, "The 'Q' Problem Reconsidered," in *Studies in the New Testament and Early Christian Literature: Essays in Honor of Allen P. Wikgren* (ed. D. E. Aune; NovTSup 33; Leiden: Brill, 1972) 43–59. On "agrapha" (a term coined by J. G. Körner, "De sermonibus Christi ΑΓΡΑΦΟΙΣ" [dissertation; Leipzig, 1776])—namely, dominical sayings preserved outside of the NT, see also H. Koester, "Gnostic Writings as Witnesses for the Development of the Sayings Tradition," in *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism* (ed. B. Layton; NumenSup 41; Leiden: Brill, 1980) 238–56, 257–61, esp. 238 (and literature there).

My subject is not the logion but the coin in 12:15b, 16. The editor makes the entire dialogue hinge on this little object. It is the pivotal element in the give-and-take of protagonist and antagonists. The coin appears roughly at the center of the five verses and is made the fillip that moves the dialogue forward. In semiotic jargon the coin functions as a poxemic channel of communication, one in which there is a restructuring of the microenvironment (here: persons in argument).⁷ The coin is a sign (σημεῖον) that causes a pause, an interruption (and silence⁸) in the flow of the dialogue. It prompts the antagonists to rummage through their pockets.⁹ Then one of them leaves the scene of conflict to fetch the coin. This gives the protagonist time (indeed precious moments) to plot his next move. On the principle *qui tacet, consentire uidetur* ("silence implies consent"), he must find an appropriate response. And indeed he does. The antagonists had gone after the hero's person (*Personbezogenheit*), but he skillfully deflects the focus of the dialogue to a thing (*Sachbezogenheit*).

The coin interrupts the dialogue and redirects its flow. A transposition¹⁰ (a thing in place of words) takes place, a redefinition of the subject and a change from a verbal to a visual mode of cognition. Again semiotically, the coin is a deictic¹¹ signifier that interrupts the argument and transforms it into a discourse of a different sort. In fact, the introduction of the coin creates a new semantic field, one in which knowing demands looking. A nonverbal form of communication is brought into being, one that enlists both tactile and visual modes. The answer to the question put to Jesus by his antagonists lies in a miniature portrait executed on a small, round field. Jesus' interlocutors must grasp the object. And they must look at it, thereby setting into place Cato's familiar principle: *rem tene, uerba sequuntur* ("grab hold of the thing and words will follow").¹² In this highly staged setting the coin is the visual σημεῖον; it causes a semantic shift from cognition based on spoken words to knowledge

⁷ See R. Brehmayer, "Zur Pragmatik des Bildes," *LB* 13/14 (1972) 19–57. Despite opacity of language and *Esoterikaliebhabe*, this is an article well worth wrestling with.

⁸ On the rhetoric of silence the classic is still: A. Harduici, *De eloquentia in tachendo* (dissertation, Kiel, 1684).

⁹ Less anachronistic: "their money purses" (*cruminae*).

¹⁰ On the substitution of coins for words, see G. Ryle, *Dilemmas* (The Tarnier Lectures 1953; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954) 142.

¹¹ Rabbinic parallels: *b. B. Meš.* 59b: on the *kashrut* in the oven of 'Aknai, on the miraculous dismemberment of the carob tree, and on the voice from heaven which confirms R. Eliezer's position: transformation from a legal argument to a theology of law; *m. B. Meš.* 4:3: interjection of a moral discourse in a literary framework which is legal; *m. B. Meš.* 4:10: from monetary fraud to verbal fraud (lying) to fraud and oppression broadly conceived; *b. 'Abod. Zar.* 10a: response to a query put by Caesar (here identified as Antonius) through the acting out of a dramatic conceit, ■ mime (one man stands with a dove in hand on the shoulders of another and lets the bird fly free).

¹² The aphorism is attributed to Cato in *Dicta Memorabilia* (ed. H. Jordan; Leipzig: Teubner, 1860) 80.2.

based on things that are seen, and it is the prompt that summons the chief actor to recite his clever repartee.

We can be quite precise about the identification of the coin. At 12:14b the editor reveals which coin he envisages by using the Greek loanword for "census" (κῆνος) to denote the tax in question. This may be intended allusively, but it is factually inaccurate. The census constituted the numerical basis (computed in hectares and human heads) from which the Romans levied their so-called poll (or head) tax, the notorious *tributum capitis* (φόρος σωμαμάτων) which provincial subjects were obliged to pay.¹³ At one denarius per head, the poll tax was payable only in imperial specie, and the closest mint to Palestine was Lyons (Lugdunum),¹⁴ capital of the three Gauls situated in the northern Rhône Valley. In 12:15b, 16 the editor implies that no one in the group had the coin on his person, and this detail may confirm what is known from other provincial contexts—namely, that the imperial denarius was not a denomination used in common, everyday market exchange. There can be no doubt but that the coin envisaged by the Marcan editor was a Tiberian silver denarius, probably struck at Lugdunum.

The Tiberian obverse¹⁵ (fig. 1) shows the laureated head of the princeps facing right with the superscription: *TI CAESAR DIVI AVG AVGVSTVS*. This clearly identifies the incumbent princeps as the son of god, hence by filiation himself either a divine or semidivine being.¹⁶ This is a piece of imperial

¹³ In the early principate, the extent and frequency of Roman census taking are much debated; see T. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* (2d ed.; 2 vols.; Leipzig: Hirzel, 1876–81) 1. 470 and 2. 320–461; also W. Kubitschek, "Census," *PW* 3.2 (1899) s.v.; and D. L. Lieber, "Census," *EncJud* s.v. On P. Sulpicius Quirinius (mentioned in Josephus, *Ant.* 18 §1 and Luke 2:2), the Syrian legate who conducted a census of Judea in 6 CE, see L. H. Feldman, *Josephus and Modern Scholarship 1937–1980* (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1984) chap. 23.14. On census taking in the later empire, see T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1982) 226–37.

On the poll tax, see W. Schwahn, "Tributum," *PW* 7.A1 (1939) s.v.; also M. Stern, "The Province of Judaea," *CRINT* 1.1 (1974) 330–35. *To Iudaikon Telesma*, for the maintenance of Jupiter Capitolinus and gathered into the *fiscus judaicus*, should not be confused with the poll tax—the former was in place of the half-shekel which Jews before 66–70 had paid to the Jerusalem Temple. See M. Rostovtzeff, "Fiscus judaicus," *PW* 6.2 (1909) cols. 2403–5; also J. Juster, *Les juifs dans l'Empire Romain* (Paris: Geuthner, 1914) 2. 282–86.

¹⁴ Strabo 4.3.2: Lugdunum, where the ἡγεμόνες (probably emperors, not governors) coin silver and gold. For discussion, see C. H. V. Sutherland and R. A. G. Carson, *The Roman Imperial Coinage I* (rev. ed.; London: Spink, 1984) 87–88.

¹⁵ H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum I* (London: British Museum, 1923; reprint 1965) 124–28. For discussion, see H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins* (2d ed.; London & Chicago: Quadrangle, 1960) index s.v.

¹⁶ For cults of the living and divinized Tiberius, see S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) general index s.v. Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.* 1.15: at Aspendos in Pamphylia a master strikes his slave who is carrying a coin bearing the image of Tiberius and is found to be guilty of *asebeia*. Like his predecessor, however, Tiberius took a rather moderate view of the imperial cult; see *L'Année Epigraphique* (1929) nos. 99–100: Tiberius denies a request from Gythium (Hispania Ulterior) to honor the princeps and his mother as gods.



Fig. 1

Tiberian silver denarius: obverse

Photo courtesy

American Numismatic Society



Fig. 2

Tiberian silver denarius: reverse

Photo courtesy

American Numismatic Society

propaganda that virtually all Palestinian Jews (whether religious or not) found offensive.¹⁷ The editor does not mention or allude to the device on the coin reverse (fig. 2), which shows a female figure facing right, seated on a throne, diademed and robed, holding a scepter in the right hand and a palm or olive branch in the left, superscription: *PONTIF MAXIM*. This is Pax personified, presented under the guise of a priestess (the queen-dowager Livia could have been envisaged here, as suggested by H. Mattingly). In any case, the reverse device is equally impregnated with religious propaganda offensive to Jews. Thus 12:16, implying that Jesus directs his interlocutors to look at the coin obverse, raises questions about the kind of rabbi that Mark's hero was supposed to be.

III. Aniconic Halakot and Rigoristic Boundaries: Separating Palestinian Jews from Their Gentile Neighbors

There were compelling reasons for Palestinian Jews not to look at Roman denarii—indeed, so compelling that one modern commentator (basing his interpretation on the unidiomatic Greek phrase¹⁸ in 12:14b: οὐ γὰρ βλέπεις εἰς πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπων) has suggested that the original question put to Jesus

¹⁷ Contra H. Loewe, *Render unto Caesar, Religious and Political Loyalty in Palestine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940) 102: Loewe calls the coin obverse “innocuous.” In fact, on both political and religious grounds many Jews (but especially Palestinians) regarded this numismatic device as highly noxious.

¹⁸ Loewe, *Render unto Caesar*, 102–6: “οὐ γὰρ βλέπεις εἰς πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπων renders: *P' gyr h'r 'nt bpršwp' dbny 'nš*” Loewe sees two independent sources, the one concerning partiality and impartiality, the other concerning looking at coins. He thinks that there was a conflation of these two with the result that the original question addressed to Jesus was whether it was idolatrous to gaze at a coin. Loewe translates the Syriac as ‘gaze at the faces of people.’ It is idiomatic, however, and makes better sense as ‘give heed to the persons of men.’ Loewe’s conjecture requiring the conflation of two independent sources is textually unnecessary. *Syrus Sinaiticus* reads: *P' gyr nsb 'nt b'p' d'nš*.

concerned not paying taxes but looking at images: Do you think it idolatrous for a Jew to look at a coin? This is an intriguing suggestion, but the Aramaic and Syriac constructions that are supposed to support this interpretation do not. Hence, this solution is textually and linguistically superfluous. Even so, the fact still stands that gazing at a Roman denarius would have raised certain problems for all Jews, but especially for those who lived on ancestral Palestinian lands that had been annexed by Gentile outsiders.

The dilemma is classic. It puts religious demands in conflict with secular obligations. One or the other must give way. The demands of religion are best epitomized in halakah,¹⁹ the oral Torah, which stipulated rules and laws covering all aspects of Jewish life on the land. Rabbinic halakot were designed to sanctify the entirety of life, each and every day, in each and every place, and in all of one's daily thoughts and actions.

Halakah had the effect of creating clearly demarcated boundaries between Jews and non-Jews, and in Roman Palestine one of the most visible and palpable of these boundaries was the halakic demand for aniconism, the strict adherence to a principle of no images, especially figural images in Jewish places. What is intriguing about rabbinic rigorism proscribing figural images is that, in Palestine, the occupying Romans tolerated aniconic halakot, no doubt because to have done otherwise would have been construed (correctly) as openly anti-Jewish provocation.

The evidence for rigoristic forms of Jewish aniconism in Roman Palestine is varied, fragmentary, and uneven in quality. We have tannaitic and amoraic rulings that, although they date to the period after 135, may speak for conditions that obtained fifty or even a hundred years earlier. We have Josephus reflecting his own and other Jews' aniconic attitudes in his descriptions of places and events that he witnessed as a participant in the war of 66–70. We have Bishop Hippolytus, himself a rigorist, writing (ca. 225 CE in Severan Rome) about aniconic Essenes in first-century Palestine. And again we have Josephus, this time in his antiquarian opus, reflecting somewhat randomly the iconic, anti-Jewish provocations of Herod the Great²⁰ and of Pilate the not-so-great.²¹

¹⁹ For a brief, informative introduction, see S. Safrai, "Halakha," *CRINT* 2.3.1 (1987) 121–209.

²⁰ Josephus, *Ant.* 15 §§272, 276–79: describing a confrontation (27 BCE in the Jerusalem theater) between Herod and Jews who suspected him of secretly trying to introduce pagan figural images (*anthrōpōn eikones* and *agalmata*); also *Ant.* 17 §§149–67; *J.W.* 1 §§648–55: describing Herod's installation (5 BCE) of a gold eagle mounted over the main gateway of the Jerusalem Temple—this was clearly an undisguised act of disrespect. A riot ensued led by the Pharisees Judas ben Sariphaeus and Matthias ben Margalothus; for discussion, see E. M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule from Pompey to Diocletian* (SJLA 20; Leiden: Brill, 1976) 99.

²¹ Josephus, *Ant.* 18 §§55–59; *J.W.* 2 §§169–74; also Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 2.5.7ff. In autumn of 26, by night and under cover, Pilate had his men carry iconic standards bearing medallion busts of Tiberius into the Antonia. This too was an open act of provocation. It should not be confused with Philo, *Leg.* 299–305, where Pilate attaches gilded shields to his Jerusalem residence; on the latter testimony, see E. M. Smallwood, *Philonis Alexandrini Legatio ad Gaium* (Leiden: Brill, 1961) ad loc. On the Antonia affair, see L. H. Feldman, *Josephus and Modern Scholarship* (1937–1980) (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1984) index I, ad loc.

Josephus also records a prudent act (36–37 CE) of Roman deference to Jewish aniconic sensibilities,²² and he, like Philo, has something to say about Gaius's iconic lunacy (provoked by an anti-Roman incident at Yavneh, 39–40 CE),²³ which fortunately was nipped in the bud by Cassius Chaerea's stiletto.²⁴ And finally we have the evidence of archaeology, which, though far from conclusive, nevertheless supports the presumption that Herodian and Roman Palestine was largely an aniconic environment at least down to 135.²⁵

The cumulative weight of these testimonies favors the view that strict aniconism was indeed a cultural boundary that Jews of various stripes were willing and eager to defend in the Herodian and Roman periods of Palestinian history. Rulers who disregarded this boundary, whether intentionally or unintentionally, learned that insensitivity in this matter could be costly. Both observant and nonobservant Palestinian Jews took this boundary seriously, and over time it became a mechanism not only for asserting Jewish religious identity but also for establishing a sense of ethnic and cultural separateness.

The rabbis were particularly keen on proscriptions against imperial images, no doubt because Jews who flirted with Gentile propaganda of this kind endangered the integrity of the whole community.²⁶ *'Aboda Zara* forbids images of imperial authority, including figures (like that on the Tiberian reverse)

²² Performed by A. Vitellius, Roman legate to Syria, a man who despised Pilate (justifiably), for the latter's administrative incompetence. Josephus, *Ant.* 18 §115: Tiberius had instructed Vitellius to take Aretas IV alive or, failing that, to send his head back to Rome. Starting out at Acre (36 or 37 CE) Vitellius decided he would cross Judea to reach the southern end of Perea—possibly Gabilis northeast of Machaerus (210.108) was his destination. But a deputation of Judean Jews went to Vitellius and asked him not to march across *terra sancta* on the grounds that his iconic standards would offend Jews. The legate acceded to the request and may have proceeded across the Jezreel to Scythopolis, then south along the Jordan and east of the Dead Sea to Kallirhoe (203.112), although exactly how he reached his destination is not known; see G. Winkler, "Vitellius II.3," *Kleine PW* s.v.

²³ Josephus, *Ant.* 18 §§261–309; *J.W.* 2 §§184–87; also Philo, *Leg.* 188, 198–348; see also E. M. Smallwood, "The Chronology of Gaius' Attempt to Desecrate the Temple," *Latomus* 16 (1957) 3–17; also P. Bilde, "The Roman Emperor Gaius (Caligula)'s Attempt to Erect his Statue in the Temple of Jerusalem," *ST* 32 (1978) 67–93.

²⁴ Caligula's assassin (24 Jan. 41 CE); Josephus (*Ant.* 19 passim) has a lot to say about him.

²⁵ R. Hachlili, *Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology in the Land of Israel* (Handbuch der Orientalistik I.2B.4; Leiden: Brill, 1988). Hachlili acknowledges what was recognized sixty years ago by J.-B. Frey, "La question des images chez les juifs à la lumière des récentes découvertes," *Bib* 15 (1934) 279: "On doit dire qu'au I^{er} siècle de notre ère, du moins en Palestine, les Juifs proscrivaient toutes les images d'êtres animés." Between Hachlili and Frey lies Goodenough, who muddled the waters by proposing that Second Temple Judaism, in its so-called non-normative, popular forms, was iconic. This is certainly false for Palestine. Unfortunately, those who do know the archaeological history of Herodian and Roman Palestine continue to follow Goodenough's wrongheaded thesis, e.g., P. Prigent, *Le Judaïsme et l'image* (Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 24; Tübingen: Mohr, 1990); see also my review of Prigent in *JBL* 111 (1992) 712–14.

²⁶ E. E. Urbach, "The Rabbinical Laws of Idolatry in the Second and Third Centuries in the Light of Archaeological and Historical Facts," *IEJ* 9 (1959) 149–65, 229–45; also G. J. Blidstein, "R. Yohanan, Idolatry and Public Privilege," *JSJ* 5 (1974) 154–61.

that grasp a staff—birds (eagles) and orbs (symbolizing universal power over planet earth and the celestial bodies) are also off limits to Jews.²⁷ The *Tosepta* adds figures carrying a sword or (like that on the Tiberian obverse) wearing a crown. Added to the list are rings and snakes, both of them common attributes of imperial authority.

These anti-imperial proscriptions were extended even to the handling of imperial specie. In this category the most famous testimony comes to us from the Jerusalem Talmud and concerns a prominent third-century Amora, Rabbi Nahum bar Simai,²⁸ who is said never to have looked at a coin in his entire lifetime. For this extraordinary and exceedingly conspicuous act of piety, posterity lionized the son of Simai as a “man of the holy of holies.” In a less well known (but just as reliable) attestation, Hippolytus reports that the Essenes refused even to “touch a coin” (. . . μηδὲ νόμισμα βασταζειν . . . , *Ref.* 9.26.1) on the ground that Jews were forbidden to carry or look at or make images.²⁹ This, according to Hippolytus, was the Essene way of carrying out the implications of the second commandment.³⁰

Hippolytus adds that, for fear of pollution through contact with idols, the Essenes refused to pass beneath any of the (Jerusalem) gates (. . . μὴ διὰ πύλης . . .) leading into the city. It was common Greco-Roman practice to set up statues of gods and rulers in these places. This is an interesting detail, one that, unfortunately, Josephus does not confirm, although he does report that Herod built a special portal³¹ for the sectarians opposite a place called *Betso* (*beth-soa*: latrine?), which may have been located north (?) of Herod's palace, facing either Hinnon or Kidron,³² perhaps situated somewhere along

²⁷ Still a useful introduction is H. Blaufuss, *Götter, Bilder und Symbole nach den Traktaten über fremden Dienst: Aboda zara* (Nürnberg: Stich, 1910); also *Str-B* 4.1, “Stellung zur heidnischen Kunst” (2d ed.; Munich: Beck, 1956) 384–94.

²⁸ For informative discussion, see Loewe, *Render unto Caesar*, 88–96.

²⁹ Ed. P. Wendland; GCS 26; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1916. On Hippolytus's reliability as a reporter of first-century Palestinian Judaism, see M. Smith, “The Description of the Essenes in Josephus and the *Philosophumena*,” *HUCA* 29 (1958) 273–314.

³⁰ This Hippolytan report is complicated (and perhaps contradicted) by the Tyrian tetradrachms discovered in the wing of the settlement northwest of the scollery below the floor level of period II, locus 120 at Qumran. Most of these pagan coins span the first century CE. Their devices most definitely would have offended rigoristic Jews like Hippolytus's Essenes. Who deposited them is not known, whether the old *mēbaqqer* or a Jericho thief who needed a place to stash his loot. But their presence at Qumran could be taken to support the view that the people of the scrolls (Essenes) handled pagan coins. On the settlement site at Qumran and on the “farm” at Ain Feshkah, Hasmonean coppers were very much in evidence, but most of these contain devices that are nonoffending. The Qumran coins are being prepared for publication by R. Donceel (Louvain); for a preliminary report, see M. Sharabani, “Monnaies de Qumrân au Musée Rockefeller de Jérusalem,” *RB* 87 (1980) 275–84.

³¹ Y. Yadin, “The Gate of the Essenes and the Temple Scroll,” in *Jerusalem Revealed* (ed. Y. Yadin; New Haven/London/Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1976) 90–91.

³² Thus M. Avi Yonah, *Sefer Yerushalayim I* (Jerusalem, 1939) 335; but Josephus puts the gate and *Betso* along the west wall.

the stretch between Hippicus Tower and the northeast corner of Ophel, where the wall joins the southeast corner of the Temple Mount (*J.W.* 5 §145). Josephus does not explain why Herod built this gate, but Hippolytus's depiction of Essene rigorism may well provide the answer.

Lest we forget, one of the first enactments (?) of the revolutionary junta of 66 was the suppression and eradication of polluting Gentile images on Palestinian *terra sancta* (Josephus, *Life* 65). Josephus may have been under some kind of orders from the Jerusalem Sanhedrin to destroy Antipas's palace in Tiberias on the grounds that it contained theriomorphic images and hence violated the letter of the law as set forth in Exod 20:4a–b and Deut 4:17–18.³³

Last but not least, there is Herod Antipas, who, from his father's death in 4 BCE, was tetrarch of Galilee and Perea.³⁴ Antipas oversaw the development of material culture in the two main cities (Sepphoris and Tiberias) of Galilee during the first four decades of the first century. Excepting the interior of his palace at Tiberias, which, according to Josephus (*Life* 65), he decorated with animal images (presumably painted), Antipas was careful to respect the aniconic sensibilities of his Jewish subjects, who may have constituted a significant percentage of his Galilean subject population. It is true that Antipas twice offended the religious sensibilities of his Jewish subjects, but idolatry was not imputed to him on either occasion.³⁵ Galilee under Antipas (2 BCE–39 CE) seems to have been an image-free environment. No public statues of Octavian or Tiberius were exhibited; the imperial cult was not promulgated; images of the Greco-Roman pantheon were not displayed; and even the tetrarch's coins lacked figural devices.³⁶ Jesus was born and grew to adulthood within the shadow of Sepphoris, Antipas's first toparchic capital, but even in that place Gentile cult images, both imperial and mythic, seem to have been

³³ C. Roth, "An ordinance against images in Jeruslaem, A.D. 66," *HTR* 49 (1956) 169–77. Roth thought the Sanhedrin enacted a statute forbidding all pictorial representation, and he argued that Josephus had received orders to enforce the new law. If this is the correct construal, Josephus did not succeed in carrying out his orders; Jesus ben Sapphias beat him to it (as described at *Life* 66–67; also 134, 271). Jesus not only torched Antipas's palace in Tiberias, but he also slaughtered the Greek ethnos in Antipas's toparchic polis. On Jesus son of Sapphias, see S. Freyne, *Galilee from Alexander the Great to Hadrian 323 B.C.E. to 135 C. E.* (Wilmington, DE: Glazier; South Bend, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 1980) index of peoples and places, s.v.

³⁴ *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (2d ed.) A746. His life is reconstructed in the splendid monograph by H. W. Hoehner, *Herod Antipas* (SNTSMS 17; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

³⁵ Namely, his laying up the foundation of Tiberias (which he imbued with the constitution of a polis) over a Jewish necropolis (Josephus, *Ant.* 18 §38)—of unknown date, possibly 17–23 CE—with a preference for the latter year as the time of formal incorporation; and, second, his marriage (possibly 29–30 CE) to Herodias (*Prosopographia Imperii Romani* 161), as reported by Josephus (*Ant.* 18 §§109–36); see Hoehner, *Herod Antipas*, 97–100, 129–45.

³⁶ Y. Meshorer, *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period* (Tel-Aviv: Am Hassefer, 1967) 72ff. (nos. 63–75); idem, *Ancient Jewish Coinage II* (Dix Hills, NY: Amphora, 1982); *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* 6 (Palestine and South Arabia) (ed. Y. Meshorer; New York: American Numismatic Society, 1981) nos. 227–33: Tiberias mint.

conspicuous by their absence. This intriguing detail could conceivably have some indirect bearing on the Marcan editor's portrayal of the rabbi from Nazareth.

IV. Mark's Agenda

The editor of the second Gospel probably wrote shortly after the events of 66–70. In other words, he looked back at the hero of his story across two generations of time, and his view of this subject was filtered through lenses tinged by the bright colors of recent events. Mark's literary purposes are immediately discernible, and his story is internally consistent and carefully constructed.³⁷ But when one tries to pass behind the literary curtain to get a glimpse at the historical person who is the subject of the Marcan literary composition, one runs up against formidable problems.

The hero of the Marcan narrative is a Galilean Jew who lives and operates for the most part in a predominantly Jewish context within lower central Galilee. True, Mark's Jesus is also familiar with other peoples and places, but the primary locus of his life and work is Galilee, in and around Nazareth, where he speaks the regional Aramaic³⁸ and associates with his own kind of people—namely, rural peasants (*'am hā-āreš*), farmers and villagers at the middle to lower levels of free-born Palestinian Jewry. Beyond Nazareth, Mark puts Jesus in Cana (178.247³⁹), approximately sixteen kilometers north of Nazareth across the Acre-Tiberias road, and in Nain (183.226), roughly twenty kilometers southeast of Nazareth on the Exaloth-Dabaritta-Endor road.⁴⁰ Like the other editors of the Jesus tradition, Mark uses topography⁴¹ in symbolic and theological ways, and his evident purpose is to situate the hero squarely within

³⁷ See S. Freyne, *Galilee, Jesus and the Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) passim, esp. 33–68.

³⁸ And perhaps occasionally Mishnaic Hebrew. This is much discussed and endlessly debated. See M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); H. Ott, "Um die Muttersprache Jesu: Forschungen seit Gustav Dalman," *NovT* 9 (1967) 1–25; H. Rüger, "Zum Problem der Sprache Jesu," *ZNTW* 50 (1968) 113–22; J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Languages of Palestine in the First Century A.D.," *CBQ* 32 (1970) 501–31; C. Rabin, "Hebrew and Aramaic in the First Century," *CRINT* 1.2 (1976) 1007–39; G. Mussies, "Greek in Palestine and the Diaspora," *CRINT* 1.2 (1976) 1040–56.

³⁹ Coordinates based on the British Survey Map; see M. Avi-Yonah, *Gazeteer of Roman Palestine* (Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1976 = *Qedem* 5).

⁴⁰ For a map the Acre-Tiberias and Exaloth-Dabaritta-Endor roads, see M. Avi-Yonah, "Map of Roman Palestine," *QDAP* 5 (1935) 139–93.

⁴¹ On symbolic/theological topography, see E. Lohmeyer, *Galiläa und Jerusalem* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1936); R. H. Lightfoot, *Locality and Doctrine in the Gospels* (New York/London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1938); W. D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974); Freyne, *Galilee*, 356–72; J. Bassler, "The Galileans: A Neglected Factor in Johannine Community Research," *CBQ* 43 (1981) 243–57; E. S. Malbon, "Galilee and Jerusalem: History and Literature in Marcan Interpretation," *CBQ* 44 (1982) 242–55; Finney, "TOPOS HIEROS."

the “Galilee of the Jews.”⁴² The Jewishness of the environment in which the hero is said to have lived and worked is important to Mark.

Based on the expression of attitudes toward Temple, land, and Torah, Mark’s hero comes across as an unconventional Jew. In addressing him, his disciples and outsiders use the term “rabbi,” but Jesus’ response, which typically he articulates in parables and aphorisms, does not help to situate him among the scribes and teachers attested for Second Temple Judaism. The Marcan hero reluctantly receives questions framed in halakic form but rarely responds in kind. Furthermore, by rabbinic standards he teaches in the wrong place. Instead of synagogues, this rabbi chooses the desert, the seashore, the plains, roadways, and hills. He is an open-air preacher, and his itinerant, nontraditional life-style contributes as much to the impression that he is an outsider to rabbinic ways as does the content of his teaching. As for the latter, on traditional subjects (Temple, land, law) Mark’s Jesus reflects an idiosyncratic point of view. His attitudes toward real and personal property, toward paying taxes, toward agricultural offerings and tithing set him apart. Likewise his views on the sabbath, on dietary and purification halakot, on marriage, divorce, and adultery deviate from the mainstream. Mark’s Jesus is not a rabbi with scroll in hand: he does not justify either himself or his teaching by an appeal to authorities within rabbinic tradition. Instead his authority seems to be based on his own personal experience, which he wraps in a variety of metaphors. Conspicuous among them are figures of speech derived from the life among

⁴² Hellenistic Jews had a sense that there were two Galilees, one of the Jews, the other “Galilee of the Gentiles” (1 Macc 5:15). Jesus’ editors (Mark included) put him in both environments, although it is clear they think he belongs primarily to the former; see Freyne, *Galilee, Jesus and the Gospels*, passim, esp. 33–68, 219–68. Based on a broad evidentiary spectrum (epigraphy, coins, terra-cotta, glass, architecture, and architectural ornament), modern scholars have attempted to distinguish the two Galilees. Greek language and Hellenistic forms are supposed to point to Gentile Galilee; Aramaic and “Semitic” material culture to its opposite. In other words the underlying criterion of distinction is ethnicity, expressed linguistically and materially. The most ambitious effort to distinguish the two Galilees under the latter rubric comes from Eric Meyers: “Galilean Regionalism as a Factor in Historical Reconstruction,” *BASOR* 221 (1976) 93–101; “The Cultural Setting of Galilee: The Case of Regionalism and Early Judaism,” *ANRW* 2.19.1 (1979) 686–702; “Galilean Regionalism: A Reappraisal,” in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism 5: Studies in Judaism in its Greco-Roman Context* (ed. W. Green; BJS 32; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985) 115–31; idem with J. F. Strange and D. Groh, “The Meiron Excavation Project: Archaeological Survey in Galilee and Golan, 1976,” *BASOR* 230 (1978) 1–24. Meyers believes that in the Roman period upper central and eastern Galilee were more Jewish (*lege*: Aramaic) than lower Galilee, which he believes was predominantly Gentile (*lege*: Greek). Meyers may be on target for the period after 135, but for the period that concerns us here—namely, Galilee before 66–70—Josephus and the Gospels paint another picture, namely, of a lower central Galilee that has a predominantly Jewish demography. For Jewish Galilee based on epigraphic criteria, Meyers (“Galilean Regionalism,” 97 n. 21) says he is relying on a survey conducted by James Strange along the western shores of the Sea of Galilee and in the “southern half of lower Galilee” (whose borders Meyers does not define: south of the Acre-Tiberias road?). Strange’s survey was never published; hence it is impossible to evaluate Meyers’s claims on this point. It would be useful to have access to Strange’s survey.

the Galilean 'am *hā-āreš*. Mark's hero comes across as his own man: he has no apparent need to stand on the shoulders of his predecessors or to invoke their authority.

Given the Marcan picture of this rabbi, there is no inconsistency in a teacher who invites his Jewish (and Idumean) interlocutors to look at a coin laden with idolatrous subject matter. It is reasonable to suppose that Pharisees, who are mentioned in 12:13 as one of the two hostile groups approaching Jesus, would have taken umbrage in the coin devices on the Tiberian denarius. On the other hand, although Jews, the Herodians (elsewhere known as Boethusians⁴³) were clearly pro-Roman in their political sympathies; hence, looking at a Tiberian denarius would have caused them no soul-searching. But these are secondary issues. The main point is that for the Marcan editor the whole question of whether Jews should or should not look at idolatrous images is a nonissue. Mark has a different agenda. Rigoristic *halakot* centering on the ritual and daily avoidance of contact with idolatrous subjects is of no interest either to this editor or to his hero.

V. Before Mark

As noted above, when one attempts to go behind the Marcan literary curtain one is caught up short in a web of critical problems. To try to establish Jesus' "true" or "inner" thoughts on the question of iconic idolatry is not a fruitful line of inquiry. As we have just seen, on the evidence of the "tribute money" pericope, the rabbi who is the hero of the second Gospel shows no interest in pursuing this question; and since this literary setting provides a perfect opportunity to comment on idolatry, and since it is the most likely place within the Jesus tradition (as we have it) where this issue might have been developed or at least commented on by the hero, it seems reasonable to leave the matter unresolved.

But there is one other potentially fruitful avenue of approach, and it deserves brief consideration here. At issue is the physical and material environment in which Jesus was born and grew to adulthood. As it happens, we have bits and pieces of information on this subject, and these fragments, which are pre-Markan in date, give us a sense of the immediate world of lower central Galilee during Jesus' lifetime. This takes us back to Antipas and his first toparchic capital.

The tetrarch made Sepphoris his residence and administrative headquarters for roughly a decade (ca. 2/1 BCE–9/10 CE) before he moved on to

⁴³ High priests (23 BCE–6 CE; see Josephus, *Ant.* 15 §§320–22; 17 §§78, 164–67, 339, 341; 18 §3) from the house of Boethus, politically attached to the Herodian household but religiously affiliated with the Sadducees; see Hoehner, *Herod Antipas*, 337–39, 342.

Tiberias.⁴⁴ Sepphoris was situated a mere six kilometers northwest of Nazareth, and the most direct route to the Acre-Tiberias road (and beyond it to central and upper Galilee) was the road that exited Nazareth to the north and passed through Sepphoris. There can be little doubt but that Jesus knew Sepphoris. How well he knew it is debatable. According to the Jesus tradition, it was not a target city during his career as an itinerant preacher, and this could mean that Sepphoris (like Tiberias and Araba) was a Galilean center with a proportionately large non-Jewish population.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, at Sepphoris we have no epigraphic or documentary basis on which to evaluate that inference. But whether predominantly Jewish or non-Jewish, Sepphoris clearly figured as a well-known landmark in the world that Jesus knew as a boy and a young man. He may well have found employment as a day laborer⁴⁶ in the toparchic capital before he embarked on his career in religion. In any case, the effort to dissociate Jesus from Sepphoris (whatever the ultimate motivation of that effort may be) is unconvincing.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ See M. Avi-Yonah, *Gazeteer of Roman Palestine*, s.v.; also S. S. Miller, *Studies in the History and Tradition of Sepphoris* (SJLA 37; Leiden: Brill, 1984). On the archaeology of Sepphoris, see *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* 4 (ed. M. Avi-Yonah and E. Stern; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1978) s.v. On recent excavations, see E. M. Meyers, E. Netzer, C. L. Meyers, *Sepphoris* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992) and the literature there.

⁴⁵ These dates are approximate. Herod died in March or April of 4 BCE. Octavian construed his will twice, first in mid-July, a second time in October or November and did not issue the final disposition of Herod's property until late November. Archelaus, Philip, and Antipas returned to Palestine in the spring of the following year. Allowing for the time involved in the return journey (thirty to sixty days) and in the gathering of work gangs and construction materials, Antipas could have begun to rebuild Sepphoris in the summer or fall of 3 BCE. Sepphoris remained Antipas's principle residence until he decided to move to Tiberias. He probably spent the better part of a decade overseeing the construction of the latter place, whose foundation date (between 17/18 and 22/23) is not known.

Araba I (182.250) was an administrative center approximately five kilometers northeast of Cana; see *Gazeteer of Roman Palestine*, *Qedem* 5 (1976) s.v. The Jesus tradition puts its hero in Cana, Nazareth, Nain (from north to south in central or west central Galilee) and in Capernaum, Gennesareth, and Taricheae-Magdala (from north to south along the northwest shore of the Sea of Galilee), but it does situate him in any of the three Galilean administrative and economic centers (Sepphoris, Tiberias, Araba I). The reason?

⁴⁶ In Mark 6:3, Jesus is *tektōn*; in Matt 13:55, he is the son of a *tektōn*. For epigraphic attestations of artifex/technites, see H. von Petrikovits, "Die Spezialisierung des römischen Handwerks," in *Das Handwerk in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit I* (ed. H. Jahnkuhn et al.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981) 63–132; continued as Part II in *ZPE* 43 (1981) 285–306. On Jesus as a day laborer in Sepphoris, see S. J. Case, *Jesus: A New Biography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927) 199–206.

⁴⁷ A. Alt, "Die Stätten des Wirkens Jesu in Galiläa territorialgeschichtlich betrachtet," *ZDPV* 68 (1951) 51–72; appears within "Beiträge zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde" (ed. D. M. Noth); also in Alt's *Kleine Schriften* (2d ed.; Munich: Beck, 1953, 1959) 2. 436–57. Alt's argument rests on two considerations, one jurisdictional/administrative, the other topographical. Neither is convincing. As for the first, based on Eusebius (*Onom.* 138.24; 141.1), Alt wanted to connect Nazareth with Legio (167.220), a Hadrianic fortress on the south ridge of the Jezreel rift. After 135 Nazareth clearly fell under the jurisdiction of Legio-Lejjūn, but there is no evidence (nor

The archaeology of Herodian Sepphoris (which Antipas renamed Autokratoris) is not well understood. This much is clear. Responding (4 BCE) to the Jewish "apostasis" at Sepphoris, Varus, the Roman legate to Syria, destroyed the city and sold its inhabitants into slavery.⁴⁸ Antipas rebuilt Sepphoris over Varus's ruins. He refurbished and expanded the aqueducts leading into the city. He rebuilt those stretches of the precinct wall destroyed by the Romans, and he built a theater. Josephus reports (*Ant.* 18 §27) that, under Antipas, Sepphoris became the "ornament of all Galilee," and it seems clear that in Sepphoris Antipas was attempting to create a provincial Herodian equivalent (albeit, on a modest scale) of a Hellenistic polis. According to Josephus (*Life* 37), even after Tiberias replaced Sepphoris as the seat of Antipas's government in Galilee, Sepphoris remained the largest city in Galilee. The population of Sepphoris was mixed. There were Jews, although how many we do not (and cannot) know. The presumption that they were in the majority is probably a retrojection based on evidence that postdates 135. Josephus (*Life* 376–77; *J.W.* 3 §32) makes it clear that the Jewish presence in Sepphoris was one of the main reasons for sparing the city in the war of 66–70, but again, what this implies about the relative size of the Jewish population in Sepphoris we do not know. It is unlikely that during Antipas's lifetime the population of Sepphoris would have exceeded twenty-five thousand, but, by first-century Galilean standards, this was a very large urban populace.

With reference to the question of Gentile idolatry, the striking feature of Sepphoris is not so much what we find as what we do not find. Despite Antipas's demonstrably pro-Roman sympathies, there was no imperial temple in Sepphoris, and hence no cult of Augustus or of Tiberius, his successor. There is no archaeological evidence of other pagan cult installations, no altars or statue bases, no inscriptions and no architectural foundations. As already mentioned,

the slightest likelihood) that it was so defined before 66–70. Based on Josephus (*J.W.* 2 §573; 3 §§289–306; *Life* 230, 233), Alt also wanted to connect Nazareth with Japhia (176.232). Because of the role that Japhia-Yâfa (Iapha, Gabala) played in the war of 66–70, Alt thought Nazareth must have been founded from Japhia and was subject to its jurisdiction rather than to the jurisdiction of the toparchic capital. There is no epigraphic or documentary evidence to support this second of Alt's two retrojections. See D. Barag, "Japhia," *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land II* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1976) s.v. As for topography, Alt observed that a limestone outcrop (dimensions?) separates Sepphoris from Nazareth, with the result that the road which leaves Nazareth to the north rises precipitously (gradient?). He also observed that Nazareth is drained to the south in the direction of the north rim of the Megiddo plateau, whereas Sepphoris drains westward in the wadi el-melek, which debouches in the Bay of Acre. To which the best reasonable response is So what? These topographical considerations are simply irrelevant to the issue. Clearly, common sense, based on what we know of the road system (see M. Avi-Yonah, "Map of Roman Palestine," *QDAP* 5 [1935] 139–93) in lower central Galilee, tells us that any ambulatory adult resident of Nazareth under Antipas's reign would have known Sepphoris: it was the largest market in lower central Galilee; it was the toparchic capital; and from Nazareth it lay on the main road connecting with the Acre-Tiberias highway as well as with the villages of upper central Galilee.

⁴⁸ "Quinctilius (Quintilius)" = P. Quinctilius Varus (R. Hanslik) *Kleine PW*, s.v.

Antipas's coin devices (both obverses and reverses) were nonfigural in character. In short, like the villages and hamlets in lower central Galilee that Jesus frequented in his youth and early adulthood, Sepphoris was evidently an aniconic environment, devoid of the kinds of figural statuary and painting that Galilean Jews would have found offensive. Unlike other members of his family (notably Herod his father and Philip, his half-brother⁴⁹), Antipas was careful to respect this Jewish cultural boundary and evidently oversaw an image-free Galilee, even in his toparchic capital.

What these facts tell us is that Jesus was born and raised in a setting where his exposure to pagan cult images was exceedingly limited, perhaps even non-existent. Jews living in this environment would have had little real-life provocations that might have led them to debate the issues raised by this specific form of idolatry. There seem to have been no iconic violations of Jewish sensibilities in lower central Galilee, and the tetrarch evidently saw to it that none would occur. Antipas did not want iconic provocations to become an irritant in relations between Jews and Gentiles. Thus, on this issue (admittedly limited in scope), it might be reasonable to conclude that the Jesus who is the literary product of the Marcan editor and the Jesus who lived most of his life in lower central Galilee under the rule of Herod Antipas could have shared similar (or identical) attitudes toward the issue of iconic idolatry in its two familiar forms, namely, images of the gods and of Caesar. The rabbi who is the hero of Mark's story treats this as a nonissue. The itinerant preacher from Nazareth may have done the same.

VI. After Mark

When we look in the other direction, namely, to the period after the Marcan recension, it is clear that the pericope in question has a traceable afterlife. Both Matthew (22:15–22) and Luke (20:20–26) transmit the narrative, and, unlike the Marcan editor, both mention not only the superscription but also the image on the coin. An *Unknown Gospel* (Papyrus Egerton 2), dated to the mid-second century, transmits the logion in a variant form but says nothing of the coin.⁵⁰ The fourth-century Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*, written in the Sahidic dialect, also records a variant form of the logion and mentions a coin but says nothing of its superscription or image.⁵¹ Justin, Clement,

⁴⁹ On Herod Philip II, see *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* P263.

⁵⁰ See H. I. Bell and T. C. Skeat, *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and Other Early Christian Papyri* (London: British Museum, 1935) 9–15.

⁵¹ *The Gospel according to Thomas* (ed. A. Guillaumont et al.; Leiden/New York: Brill, 1959) logion 100:

They showed Jesus a gold (coin) and
said to Him:
Caesar's men ask taxes from us

Tertullian, the anonymous *Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs*, Irenaeus, Origen, and the *Sentences of Sextus* (anonymous and Neopythagorean in origin; edited by a Christian ca. 200) all either quote the logion from one of the Synoptics or allude to it.

Most of these later sources feel compelled to make sense of the logion. Tertullian, for example, distinguishing the two spheres of authority (Caesar's and God's), contrasts the emperor's image on the coin with God's image in humans (a Stoic *topos*); his conclusion: you should give money to Caesar but since you carry God's image in your person, give yourself to God (. . . *ut Caesari quidem pecuniam reddas, deo temetipsum* . . . , *Idol.* 15.3). But none of the later Christian transmitters feels the need to comment on the rightness or wrongness of (Christians') looking at an idolatrous image on a pagan coin. To be sure, this issue lives on in later antiquity, but only in the Mishna and the Talmud. It is a quintessentially Jewish subject, specifically a Jewish Palestinian subject, one that Christians ignore.

This is not to suggest that NT testimonies were viewed as unimportant or irrelevant in the development of early Christian exegetical traditions centering on art-related matters, especially idolatry in its traditionally twin iconic forms, images of the gods and of Caesar. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Beginning with the second-century Greek apologists, art-related subject matter (idolatry being a prominent theme) became a major issue in patristic exegetical tradition, and most patristic writers sought to justify their views by an appeal to precedents said to be located in the NT. The same is true for the later controversialists who participated in the Byzantine and Reformation phases of the image debate: they too sought justification of their arguments in NT precedents. But the Marcan pericope was not among these precedents; indeed, on the whole, in later Christian discussion of iconic idolatry and other art-related matters, the Gospel tradition represented by the Synoptics and John took a back seat to the Pauline corpus, to Acts, and to Revelation. More needs to be said on these latter three, but only at another time and place.⁵²

He said to them: Give the things of Caesar
to Caesar, give the things of God to God
and give me what is mine.

⁵² For criticism and helpful suggestions, my thanks to David Adams, Chris Beker, Jerry Gorham, Helmut Koester, Brooks Levy, Kathleen McVey, Eric Meyers, Peter Ochs, Patrick Skehan (†), Moody Smith, Morton Smith, Jim Tierney, and the anonymous *JBL* reviewer.

PAUL'S USE OF DEUTERONOMIC TRADITION

JAMES M. SCOTT

Trinity Western University, Langley, BC V3A 6H4

I. Introduction

It has often been observed that Paul confines his citations of the OT to certain letters and that he tends to gravitate toward certain OT books more than others. Of the approximately one hundred explicit citations of the OT in the Pauline corpus, almost all appear in the *Hauptbriefe*.¹ In fact, among the uncontested letters of Paul, not only are the explicit citations confined to the *Hauptbriefe*, but fully half are found in Romans alone. And fully half of the OT quotations in Romans are found in chaps. 9-11. Just as uneven as the distribution of the OT citations in Paul is the selection of OT books that he cites. Paul obviously has a preference for citations of Isaiah, Psalms, Genesis, and Deuteronomy. According to Dietrich-Alex Koch, Paul cites Isaiah 28 times, Psalms 20 times, and Genesis and Deuteronomy each 15 times.² No other book is quoted more than 5 times.

What attracts Paul specifically to these OT books? On the one hand, what draws Paul to Isaiah is relatively clear. In the words of Richard Hays, "Isaiah offers the clearest expression in the Old Testament of a universalistic, eschatological vision in which the restoration of Israel in Zion is accompanied by an ingathering of Gentiles to worship the Lord; that is why the book is both statistically and substantively the most important scriptural source for Paul."³ This is true, according to Hays, even when Paul cites Isa 52:5 in Rom 2:24

¹ See D. Moody Smith, "The Pauline Literature," in *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture. Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars* (ed. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 272, summarizing the table of OT citations on pp. 268-72.

² Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus* (BHT 69; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1986) 33. Paul's concentration on these four OT books corresponds to the general tendency of the NT as a whole, as a glance at the "Index of Quotations" in *UBSGNT* (3d ed.) shows: Isaiah (66 times); Psalms (79 times); Genesis (39 times); and Deuteronomy (54 times). Exodus is also cited quite frequently in the NT (44 times).

³ Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1989) 162.

("For, as it is written, 'The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you'") and imaginatively assumes thereby that the present-day Israel that he is castigating is in exile, for the quotation of Isa 59:20 and 27:9 in Rom 11:26–27 shows that the apostle sees beyond the exile to Isaiah's words of hope and restoration.⁴

On the other hand, what attracts Paul to Deuteronomy is perhaps less clear. Hays calls Deuteronomy "the most surprising member of Paul's functional canon within the canon."⁵ For, as he goes on to argue:

One might expect this book of conditional blessings and curses to bear witness—as it apparently does in Gal 3:10,13—to precisely the sort of performance-based religion that Paul wants to reject. In fact, however, none of Paul's other references to the book is pejorative in character; nowhere else is Deuteronomy disparaged as a retrograde voice of legalism. Instead, . . . the words of Deuteronomy become [in Romans] the voice of The Righteousness from Faith [and] a prefiguration of Paul's gospel.⁶

Hays never resolves the tension between Paul's uses of Deuteronomy in Galatians and Romans. He does, however, emphasize the key importance of the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy 32. In fact, Hays goes so far as to say that "Deuteronomy 32 contains Romans *in nuce*,"⁷ a statement he substantiates by two considerations: (1) Deuteronomy 32 contains the salvation-historical scheme appropriated in Romans: God's election and care for Israel (vv. 6–14), Israel's rebellion (vv. 15–18; cf. v. 5), God's judgment upon them (vv. 19–35), and ultimately God's final deliverance and vindication of his own people (vv. 36–43). (2) Deuteronomy 32 contains both the prophecy that God would stir Israel to jealousy through the Gentiles, cited in Rom 10:19 (cf. Deut 32:21), and the invitation to the Gentiles to join with God's people in praise, cited in Rom 15:10 (cf. Deut 32:43). For Hays, therefore, Deuteronomy is used by Paul in much the same way as Isaiah, that is, as a part of "his typological reading strategy"⁸ to find a scriptural basis for a universalistic, eschatological vision in which the restoration of Israel is accompanied by the inclusion of Gentiles to worship the Lord.⁹

⁴ See Hays, *Echoes*, 16 (emphasis mine): "The quotation of Isa. 52:5 works metaphorically in Paul's argument only if the reader castigated by the text imaginatively takes the role of *Israel in exile*. Yet the reader who assumes that posture cannot then fail to hear also the promises of hope and deliverance that Isaiah speaks to Israel in exile. Paul will speak these words aloud later in the letter." See also p. 158.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, 164.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Although the basic points of comparison between Paul's use of Deuteronomy 32 and Isaiah are well taken, several questions still remain: (1) If Deuteronomy 32 contains Romans *in nuce*, why does the salvation-historical scheme of the former seem to apply mostly to Romans 9–11 rather than to the letter as a whole? Furthermore, if Deuteronomy 32 is so crucial to Romans, why are there only three explicit citations of Deuteronomy 32 and all in the latter half of the

There can be no question that Hays is fundamentally correct: Deuteronomy is crucial to Paul's thinking. By the same token, however, much of Second Temple literature is heavily influenced by Deuteronomic tradition. How does Paul square with this tradition? Although Hays recognizes that Paul's "typological reading strategy extends a typological trajectory begun already in the texts themselves,"¹⁰ he does not follow through with this idea by showing how Paul's use of Deuteronomy is mediated by OT/Jewish tradition. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to examine a pervasive Deuteronomic tradition and to indicate, at least in a very preliminary way, how Paul appropriates this tradition in letters as early as 1 Thessalonians and as late as Romans.

II. The Deuteronomic View of Israel's History

In his monumental study of OT/Jewish and NT sources regarding the role and fate of "the prophets" in Israel's history, Odil H. Steck argues at length that for Palestinian Judaism of about 200 BC to AD 100 an OT/Jewish tradition, called the Deuteronomic View of Israel's History (*das deuteronomistische Geschichtsbild* [dtrGB]), permeated virtually all extant literature and covered the whole history of Israel from initial election to ultimate salvation.¹¹ Steck argues further that by the final stage of its development in the period from Antiochus IV to 2 *Baruch*, the dtrGB was still a living tradition capable of a certain fluidity of expression, but that it had also become a relatively fixed conceptual framework containing six elements at its core. In the interest of brevity and continuity, each of these elements will be illustrated in the following by a citation from the second-century BC national confession of sin in Bar 1:15–3:8, which clearly contains the Deuteronomic tradition; many other examples can be found in Steck's book.

(1) The Deuteronomic View of Israel's History affirms that Israel has been persistently "stiff-necked," rebellious, and disobedient during its whole long history. For example, Bar 1:5–3:8 commences with these words: "We have disobeyed him [sc. the Lord], and have not heeded the voice of the Lord our God, to walk in the statutes of the Lord that he set before us. From the time

letter? Would it not be more accurate to say then that Deuteronomy 32 contains Romans 9–11 *in nuce*? How and why do these Deuteronomic texts function together? (2) If Galatians and Romans—which, interestingly enough, contain most of Paul's citations of Deuteronomy (see Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 21–23)—represent the apostle's attempts to defend his gospel in the face of Jewish(-Christian) opposition (see Peter Stuhlmacher, "The Purpose of Romans," in *The Romans Debate* [rev. ed.; ed. Karl P. Donfried; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991] 231–42), is it really probable that Paul's use of Deuteronomy would result from a "typological reading strategy"? Is it not more likely that Paul would adduce arguments from scripture that his opponents would have to respect, ones that had the weight of Jewish tradition behind them?

¹⁰ Hays, *Echoes*, 164.

¹¹ Odil H. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes im Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum* (WMANT 23; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967) 189.

when the Lord brought our ancestors out of the land of Egypt *to this day*,¹² *we* have been disobedient to the Lord our God and *we* have been negligent, in not heeding his voice" (1:18–19). As is characteristic of other national confessions of sin in this period which contain the *dtrGB*, the contemporary generation of Israel identifies with the sins of the fathers: "We have been disobedient. . . ." ¹³

(2) After establishing the persistence of Israel's sin right up to the present, the Deuteronomic View of Israel's History goes on to affirm that God constantly sent his messengers, the prophets, to call his people to repentance and obedience. Bar 1:15–3:8 makes reference to "the prophets whom he [sc. God] sent to us" (1:21).

(3) Nevertheless, Israel continued in its obduracy and rejected the message of the prophets. Again, the words of the national confession of sin in Bar 1:15–3:8: "We did not listen to the voice of the Lord our God in all the words of the prophets whom he sent to us, but all of us followed the intent of our own wicked hearts by serving other gods and doing what is evil in the sight of the Lord" (Bar 1:21–22). Some texts which are framed by the Deuteronomic tradition stress that Israel not only rejected the message of the prophets but actually persecuted and killed them (e.g., Neh 9:26; *Jub.* 1:12; *1 Enoch* 89:51).

(4) Therefore, in view of Israel's intransigence, the wrath¹⁴ of God burned against Israel; judgment came upon them starting in (722 or) 587 BC; and the people were sent into exile. According to the *dtrGB*, the condition of exile lasted all through the Second Temple period and even beyond, because the sin of the people and therefore their guilt did not abate.¹⁵ Thus, as the narrative introduction to Baruch shows (1:1–14), the prayer in Bar 1:15–3:8 was to be prayed on behalf of Jerusalem, because "*to this day* the anger of the Lord and his wrath have not turned away from us" (1:13). The confession itself goes on to state, in obvious allusion to Deuteronomy 27–32: "So *to this day* there have clung to us the calamities and the curse which the Lord declared through his servant Moses . . ." (Bar 1:20). And similarly somewhat later in the same

¹² On this and similar phrases, which occur frequently in OT/Jewish literature, see M. Sæbo, *TDOT* 6, 15–16. Of particular interest here are the passages that see Israel in a state of sin and punishment from a point in the distant past "to this day": cf., e.g., Deut 29:3 (cited in Rom 11:8), 27; 4 Kgdms 17:23; 1 Esdr 8:73–74; 2 Esdr 9:7; Neh 9:32; Bar 1:13, 19; 2:6; Ezek 2:3; 20:31.

¹³ On the use of the first person plural in such texts, see Steck, *Israel*, 114, 119, 120–21, 124–27. This is especially significant if Baruch was used in synagogue liturgy, for the confession of sin would then have been repeated on a regular basis. See Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC–AD 135)* (ed. Geza Vermes et al.; Edinburgh: Clark, 1973–87) 3/2: 739–80.

¹⁴ On the "wrath" of God in the *dtrGB*, see further below on 1 Thess 2:16.

¹⁵ For an overview of the concept in early Judaism of a protracted exile, see my forthcoming article "For as many as are of works of the Law are under a curse" (Galatians 3.10)," in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel* (ed. James A. Sanders and C. A. Evans; JSNTSup 83; Studies in Scripture and Early Judaism 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).

confession: "See, *we* are today in our exile where you have scattered us, to be reproached and cursed and punished for all the iniquities of our ancestors, who forsook the Lord our God" (3:8). Gerhard von Rad also observes this exilic perspective in Bar 1:15–3:8 and other similar texts with Deuteronomic elements, including Daniel 9, Nehemiah 9 and Ezra 9, which he calls "doxologies of judgment." According to von Rad, these texts reflect groups who felt the catastrophe of 587 BC as an undiminished reality, for although that date had long passed, they still considered themselves to be under the judgment of Yahweh.¹⁶ One reason that the curse and the exile were seen as continuing during this period is that the glorious OT expectations of national restoration failed to materialize. As Jacob Neusner points out in his recent book *Self-Fulfilling Prophecy: Exile and Return in the History of Judaism*, all Judaic systems emphasize the present experience of exile as a recapitulation of 587 BC.¹⁷ Neusner argues that because the restoration did not happen in the sixth century as was expected on the basis of the Torah, all "Judaisms" continued to push the expectation of return and restoration into the future and view themselves as living in an exile situation. Another reason that the curse and exile were seen as continuing even long after 587 BC is that God periodically sent fresh evidence of his wrath. The oppressions under Antiochus IV, Pompey, and Titus reconfirmed that divine judgment still hung over the people.

(5) The Deuteronomic View of Israel's History holds that, during the protracted exile, Israel still has the chance of repenting of sin. Thus the national confession of sin in Bar 1:15–3:8 affirms, again referring to the latter section of Deuteronomy:

Yet you have dealt with us, O Lord our God, in all your kindness and in all your great compassion, as you spoke by your servant Moses on the day when you commanded him to write your law in the presence of the people of Israel, saying, "If you will not obey my voice, this very great multitude will surely turn into a small number among the nations, where I will scatter them. For I know they are a stiff-necked people. But in the land of their exile they will come to themselves and know that I am the Lord their God. I will give them a heart that obeys and ears that hear; they will . . . turn from their stubbornness and their wicked deeds." (Bar 2:27–33)

The confession goes on to implore the mercy of God, for although the petitioners are repentant, they are still in exile (3:1–8). The point of much Second Temple literature is, however, that the obduracy of Israel persisted all during the protracted exile.¹⁸

¹⁶ See Gerhard von Rad, "Gerichtsdoxologie," in *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament Band II* (ed. Rudolf Smend; TBü: AT 48; Munich: Kaiser, 1973) 246–47. See further Christian Müller, *Gottes Gerechtigkeit und Gottes Volk: Eine Untersuchung zu Römer 9–11* (FRLANT 86; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964) 59–64, 108–9.

¹⁷ Jacob Neusner, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecy: Exile and Return in the History of Judaism* (Boston: Beacon, 1987). Neusner has a cyclical view of exile, whereas the Deuteronomic perspective is more linear and/or existential (cf. Steck, *Israel*, 187–88).

¹⁸ See Steck, *Israel*, 187.

(6) If the people repent, then, according to the Deuteronomic View of Israel's History, God will restore them to the land and to a covenantal relationship with himself. Thus the national confession of sin in Baruch continues with the divine promise, again alluding to the latter section of Deuteronomy (cf. Bar 2:28ff.): "I will bring them again into the land that I swore to their ancestors, to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. . . . I will make an everlasting covenant with them to be their God and they shall be my people; and I will never again remove my people from the land that I have given them" (Bar 2:34–35). As George Nickelsburg comments:

The destruction of Jerusalem and the Exile meant the disruption of life and the breaking up of institutions whose original form was never fully restored. Much of post-biblical Jewish theology and literature was influenced and sometimes governed by a hope for such a restoration: a return of the dispersed; the appearance of a Davidic heir to throw off the shackles of foreign domination and restore Israel's sovereignty; the gathering of one people around a new and glorified Temple.¹⁹

Sometimes this included the expectation of an eschatological pilgrimage of the Gentiles to Zion to share in the restoration of Israel.²⁰ Other texts emphasize that, along with the enemies of Israel, unrepentant Israel will fall under the final judgment of God.

These six elements which compose the Deuteronomic View of Israel's History in the Second Temple period can be diagrammed in terms of the familiar sin–exile–restoration (SER) scheme.²¹ As Steck points out, however, it is not necessary for an OT or Jewish text to contain all six elements, as Bar 1:15–3:8 does, in order for that text to be framed by the Deuteronomic perspective. Indeed, some texts may emphasize certain elements more than others and may therefore omit one or more elements; other texts may expand an element by including a related tradition. But all of this takes place within the basic Deuteronomic conceptual framework. As a result of this observation, Steck is able to show the pervasiveness of the Deuteronomic perspective not only in Palestinian Judaism of about 200 BC to AD 200 but also in the NT, including Paul's letters.

¹⁹ George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981) 18.

²⁰ Cf. *Pss. Sol.* 17:30–35; 2 *Apoc. Bar.* 68:5; Tob 13:11; 14:6–7; 1 *Enoch* 90:30ff.

²¹ See Steck, *Israel*, 186. Joseph Klausner traces the OT/Jewish tradition of the so-called messianic chain consisting of sin–punishment–repentance–redemption (*The Messianic Idea in Israel from Its Beginning to the Completion of the Mishnah* [3d ed.; London: Allen & Unwin, 1956]). See, e.g., H. W. Hollander and M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary* (SVTP 8; Leiden: Brill, 1985) 83–85.

III. Paul's Appropriation of the Deuteronomic Tradition

1 *Thessalonians* 2:15–16

Steck has shown that in the polemic against the Jews in 1 Thess 2:15–16²² Paul appropriates a Hellenistic Jewish-Christian tradition²³ that adapts the *dtrGB* to include the death of Jesus as the culmination of Israel's rejection of the prophets.²⁴ Beginning in v. 14, Paul compares the persecution the Thessalonians experienced from their countrymen to that which the churches in Judea suffered at the hands of "the Jews." Then in vv. 15–16, he goes on to describe the Jews in more general terms as those

who killed both the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and drove us out; they displease God and oppose all people, by hindering us from speaking to the Gentiles so that they might be saved. Thus they have constantly been filling up the measure of their sins; but God's wrath has come upon them εἰς τέλος.

Here, as in the first element of the Deuteronomic perspective, the historic sin of the people is seen as ongoing even to the present. In fact, the sin is

²² There is no textual evidence to support the hypothesis that all or part of vv. 14–16 constitutes a later interpolation into the genuine Pauline text. On the integrity of the passage, see Robert Jewett, *The Thessalonian Correspondence: Pauline Rhetoric and Millenarian Piety* (FFNT; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986) 36–41, who follows Karl Paul Donfried, "Paul and Judaism: 1 Thessalonians 2:13–16 as a Test Case," *Int* 38 (1984) 242–53; Ingo Broer, "Der ganze Zorn ist schon über sie gekommen: Bemerkungen zur Interpolationshypothese und zur Interpretation von 1 Thess 2,14–16," in *The Thessalonian Correspondence* (ed. Raymond F. Collins; BETL 87; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990) 139–48; Jon A. Weatherly, "The Authenticity of 1 Thessalonians 2.13–16: Additional Evidence," *JSNT* 42 (1991) 89–98. The comparisons between 1 Thess 2:15–16 and Romans 9–11 to be discussed below provide additional evidence for the authenticity of the passage.

²³ See Ulrich Wilckens, *Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte* (3d ed.; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973) 109–37, 193–240, who follows Steck in describing the traditional background of the speeches in Acts. On the pervasive influence of the Deuteronomic tradition in Luke-Acts as a whole, see now David P. Moessner, who appropriates Steck's work in a series of publications: *Lord of the Banquet: The Literary and Theological Significance of the Lukan Travel Narrative* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989) 81–257, 289–337; idem, "Paul in Acts: Preacher of Eschatological Repentance to Israel," *NTS* 34 (1988) 96–104; idem, "'The Christ Must Suffer': New Light on the Jesus-Peter, Stephen, Paul Parallels in Luke-Acts," *NovT* 28 (1986) 220–56.

²⁴ See Steck, *Israel*, 274–78, followed by Ingo Broer, "Antijudaismus im Neuen Testament? Versuch einer Annäherung anhand von zwei Texten (1 Thess 2,14–16 und Mt 27,24f)," in *Salz der Erde—Licht der Welt: Exegetische Studien zum Matthäusevangelium. Festschrift für Anton Vögtle zum 80. Geburtstag* (ed. Lorenz Oberlinner and Peter Fiedler; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1991) 330–31; idem, "'Antisemitismus' und Judenpolemik im Neuen Testament: Ein Beitrag zum besseren Verständnis von 1 Thess 2,14–16," *Biblische Notizen* 20 (1983) 72–73; idem, "Der ganze Zorn," 154–59; Traugott Holtz, "Das Gericht über die Juden und die Rettung ganz Israels (1 Thess 2, 15f. und Röm 11, 25f.)," in *Wissenschaft und Kirche: Festschrift für Eduard Lohse* (ed. Kurt Aland und Siegfried Meurer; Bielefeld: Luther-Verlag, 1989) 120, with n. 10; John W. Simpson, Jr., "The Problems Posed by 1 Thessalonians 2:15–16 and a Solution," *HBT* 12 (1990) 42, with n. 2.

steadily filling up to its full measure (cf. Matt 23:32).²⁵ Here, as in the third element of the Deuteronomic perspective, the violent rejection of the prophets is seen as symptomatic of the continuing guilt and obduracy of the Jews.²⁶ For Paul, the Jewish people have been as unrepentant and recalcitrant in the face of his message (cf. 2 Cor 11:24–25) as they have always (πάντοτε) been toward the prophets during the long history of Israel.²⁷ Hence, as in the fourth element of the Deuteronomic perspective, the wrath of God came upon the people at a historical point in the past,²⁸ most likely at the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 BC and the Babylonian exile,²⁹ and they still displease God.

The wrath of God. The ongoing “wrath” of God on Israel in exile is a constant theme of the Deuteronomic perspective in both the OT and Jewish tradition, particularly in connection with the exile.³⁰ For example, Deut 29:25–28 reads:

It is because they [sc. the Israelites] forsook the covenant of the Lord, the God of their fathers, which he made with them when he brought them out of the land of Egypt, and went and served other gods . . . ; therefore, the

²⁵ According to Ps.-Philo, *Bib. Ant.* 26.13, the sins of the people (will have) reached full measure at the time of the destruction of the Temple in 587 BC. See further Rainer Stuhlmann, *Das eschatologische Maß im Neuen Testament* (FRLANT 132; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983).

²⁶ On the violent rejection of the prophets as a guilt that burdens the people *into the present*, see Steck, *Israel*, 127–28, 184–89, 219.

²⁷ Here as elsewhere, Paul sees himself in the line of the prophets (see Karl Olav Sandnes, *Paul: One of the Prophets? A Contribution to the Apostle's Self-Understanding* [WUNT 2/43; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1991]) and the corresponding postexilic preachers of repentance to Israel (see Steck, *Israel*, 217, 221 [with n. 2]). See also David Moessner, “Paul in Acts,” 96–104.

²⁸ Pace Broer, “Der ganze Zorn,” 157.

²⁹ This is a plausible interpretation of the aorist ἔφθασεν, given the fact that the nearest parallel to the language of 1 Thess 2:16 refers to a past event (cf. *T. Levi* 6:11, on the killing of the Shechemites and the Hamorites by Levi and Simeon in retribution for Shechem's violation of Dinah: ἔφθασε δὲ ἡ ὀργὴ κυρίου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰς τέλος) and that Paul is appropriating Deuteronomic tradition here. According to the *dtrGB* each successive national disaster the Jews experienced could be read in light of the wrath of God which came upon Israel in 587 BC (see Steck, *Israel*, 187–88, 193); therefore, that decisive event in Israel's history retained a contemporary relevance throughout the Second Temple period and beyond. For other perspectives on the historical event presupposed by v. 16c, see, e.g., Ernst Bammel, “Judenverfolgung und Naherwartung: Zur Eschatologie des Ersten Thessalonicherbriefes,” *ZTK* 56 (1959) 294–315 (the expulsion of the Jews from Rome in AD 49); Jewett, *Thessalonian Correspondence*, 37–38 (the massacre of twenty to thirty thousand Jews in Jerusalem after AD 48). On the other hand, the aorist verb is sometimes translated in a prophetic sense (see Otfried Hofius, “Das Evangelium und Israel: Erwägungen zu Römer 9–11,” in *Paulusstudien* [WUNT 51; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1989] 189 n. 53; Weatherly, “Authenticity,” 90–91). In view of the fact that according to the *dtrGB*, the effects of 587 BC continued during the whole Second Temple period, Birger A. Pearson's interpretation of the aorist verb as a reference to the destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70 is unnecessary (see “1 Thessalonians 2:13–16: A Deutero-Pauline Interpolation,” *HTR* 64 [1971] 82–83).

³⁰ See further Steck, *Israel*, 364 (s.v. “Zorn”); Dennis J. McCarthy, “The Wrath of Yahweh and the Structural Unity of the Deuteronomic History,” in *Essays in Old Testament Ethics* (J. Philip Hyatt, *In Memoriam*) (ed. James L. Crenshaw and John T. Willis; New York: Ktav, 1974) 99–107.

anger of the Lord was kindled against this land, bringing upon it all the curses written in this book; and the Lord uprooted them from their land in anger and fury and great wrath, and cast them into another land, as at this day (cf. 2 Kgs 17:18–20; Jer 44:6).

While confessing the people's sin, Daniel's prayer explicitly refers to the "curse" of Deuteronomy 27–32: "All Israel has transgressed your law and turned aside, refusing to obey your voice. And the curse (κατάρα) and oath which are written in the law of Moses the servant of God have been poured out upon us, because we have sinned against him" (Dan 9:11). Having thus met the precondition of deliverance by confession (cf. Deut 30:1–8; 1 Kgs 8:46–53), Daniel's prayer continues with a petition that God now turn away his "wrath" (ὀργή) and restore the Temple and the people (vv. 15–19).³¹ This clearly assumes that the nation continues to stand under the curse of the law mentioned in v. 11. The reason for this extended exile is given in v. 24:³² "Seventy weeks of years are decreed concerning your people and your holy city, to finish the transgression, to put an end to sin, to atone for iniquity, to bring everlasting righteousness. . . ." That is, Israel is still under the curse of the law which brought the exile in the first place (cf. v. 11); the period of wrath has not yet ended (cf. v. 16).³³ In fact, the people will remain under the curse and wrath for some time to come. Daniel 9 understands the exile as a state of judgment that is to be ended only by the intervention of God and the inauguration of the eschatological era, a point that is now widely recognized.³⁴

The extensive penitential prayer tradition based on Dan 9:4–19 and Deuteronomy 27–32 shows that the state of curse and exile was felt to continue throughout the Second Temple period and beyond.³⁵ For example, the second-century BC text of Bar 1:15–3:8 is composed of a corporate confession

³¹ For the petition that God turn away his wrath from Israel in exile, see Ps 79:5; Isa 64:9; Lam 5:21–22; Bar 2:13; 4QDibHam 2.11; 6.11.

³² See O. H. Steck, "Weltgeschehen und Gottesvolk im Buche Daniel," in *Kirche: Festschrift für Günther Bornkamm zum 75. Geburtstag* (ed. Dieter Lührmann and Georg Strecker; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1980) 69ff.

³³ On Daniel's concept of the wrath of God continuing from 587 BC to the end-time, see esp. Steck, "Weltgeschehen," 65–74.

³⁴ See Steck, "Weltgeschehen," 74 n. 93; Michael A. Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period," *HeyJ* 17 (1976) 255; Donald E. Gowan, "The Exile in Jewish Apocalyptic," in *Scripture in History and Theology: Essays in Honor of J. Coert Rylaarsdam* (ed. Arthur L. Merrill and Thomas W. Overholt; PTMS 17; Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1977) 210–11; John E. Goldingay, *Daniel* (WBC 30; Dallas: Word, 1989) 238, 251; idem, *Daniel* (Word Biblical Themes; Dallas: Word, 1989) 73–75; Martin Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jh.s v.Chr.* (2d ed.; WUNT 10; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1973) 328 (with n. 470), 334–35.

³⁵ See Gerhard von Rad, "Gerichtsdoxologie," 246–47. Von Rad argues that the "doxologies of judgment" in Daniel 9, Ezra 9, Nehemiah 9, and Bar 1:15–3:8, which contain unmistakable Deuteronomistic language, reflect groups who felt the catastrophe of 587 BC as an undiminished reality; for although 587 had long past, they considered themselves as still under the judgment of Yahweh.

of sins and a petition that God withdraw his wrath³⁶ and return the exiles to their homeland. The logic of the prayer follows the SER scheme of Deuteronomy 27–32, with verbal parallels to Dan 9:4–19 which indicate a very close relationship also to that prayer.³⁷

The concept of a protracted exile under the wrath of God is not limited to the penitential prayer tradition; it pervades Second Temple literature. In 2 Maccabees 7, for example, the story of the martyrdom of seven brothers and their mother during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes illustrates the hope in the fulfillment of Deut 32:36–43 in light of Daniel 9. The seventh brother acknowledges, as did the sixth (2 Macc 7:18), that the Hebrew people are suffering persecution because of their own sins against God (v. 32; cf. Dan 9:4–14). He goes on to say, “I, like my brothers, give up body and life for the laws of our fathers, appealing to God to show mercy soon to our nation (cf. Dan 9:15–19) . . . , and through me and my brothers to bring to an end the wrath (cf. Dan 9:16) of the Almighty which has justly fallen on our whole nation” (2 Macc 7:37–38). This period of wrath is expected to last “for a little while” in order to rebuke and discipline the nation (2 Macc 7:33; cf. Dan 9:24); then, God will have compassion on Israel, “as Moses declared in his song which bore witness against the people to their faces (Deut 32:1–43), when he said, ‘And he will have compassion on his servants’ (Deut 32:36)” (2 Macc 7:6; cf. v. 33). In CD 1.3–11a, the tradition of 390 + 40 years of exile from Ezek 4:4–8 is used to explain the origins of the community 390 years after the people went into exile in the time of Nebuchadnezzar (587 BC). The reference here to 390 + 20 years evidently leaves 20 more years before the end of the exile,³⁸ which is here described as the “time of wrath” (cf. Dan 9:16).³⁹ As Michael A. Knibb has observed,

³⁶ As the narrative introduction to Baruch shows (1:1–14), the prayer in Bar 1:15–3:8 was to be prayed on behalf of Jerusalem, because “to this day the anger of the Lord and his wrath have not turned away from us” (Bar 1:13). In Bar 4:5–5:9, the SER pattern occurs again: sin (4:5–8); exile (4:9–20); restoration (4:21–5:9). Here Mother Zion counsels her children to “endure with patience the wrath (ὀργή) that has come upon you from God” (4:25).

³⁷ There is much discussion about the relationship between Bar 1:15–3:8 and Dan 9:4–19, whether one of dependence either way or mutual dependence on a common source.

³⁸ See Shemaryahu Talmon, “Waiting for the Messiah: The Spiritual Universe of the Qumran Covenants,” in *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (ed. Jacob Neusner et al.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 118–19; Michael A. Knibb, “Exile in the Damascus Document,” *JSOT* 25 (1983) 113.

³⁹ Some scholars interpret the “time of wrath” in CD 1:5 to mean just the time of persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes or merely the period in which the author was living (see Knibb, “Exile in the *Damascus Document*,” 113). In light, however, of Ezek 4:4–8, on which the *Damascus Document* is based here, and of the use of “wrath” elsewhere (cf. Dan 8:19; 9:16; Bar 1:13; 2:20; 2 Macc 7:32–33, 37–38; Ps 78[79]:5), it seems best to interpret the expression as a reference to the whole 430-year period (see Klaus Koch, “Die Bedeutung der Apokalyptik für die Interpretation der Schrift,” in *Mitte der Schrift? Ein jüdisch-christliches Gespräch: Texte des Berner Symposions vom 6.-12. Januar 1985* [ed. Martin Klopfenstein et al.; Bern: Peter Lang, 1987] 211–12; Philip R. Davies, “Eschatology at Qumran,” *JBL* 104 [1985] 49, 52–53). In the SER scheme of *Apoc. Abr.* 25–29, the exile is described as a period of “four ascents” of 100 years each (= 400 years),

the implication of the passage . . . would seem to be that for the author the Jews remained in a state of exile until the events in the second century which led to the foundation of the Qumran community; this, in turn, was to be the immediate prelude to the final judgement and the beginning of the Messianic era.⁴⁰

The author of the *Damascus Document* was saying in effect that "the events to which he was referring marked the end of the period of Israel's punishment, i.e. the end of exile."⁴¹

If, by appropriating Deuteronomistic tradition, 1 Thess 2:16 stresses the wrath of God which has come on Israel, this opens the possibility that Paul has an ultimately positive conviction about the future of Israel; for, by the final stage of its development, the *dtrGB* looks inexorably beyond present judgement to future hope.⁴² Admittedly, Paul's verdict on the Jews in v. 16 fails to express elements 5 and 6 of the *dtrGB* (the expectation of repentance and restoration for Israel),⁴³ and the nearest parallel to the language of v. 16 (cf. *T. Levi* 6:11, cited in n. 29) suggests that Paul means the judgment has come upon the Jews totally and finally (εἰς τέλος).⁴⁴ In view of the vicissitudes of

during which God would pour out his "anger" on the people and require "retribution for their works" (28:4). Since *Apoc. Abr.* 15–29 is a midrash on Genesis 15, the 400 years here probably allude to Gen 15:13, the period of slavery in Egypt before the exodus (so Lars Hartman, "The Function of some so-called Apocalyptic Timetables," *NTS* 22 [1976] 10), which would put *Apoc. Abr.* 28:4 within the same tradition as the 430 years of exile in Ezek 4:4–8.

⁴⁰ Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period," 263.

⁴¹ Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge Commentaries on the Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 20 (cf. 21, 27, 33, 45–46, 47, 61).

⁴² See McCarthy, "Wrath of Yahweh and the Structural Unity of the Deuteronomistic History," 106–7 [author's emphasis]:

The "rhetoric of wrath" itself even points to a final hope. The cycle: anger, penalty, repentance, salvation, is not an accidental element in the story of the judges. It is an iron law which must take its course. Hence anger cannot be mentioned in connection with an era where a penalty is not applied, so much so that if it is, the cycle must be completed at any price. . . . But is this law not also an opportunity? Precisely because it is a law whose parts *always* hang together it means that salvation on condition of repentance is still an open possibility after 587 BC. If it had to run its course, so much so that it forced intrusions into the story before that, it should run its course after that. So all the deuteronomistic history becomes a call to hope and repentance. . . .

⁴³ Yet even early Jewish texts which are framed by the *dtrGB* do not always mention Israel's hope of future salvation (e.g., 4QDibHam 1.8–7.2 and other similar penitential prayers).

⁴⁴ In light of this parallel, the attempt to translate εἰς τέλος as "until the end" (see Johannes Munck, *Christ and Israel* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967] 64; Donfried, "Paul and Judaism," 252; Ferdinand Hahn, *Das Verständnis der Mission im Neuen Testament* [WMANT 13; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1963] 90–91) seems improbable, although that interpretation would fit well with the Deuteronomistic perspective of both 1 Thess 2:15–16 and especially Romans 9–11 (on which see further below). On other options for interpreting εἰς τέλος, see G. Delling, "τέλος," *TDNT* 8. 51–52; I. H. Marshall, *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, 81–82. In view of a passage like Isa 54:7–8 or 2 Chr 30:8–9, the wrath associated with the exile would not last forever.

his current missionary situation (cf. Acts 17:1–15; 2 Cor 11:24–25), Paul is actualizing the negative aspects of the *dtrGB* in a way that is typical of the Deuteronomic tradition itself. For, as Steck has shown, the *dtrGB* characteristically brings the whole sinful history of Israel—from past to present—to bear on the present generation of Israel, and with it the judgment of God which continues until the eschaton.⁴⁵ According to the Deuteronomic perspective, there is no hope for Israel *in the present*, for the nation has been judged for its sin and now stands completely and finally under the wrath of God until such time as the people repent and God himself intervenes. In fact, the prophets and other Deuteronomic preachers used this message of divine judgment to exhort the people both to acknowledge the hopelessness of their situation and to repent.⁴⁶ Perhaps, as I. Broer has suggested, 1 Thess 2:16 reflects a similar tactic in the missionary preaching of Paul,⁴⁷ which would fit with the way that Paul puts himself in the line of the persecuted prophets in v. 15.⁴⁸

Insofar as Paul's use of the Deuteronomic View of Israel's History in 1 Thess 2:15–16 at least implies his ultimate hope for Israel, the apparent contradiction between this passage and Rom 11:25–32 on the future of Israel⁴⁹ is somewhat softened, especially in view of the fact, as will be shown below, that Romans 9–11 is framed by the same Deuteronomic tradition. Within this Deuteronomic framework, even Romans 9–11, with its ultimately positive perspective on the future of Israel (cf. 11:26), does not shrink from referring to “the vessels of wrath made for destruction” (Rom 9:22), nor from citing an OT text that apparently pronounces eternal judgment on Israel (compare εἰς τέλος in 1 Thess 2:16 with διὰ παντός in Rom 11:10). However, the comparison between Romans 9–11 and 1 Thess 2:15–16 goes even deeper; both texts are imbued with the same missionary perspective of Paul.⁵⁰ According to Rom 11:25–26, the salvation of “all Israel” is dependent on the full number of the Gentiles coming in. For that to happen, however, Paul must be able to preach the gospel to the Gentiles, and they must believe. If, as Paul alleges in 1 Thess 2:15–16, the Jews are hindering him from preaching to the Gentiles that they might be saved, then, from Paul's perspective, the Jews are only preventing their own salvation and perpetuating their own condemnation. Apparently already at the writing of 1 Thessalonians Paul was convinced that the salvation of Israel was contingent on the success of his Gentile mission. This, together with the *dtrGB*, helps to explain Paul's sharp rhetoric against the Jews. On the other hand, however, Paul also considers the obduracy of the Jews the very opportunity for his Gentile mission, according to the sovereign plan of God. For as long as Israel remains hardened and thus fills up the measure

⁴⁵ See Steck, *Israel*, 186, 193. See further below on Rom 10:21.

⁴⁶ See Steck, *Israel*, 185–86, 215–18.

⁴⁷ See Broer, “Antijudaismus,” 331; idem, “Der ganze Zorn,” 158.

⁴⁸ See further n. 27 above.

⁴⁹ See, e.g., Simpson, “Problems,” 49; Broer, “Der ganze Zorn,” 157, 158.

⁵⁰ See Dieter Sänger, “Rettung der Heiden und Erwählung Israels: Einige vorläufige Erwägungen zu Römer 11,25–27,” *KD* 32 (1986) 118 n. 79.

of its sin (1 Thess 2:16), the Gentiles who are coming to faith fill up another measure (Rom 11:25).

Galatians 3:10

Scholars have long been baffled about what kind of assumption lies behind Paul's citation of Deut 27:26 (+ 29:19) in Gal 3:10: "For as many as are of works of the Law are under a curse; for it is written, 'Cursed is every one who does not abide by all things written in the book of the law, to do them.'" How can Paul cite Deuteronomy in support of his point? Was Deut 27:26 not merely a warning of what would happen *if* Israel violated the covenant stipulations? How could Paul assume that the curse of Deuteronomy had indeed come upon Israel and that the nation needed deliverance from it (cf. Gal 3:13)? As I have shown elsewhere in more detail,⁵¹ the Deuteronomic View of Israel's history provides the most plausible solution to this question. Paul's use of Deuteronomy in Gal 3:10 assumes the same perspective that lies behind 1 Thess 2:15–16, and behind the national confession of sin in Bar 1:15–3:8, and especially behind the closely related prayer of Dan 9:1–18. Just as Dan 9:11 acknowledges that "the curse (κατάρα) has come upon us, and the oath that is written in the law of Moses the servant of God, because we have sinned," so also Paul assumes in Gal 3:10 that the "curse" (κατάρα) "written" in Deuteronomy has come upon Israel because of the nation's sin.⁵² In fact, the likeliest explanation as to why Paul considers Israel to be "under" a curse (ὑπὸ κατάραν) is that the Deuteronomic "curse" to which Dan 9:11 refers came "upon" the people (ἐφ' ἡμᾶς).⁵³ For Paul, Deut 27:26 is not a "retrograde voice of legalism." Paul evidently assumes the Deuteronomic perspective, which was prevalent in Second Temple literature and reflected in Daniel 9;⁵⁴ that the divine judgment begun in 587 continues on Israel, that the Jewish people remain in exile until the time of the restoration.⁵⁵ In other words, the use of Deut 27:26 (+ 29:19) in Gal 3:10

⁵¹ See my forthcoming article "'For as many as are of works of the Law are under a curse' (Galatians 3.10)." During the 1991 annual meeting of the SBL, I learned that N. T. Wright shares much the same view of Gal 3:10 (see now his book *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* [Edinburgh: Clark, 1991] 137–56).

⁵² Paul's ironic *concessio* in Gal 2:15 (cf., e.g., *Jub.* 23:22–23) not only flies in the face of what the Jewish Christians actually know to be true (Gal 2:16) but also contradicts the Deuteronomic View of Israel's History, which sees (1) that the reason Israel came under judgment which led to the protracted exile is that the people had followed *Gentile* practices (cf. 2 Kgs 17:7–8, 11, 15; *T. Jud.* 23:2; *Jub.* 1:8–9; 4QFlor 1:8–9), and (2) that the exiles continue to be a "nation of sinners" that stands in need of repentance before it can be returned from the (sinful) nations among which it has been scattered (cf. Tob 13:8[6]).

⁵³ This coincides with the fact that according to 1 Thess 2:16c the wrath of God came "upon" Israel (ἐπ' αὐτούς).

⁵⁴ Likewise in Gal 3:12, Paul refracts Lev 18:5 through the confession of national sin in Nehemiah 9 (v. 29; cf. also Ezek 20:11, 13, 21), which assumes that the promise of life had been forfeited because of covenant violation by the people.

⁵⁵ See also Wright, *Climax*, 140–41, 146.

is another example of the *exilic* perspective which Hays has already noticed in the citation of Isa 52:5 in Rom 2:24.

As in Paul's citation of Isa 52:5 in Rom 2:24, however, his quotation of Deut 27:26 (+ 29:19) in Gal 3:10 sees beyond Israel's exilic situation. The subsequent context of Galatians 3–4 goes on to make clear that Christ reverses the effects of the curses of Deuteronomy (cf. Dan 9:24–27) and thereby brings the redemption and restoration expected in Isaiah.⁵⁶ According to Gal 3:13, "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the Law, having become a curse for us; for it is written: 'Cursed is every one who hangs on a tree.'" Here Paul cites Deut 21:23 in combination with Deut 27:26,⁵⁷ in order to adapt it to the previous citation of Deut 27:26 both lexically and materially. Paul's use of Deuteronomy in Galatians is totally subordinated to the Deuteronomic tradition, which reflects the situation of Israel since 587 BC. From Paul's point of view, however, "the fullness of time has come" and the messianic Son of God has redeemed those who were under the curse of the law (Gal 4:4–5).⁵⁸ The fact that Galatians 3–4 moves from "curse" to "redemption" from the curse through Christ, and from there to the integrally related reception of the "Spirit" and divine adoptive sonship, shows unequivocally that Paul is appropriating restoration tradition.⁵⁹ Thus Gal 3:10 should be seen together with vv. 13–14

⁵⁶ See W. Haubeck, *Loskauf bei Paulus: Herkunft, Gestaltung und Bedeutung des paulinischen Loskaufmotivs* (Giessen/Basel: Brunnen Verlag; Witten: Bundesverlag, 1985) 54–64.

⁵⁷ See Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 124–26, 165–66.

⁵⁸ This redemption is the new exodus expected by the OT prophets in conjunction with the return from exile. Cf. Gal 1:4b, where the term ἐξέληται recalls God's deliverance of Israel from the hands of the Egyptians (e.g., Exod 3:8; 18:4, 8, 9, 10).

⁵⁹ See my book *Adoption as Sons of God: An Exegetical Investigation into the Background of ΥΙΟΘΕΣΙΑ in the Pauline Corpus* (WUNT 2/48; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1992) 121–86, where I argue that Gal 4:5 is set within a context framed by exodus typology (vv. 1–7): just as Israel, as heir to the Abrahamic promise, was redeemed as son of God from slavery in Egypt at the time appointed by the Father (vv. 1–2; cf. Hos 11:1; Gen 15:13; Gal 3:17), so also believers were redeemed to adoption as sons of God from slavery under the "elements of the world" at the fullness of time and thereby became heirs to the Abrahamic promise (vv. 3–7). The fact that "the" *huiiothesia* ("adoption as sons") is to be seen here against a particular OT/Jewish background is substantiated not only by Rom 9:4, where the articular term occurs in a list of Israel's historical privileges (cf. Exod 4:22; Hos 11:1), but also, and more specifically, by the broader context of Galatians 3–4 itself, which makes it clear that believers are sons and heirs only insofar as they participate by baptism (Gal 3:27) in the Son of God, who was sent to redeem them (Gal 4:4–5; cf. 3:13–14). For, strictly speaking, Christ is *the* seed of Abraham (Gal 3:16) and *the* messianic Son of God promised in 2 Sam 7:12 and 14, respectively. Seen in context, therefore, "the adoption" in Gal 4:5 must refer to the Jewish eschatological expectation based on 2 Sam 7:14. It can be shown that 2 Sam 7:14 ("I will be to him [sc. the Davidide] a Father, and he will be to me a son") contains an adoption formula (cf. Exod 2:10; Esth 2:7; Gen 48:5), which subsequent Judaism applied not only to the Davidic Messiah but, under the influence of new covenant theology (cf. Hos 2:1, cited in Rom 9:26), also to the eschatological people of God. In accordance with the Deuteronomic framework of sin–exile–restoration, this 2 Sam 7:14 tradition expects that, at the advent of the Messiah, God would redeem his people from exile in a second exodus; he would restore them to a covenantal relationship; and he would adopt them, with the Messiah, as his sons (cf. *Jub.* 1:24; *T. Jud.* 24:3; 4QFlor 1.11). In fact, 2 Cor 6:18 actually cites the adoption formula of 2 Sam 7:14 (+ Isa 43:6), and that in the context of the same exodus typology, the same new covenant theology, and in

as the negative side of the traditional hope—already articulated in Deuteronomy 27–32—which looks forward to the inclusion of the Gentiles in the restoration of Israel (cf. Deut 32:43, cited in Rom 15:10). Seen in this light, Paul's exilic understanding of the Deuteronomic curse in Gal 3:10 parallels that in Jewish inscriptions of Asia Minor,⁶⁰ which may help to explain why the addressees (Gentile God-fearers of South Galatia?) could be expected to follow the rather enthymematic argument here.

Romans 9–11

Here, again, the Deuteronomic View of Israel's History provides the framework for Paul's thinking.⁶¹ In Romans 9–11 Paul presents a sustained theological argument to solve the problem of Israel which was raised in the first eight chapters of the letter, the problem that, although the gospel is to the Jew first (1:16), most of Israel is closed to the gospel (10:16) and therefore has not received salvation.⁶² Has God's promise to Abraham and his seed been annulled (9:6)? Has God rejected his people (11:1–2)? These are the questions that Paul, as an Israelite motivated by supreme love for his people (cf. Rom 9:1–4; 11:1), seeks to answer in this section, showing that “the gifts and calling of God are

the same generalized form as in the Jewish tradition. As in the 2 Sam 7:14 tradition (cf. *Jub.* 1:24; *T. Jud.* 24:3), furthermore, Gal 4:4–6 connects divine adoption with the reception of the Spirit (of the new covenant) in the heart. Hence the whole line of argumentation in Galatians 3–4, together with Pauline parallels, leads unambiguously to an OT/Jewish background for the term (cf. Rom 9:4), and particularly to the restoration tradition of 2 Sam 7:14 (cf. 2 Cor 6:18). In other words, believers who are thus baptized into the messianic Son of God and take up his very cry of “Abba!” to the Father (Gal 4:6; cf. Mark 14:36) participate with him in the Davidic promise of divine adoption and in the Abrahamic promise of universal sovereignty (cf. Gal 4:1).

⁶⁰ Three Jewish inscriptions from Acmonia in Phrygia invoke on grave violators “the curses which are written in Deuteronomy” (αἱ ἀραὶ ἡ [sic!] γεγραμμέναι ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ) or a similar expression, apparently because according to Deut 30:1–10 when Israel in exile returns to Yahweh in obedience, he will transfer the curses of Deuteronomy 27–29 from the people to their enemies (v. 7). See Paul R. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor* (SNTSMS 69; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 67.

⁶¹ See Christoph Plag, *Israels Wege zum Heil: Eine Untersuchung zu Römer 9 bis 11* (Arbeiten zur Theologie 1/40; Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1969) 51, who tries to drive a wedge between the two parts of Romans 9–11 based on the idea that only Romans 9–10 has a Deuteronomic perspective (“Heil—Abfall—Feindesnot—Buße—Erretung—Heil!”). In his recent dissertation on the jealousy motif in Romans 9–11, however, Richard Bell argues that the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy 32 contains the same tension as that in Romans 9–11, since the former speaks not only of God's judgment on disobedient Israel and the preservation of a remnant but also of the eventual salvation of Israel as a whole (“The Origin and Purpose of the Jealousy Motif in Romans 9–11: A Case Study in the Theology and Technique of Paul” [Dr. theol. dissertation, University of Tübingen, 1990] 50, 121, 184). In light of Steck's work, we can now expand on this observation: the tension in Romans 9–11 is germane to many OT/Jewish texts that are framed by the *dtrGB* (see elements 5 and 6), including Deuteronomy 27–32 (compare, e.g., Deut 28:62 with 30:3–5a).

⁶² See Hofius, “Evangelium und Israel,” 175–78. On the concrete historical situation in the Pauline mission which necessitates a solution to this theological problem, see Stuhlmacher, “Purpose of Romans,” 231–42.

irrevocable" (11:29). Paul's salvation-historical argument in Romans 9–11 is framed by the six traditional elements of the Deuteronomic perspective.⁶³

(1) As we have seen, the first element of the *dtrGB* establishes that during its whole long history, Israel has been persistently stiff-necked, rebellious, and disobedient. Likewise in Romans, Paul affirms the recalcitrance and guilt of the Jewish people. He makes this point already in Rom 2:1–29, often alluding to Deuteronomy,⁶⁴ and carries this thought forward in Romans 9–11. In Rom 9:31, for example, Paul states: ". . . Israel who was pursuing the law of righteousness has not attained to that law." In Rom 10:21, furthermore, Paul brings out the historical dimension of Israel's guilt by the citation of Isa 65:2: "But of Israel he [sc. Isaiah] says, 'All day long I [God] have held out my hands to a disobedient and contrary people.'" In this citation, Paul thrusts forward the ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν in order to stress the constancy with which God has graciously appealed to his people,⁶⁵ most recently in announcing to them the gospel message. As Rudolf Bultmann correctly observes,

When Paul characterizes Israel according to Isa 65:2 as a "disobedient and contrary people" (Rom 10:21), he understands the history of Israel as a whole, that is, as a unified history of sin. And this sin is, so to speak, concentrated—and thereby in its essence manifested—in the Jews' lack of faith in Christ and the Christian message. All the accusations of the Jews and threats of the prophets are applied to the present time (Rom 9:25–11:10).⁶⁶

Thus Bultmann, who immediately before this comment denies that a Deuteronomic perspective is found in Paul,⁶⁷ inadvertently makes a strong argument

⁶³ In particular, Romans 9–11 has much in common with the so-called "doxology of judgment," which also partakes of the Deuteronomic perspective (see von Rad, "Gerichtsdoxologie," 245–54, esp. 246–47; Steck, *Israel*, 125, 138–39). For example, Romans 9–11 contains a doxology praising the "judgments" (κρίματα) of the Creator; it acknowledges the righteousness of God even in judging; it contains certain constitutive ideas (disobedience, divine patience, warning by the prophets, abandonment to enemies); it considers the people's relationship with God as fundamentally disturbed ever since a crucial point in the distant past; and it still awaits the fulfillment of the promise to the patriarchs.

⁶⁴ Cf. Rom 2:5 (Deut 31:27), 8 (Deut 29:27), 9 (Deut 28:53, 55, 57), 29 (Deut 30:6; *Jub.* 1:23).

⁶⁵ In the context of Isaiah, this represents part of God's answer to the penitential prayer in 63:7–64:11(12), which is framed by the *dtrGB* (see Steck, *Israel*, 110 n. 6, 121–27 passim).

⁶⁶ Rudolf Bultmann, "Geschichte und Eschatologie im Neuen Testament," in *Glauben und Verstehen: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1962) 3. 100: "Wenn Paulus nach Jes. 65,2 Israel als 'ein ungehorsames und widerspenstiges Volk' bezeichnet (Röm 10,21), versteht er die Geschichte Israels als ein totales Ganzes, nämlich als eine einheitliche Geschichte der Sünde. Und diese Sünde ist sozusagen konzentriert und dadurch in ihren eigentlichen Wesen offenbar geworden in dem Unglauben der Juden an Christus und die christliche Botschaft. Alle Anklagen der Juden und Drohungen der Propheten werden auf die gegenwärtige Zeit bezogen (Röm 9, 25–11, 10)."

⁶⁷ See Bultmann, "Geschichte und Eschatologie," 100: "Bei Paulus ist die deuteronomistische Auffassung der Geschichte des Volkes mit ihrem Wechsel von göttlicher Gnade und menschlichem Widerstand, von Sünde und Strafe, von Buße und Vergebung verschwunden." Bultmann believes that Paul's understanding of history stems not from his reflection on the history of Israel but from his anthropology (*ibid.*, 101).

for its existence in Romans 9–11. For, as Steck has shown, the *dtrGB* brings the whole sinful history of Israel to bear on the present.⁶⁸ As in 1 Thess 2:15–16, Paul is saying here that Israel has been continually disobedient and obstinate and that it still is.⁶⁹

(2–3) After establishing the continual sin of Israel, the second and third elements of the *dtrGB* go on to affirm that God has repeatedly sent his messengers, the prophets, to call his people to repentance and obedience, but that Israel has always rejected the prophets, even to the point of killing them. Likewise in Romans 9–11, Israel's violent rejection of the prophets figures into Paul's argument, at least tangentially. For in showing that God has not rejected his people totally and finally (cf. Rom 11: 1–2a),⁷⁰ Rom 11:2b–5 adduces 1 Kgs 19:10, 14: “Do you not know what the scripture says of Elijah, how he pleads with God against Israel? “Lord, they have killed your prophets, they have demolished your altars, and I alone am left, and they seek my life.” But what is God's reply to him? “I have kept for myself seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to Baal.” So too at the present time, there is a remnant, chosen by grace. Although Paul's main point in citing this text is that now as always God has preserved a remnant in Israel (cf. 9:27–29), the fact that the apostle thrusts forward the statement about the killing of the prophets⁷¹ suggests that he also wants to stress, as in 1 Thess 2:15, the continual obduracy of Israel to the prophetic message, including his own gospel message (cf. Rom 10:16; 15:31).⁷² The *dtrGB* traditionally uses Israel's violent rejection of the prophets as an indication of Israel's continual obduracy.⁷³ In fact, 1 *Enoch* 89:51

⁶⁸ According to Steck, the Deuteronomistic View of Israel's history is not dealing strictly with “history,” because despite the fact that it contains irreversible sequences (a connection of theological situations and fixed chronological points), the *dtrGB* understands the time of Israel, at least since 587 BC and until the eschaton, as a continuation of the sin (element 1) and judgment (element 4), as an opportunity to repent (element 5), and as a “Present” (*Israel*, 193). In this present, the contingency of new events does not come into view at all; rather, new events like AD 70 (or the rejection of the gospel) are simply integrated into the stable conceptual framework.

⁶⁹ Cf. the allusion to Deut 32:5 (“a crooked and perverse generation”) in Phil 2:15. Although most commentators suggest that this refers to unbelieving Gentiles in Philippi, more likely—from a *traditionsgeschichtliche* perspective—it refers to Israel (cf. Matt 17:17 par. Luke 9:41; Acts 2:40). The fact that Deut 32:5 can also be applied to the contemporary generation shows the continual disobedience of Israel.

⁷⁰ Cf. *Pss. Sol.* 9:9 (cf. 1 Kgs 12:22; Ps 93[94]:14; 94[95]:3), which Steck (*Israel*, 170 n. 7) rightly considers imbued with the *dtrGB*: “You chose the seed of Abraham before all nations and set your name upon us, O Lord, and you will not reject us forever (οὐκ ἀπώσῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα).” The rejection referred to here is that which took place in 587 with the exile of the southern kingdom (cf. *Pss. Sol.* 9:1–2) because of the sins of the people.

⁷¹ See Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 74 (with n. 83), 104.

⁷² Paul sees himself in the line of the OT prophets (cf. Rom 1:1–2; 10:16 with Isa 53:1; Gal 1:15 with Isa 49:1 and Jer 1:5; also Hays, *Echoes*, 14). While this self-conception of the apostle may not be directly related to the *dtrGB* (cf. Steck, *Israel*, 278 n. 2), it is easily integrated into that perspective, as it is in 1 Thess 2:16a (see further n. 27 above).

⁷³ See Steck, *Israel*, 77–79, 220.

alludes to 1 Kgs 19:10, 14 in the context of the Deuteronomic framework.⁷⁴ Therefore, the reference to Israel's killing of the prophets in Rom 11:3 should be seen, along with that in 1 Thess 2:15,⁷⁵ as an element of the Deuteronomic perspective.⁷⁶

(4) The fourth element of the *dtrGB* makes the point that because of Israel's disobedience and recalcitrance, the wrath of God burned against Israel; judgment came upon the people; and Israel was sent into an exile that persisted throughout the Second Temple period (and beyond). Like 1 Thess 2:16, Romans affirms the wrath of God on the Jewish people (2:6–8; 3:5, “on us”). Furthermore, as Hays has observed, the quotation of Isa 52:5 in Rom 2:24—“The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you”—works in Paul's argument only if the Jewish readers castigated by the text take on the role of Israel in exile.⁷⁷ This does not require Jewish readers to strain their own imaginations, for the Deuteronomic tradition that Paul appropriates assumes that the Jewish people remain under judgment in exile long after the sixth century BC and indeed until the time of the restoration. The concept of the judgment on Israel is developed in more detail in Romans 9–11. Already in Rom 9:1–3 Paul implies that divine judgment rests on Israel, for, with great sorrow and anguish for his people, the apostle expresses the wish that he were “accursed and cut off from Christ for the sake of my brethren, my kinsmen by race.”⁷⁸ Paul's anguish for his people stems from the realization, which he articulates in the subsequent context, that the majority of Israel remains under the condemnation of God, at least for the time being. The presence of a “remnant” may show that God has not abandoned his people (Rom 11:1–6), but the fact remains that the “rest” of Israel who are not included in the remnant stand under condemnation.⁷⁹ For according to Rom 11:10, David's curse applies to “Israel,” which “failed to obtain what it sought” (v. 7; cf. 10:3): “let their eyes be darkened so that they cannot see, and keep their back forever (διὰ παντός) bent” in servitude. Moreover, Rom 11:15 presupposes that God has rejected (ἀποβολή) the majority of Israel. Rom 11:17–24 pictures Israel as an olive tree whose branches are cut off because of their “unfaithfulness” (Rom 11:17, 19–22; cf. 3:3). The image stems from Jer 11:16–17 (cf. Hos 14:6), which prophesies that as an olive tree Israel would have its

⁷⁴ Ibid., 155 n. 5. This seems to undermine his comment on Rom 11:3 (ibid., 99), even though Rom 11:3 is admittedly a citation and not “living tradition.” Steck concedes that the earliest example of the generalized concept of the killing of the prophets (i.e., Neh 9:26) may have been influenced by 1 Kgs 19:10, 14 (ibid., 201).

⁷⁵ See Simpson, “Problems,” 57.

⁷⁶ Pace Steck, *Israel*, 278 n. 2.

⁷⁷ Hays, *Echoes*, 46.

⁷⁸ See Holtz, “Gericht,” 123–24; Heikki Räisänen, “Römer 9–11: Analyse eines geistigen Ringens,” *ANRW* 2/25 (ed. Wolfgang Haase; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1987) 4. 2895–2896.

⁷⁹ See Müller, *Gottes Gerechtigkeit und Gottes Volk*, 45–46.

branches "broken" (רָעָע)⁸⁰ for violating the covenant (a possible reference to the judgment in 587 BC). In view of this evidence, there is much to commend N. T. Wright's observation that in Romans 9–11 Paul is "working out the exile-theology of Moses' closing speech in Deuteronomy, applying it to his new situation as others had applied it to the exile itself (Jeremiah) or the Maccabean crisis (Qumran, the apocalyptists), and would apply it to the events of AD 70 (4 Ezra, the Rabbis)."⁸¹

(5) The fifth element of the *dtrGB* holds out the possibility of Israel's repentance during the period of judgment in exile, although the problem of Israel's obduracy remains. In the same way, Rom 2:4–5 makes it clear that God wants to lead Israel to repentance before the final judgment, but that Israel has had a hard and impenitent heart (cf. Deut 31:27). Romans 9–11 elaborates on this point by arguing that Israel's present rejection of the gospel reflects their continual obduracy to the message of the prophets. During the period that God has been showing his wrath, he "has endured with much patience the vessels of wrath made for destruction . . ." (Rom 9:22; cf. 1 Thess 2:16).⁸² Paul writes in Rom 10:16, citing Isa 53:1: "But they have not all obeyed the gospel; for Isaiah says, 'Lord, who has believed what he has heard from us?'" In other words, what Isaiah could say in his day applies equally in Paul's day because of the continual obduracy of the people. Likewise in Rom 11:7b–8, Paul states, citing Deut 29:3 (+ Isa 29:10): "The elect obtained it, but the rest were hardened, as it is written, 'God gave them a spirit of stupor, eyes that should not see and ears that should not hear, *down to this very day*.'"⁸³ Thus Paul affirms, in accordance with the Deuteronomic perspective, that Israel has always been recalcitrant and continues to be so (cf. Rom 15:31). Moreover, as Paul goes on to say in Rom 11:25: ". . . a hardening has come upon part of Israel, until the full number of the Gentiles has come in. . . ." Yet Paul also argues on the basis of Deut 32:21, a text about Israel's experience in exile, that God seeks to make Israel jealous by means of the Gentiles in order to provoke Israel to repentance and emulation (cf. Rom 10:19; 11:11, 14).⁸⁴ Hence

⁸⁰ The meaning of רָעָע here is debated, and the word is often emended (see Paul Volz, *Studien zum Text des Jeremia* [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1920] 100; William L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah [Chapters 1–25]* [Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986] 348); nevertheless, the interpretation offered here is lexically plausible (see William McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah* [ICC; Edinburgh: Clark, 1986] 1. 251). See further *b. Men.* 53b (referring to Jer 11:16).

⁸¹ N. T. Wright, "The Messiah and the People of God: A Study in Pauline Theology with Particular Reference to the Argument of the Epistle to the Romans" (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1980) 218.

⁸² Cf. Ulrich Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer* (EKK 6; Zurich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978–82) 2. 203–5, who refers repeatedly to 1 Thess 2:16 in his discussion of Rom 9:22; Holtz, "Gericht," 130.

⁸³ On the phrase "to this day," which occurs frequently in OT/Jewish tradition in reference to Israel's continual sinfulness and recalcitrance, see n. 12 above.

⁸⁴ See esp. Bell, "The Origin and Purpose of the Jealousy Motif in Romans 9–11."

the apostle to the Gentiles has a twofold purpose in evangelizing the Gentiles as quickly as possible: First, he hopes thereby to provoke his fellow Jews to jealousy and thus bring some of them to salvation (11:13–14). If they do not persist in unbelief, the Jews will be grafted in, for God has the power to graft them in again (11:23). But, second, he also hopes to bring in the full number of the Gentiles and so bring about the parousia, when all Israel will be saved (11:25–26). That brings us, then, to the sixth and final element.

(6) The sixth element of the *dtrGB* expects the national restoration of Israel, often in conjunction with the eschatological pilgrimage of the Gentiles (cf. Tob 13:13; 14:6–7; *Pss. Sol.* 17:30–35). The same expectation is found in Rom 11:25–32, where Paul reiterates that the salvation of Israel follows the salvation of the Gentiles (cf. 11:11–15), and that the Gentile Christians are not to be conceited (cf. 11:17–24). Paul is confident that the natural branches will be grafted back into their own olive tree (11:24). He then takes this a step further by describing how Israel will eventually be saved. First, the hardening of Israel will continue “until the fullness of the Gentiles comes in” (Rom 11:25), which implies an ongoing historical process that will be completed in the future.⁸⁵ In accordance with the OT/Jewish concept of the “eschatological measure,”⁸⁶ the fullness of the Gentiles (cf. 11:12) refers to a particular number of Gentiles who are predestined to be saved.⁸⁷ In other words, as long as Israel remains hardened and thus fills up the measure of their sin (cf. 1 Thess 2:16), the Gentiles would fill up another measure, according to the sovereign plan of God.⁸⁸ Paul probably thought that once the Spanish mission was completed the full number of the Gentiles would be reached.⁸⁹ The idea of the Gentiles’ “coming in” implies the OT/Jewish expectation of the pilgrimage of the Gentiles to Zion in the messianic time. If the image of the pilgrimage of the Gentiles in Isa 2:2–5 has been used here, the order has been reversed: The nations do not come to Israel because they see Israel’s glory; rather, Israel comes to the nations because she sees the salvation and glory which they have in Christ.⁹⁰ As Otfried Hofius suggests, however, Paul may have in mind certain OT texts that put the eschatological pilgrimage of the Gentiles before the restoration of Israel.⁹¹ When the full number of the Gentiles comes in, then, second, all

⁸⁵ See Hofius, “Das Evangelium und Israel,” 312–13.

⁸⁶ See R. Stuhlmann, *Das eschatologische Maß im Neuen Testament*.

⁸⁷ See Hofius, “Das Evangelium und Israel,” 313.

⁸⁸ So also Judith M. Gundry Volf, *Paul and Perseverance: Staying In and Falling Away* (WUNT 2.37; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1990) 178 n. 97.

⁸⁹ As of the writing of Romans, Paul had already fully evangelized the east (cf. Rom 15:19, 23) and looked forward to winning the west as far as Spain after his imminent visit to Jerusalem (cf. Rom 15:22–28).

⁹⁰ E. P. Sanders argues that the revision of the scheme proves its existence in Paul (*Jesus and Judaism* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985] 93–95).

⁹¹ See Hofius, “Das Evangelium und Israel,” 324; Isa 59:19a (Paul cites 59:20 in Rom 11:26); Isa 45:14–17 (vv. 14–16: Gentiles; v. 17: Israel); Isa 45:20–25 (vv. 20–24: Gentiles; v. 25: Israel);

Israel, including the previously impenitent and hardened majority, will be saved at the parousia. Thus Rom 11:26–27 states, citing Isa 59:20 and 27:9: “And so all Israel will be saved, just as it is written: The Deliverer will come from Zion, he will remove ungodliness from Jacob”; “and this will be my covenant with them when I take away their sins.”⁹² This will be the time of the deliverance and vindication of Israel expected in Deut 32:36–43, when the Gentiles will rejoice with Israel (v. 43). Interestingly enough, Paul cites Deut 32:43 LXX in Rom 15:10 for the benefit of Gentile believers. There can be no doubt that Paul embraces the traditional OT/Jewish expectation of Israel's restoration. In fact, E. P. Sanders finds in Romans such compelling evidence of traditional restoration eschatology that he suggests Paul can be adduced, together with John the Baptist, to show that the expectation of the restoration stands at the conclusion as well as at the beginning of Jesus' ministry.⁹³

IV. Conclusion

In both his earlier and later correspondence, Paul appropriates a pervasive OT/Jewish tradition which we may refer to as the Deuteronomic View of Israel's History. At times, the apostle does so in conjunction with actual citation(s) of Deuteronomy 27–32 (cf. Gal 3:10; Romans 9–11); at other times, he does so independently of any direct citation (cf. 1 Thess 2:14–16). In either case, however, Paul draws on this tradition as a salvation-historical framework to make several important statements about both his own people Israel and their past, present, and future relationship to God vis-à-vis the law. A proper understanding of this tradition and of Paul's appropriation of it allows us to see how even the apostle's seemingly disparate statements on these issues actually fit quite coherently into a larger perspective.⁹⁴

Mic 4:1–8 (vv. 1–5: Gentiles; vv. 6–8: Judah). See also *T. Zeb.* 9:8–9 (cf. the jealousy motif in Romans 9–11!); *T. Ben.* 9:2; 11:2–3; *Tg. Onq.* Gen 49:10.

⁹² As I hope to show on another occasion, Paul's concept of the new covenant (2 Cor 3:7–18; 6:14–7:1) fits very well with the Deuteronomic perspective he develops in Romans 9–11.

⁹³ Cf. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 91–119. Unfortunately, Sanders considers only the aspects of repentance and restoration and not the factors which, according to the *dtrGB*, made the restoration necessary in the first place (e.g., the continuing sin and guilt of Israel and the resulting judgment of God which abides on the people).

⁹⁴ This article is a revision of a presentation made at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Pauline Epistles Section, on 23 November 1991. I wish to thank the participants in the forum for their helpful responses. I would also like to thank Prof. Dr. Peter Stuhlmacher for his insightful comments on an earlier draft of the paper.

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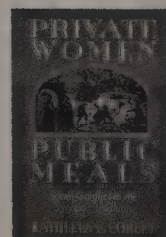
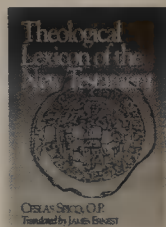
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HEART OF WAX AND A TEACHING THAT STAMPS: ΤΥΠΟΣ ΔΙΔΑΧΗΣ (ROM 6:17b) ONCE MORE

ROBERT A. J. GAGNON

Middlebury College, Middlebury, VT 05753

While the first half of Romans 6 (vv. 1-14) is noted for its exegetical conundrums, the second half of the chapter (vv. 15-23) is comparatively straightforward. However, one-half of one verse in this section (v. 17b) has justly received a disproportionate amount of attention.¹ The text and NRSV translation of vv. 17-18 are as follows:

χάρις δὲ τῷ θεῷ ὅτι ἦτε δοῦλοί τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὑπηκούσατε δὲ ἐκ καρδίας εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε τύπον διδαχῆς. ἐλευθερωθέντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐδουλώθητε τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ.

But thanks be to God that *you*, having once been slaves of sin, *have become obedient from the heart to the form* [RSV: standard] *of teaching to which you were entrusted*, and that you, having been set free from sin, have become slaves of righteousness.

Controversy has crystallized around several points. First, the grammatical construction of the clause raises several problems. Second, v. 17b has often been cited as a later interpolation. Third, some scholars in an attempt to "rescue" the text from interpolation theories have construed 6:17b as a description of pre-Christian existence. Fourth, and most significantly, the precise meaning of *τύπος* in v. 17b has been hotly debated. The intention of this study is to bring some order out of the chaos at each of these points and especially to propose a new solution to the problem of the meaning of *τύπος διδαχῆς* which takes into account a Hellenistic-Jewish *topos* familiar to Paul.

¹ In addition to the commentaries, see C. Lattey, "A Note on Rom. VI 17,18," *JTS* 29 (1928) 381-84; F. C. Burkitt, "On Romans vi 17-18," *JTS* 30 (1929) 190-91; C. Lattey, "A Further Note on Romans vi 17-18," *JTS* 30 (1929) 397-99; J. Moffatt, "The Interpretation of Romans 6:17-18," *JBL* 48 (1929) 233-38; A. Fridrichsen, "Exegetisches zum Neuen Testament," *ConNT* 7 (1942) 4-8; H. Greeven, "Propheten, Lehrer, Vorsteher bei Paulus," *ZNW* 44 (1952-53) 20-22; J. Kürzinger, "ΤΥΠΟΣ ΔΙΔΑΧΗΣ und der Sinn von Röm 6,17f.," *Bib* 39 (1958) 156-76; F. W. Beare, "On the Interpretation of Romans VI. 17," *NTS* 5 (1958-59) 206-10; E. K. Lee, "Words Denoting 'Pattern' in the New Testament," *NTS* 8 (1961-62) 169-70; U. Borse, "'Abbild der Lehre' (Röm 6,17) im Kontext," *BZ* 12 (1968) 95-103; K. Haacker, "Exegetische Probleme des Römerbriefs," *NovT* 20 (1978) 9-12; and M. Trimaille, "Encore le 'typos Didachès' de Romains 6,17," *La vie de la Parole: De l'Ancien au Nouveau Testament* (Paris: Desclée, 1987) 269-80.

To begin with, a word about the context is in order. In employing the style of the diatribe in 6:1–7:6, Paul had initially dealt with a libertinistic position that advocated sinning as a means of enhancing the grace of God (6:1–14). Here in 6:15–23 (and 7:1–6) he rebuts a position that regards sinning not so much as a positive good but as a matter of indifference in an age of grace (6:15). The point of 6:15–23 is that sinful conduct, far from being a matter of indifference, transfers the believer back into enslavement to sin and issues in death. The structure of Paul's response can be divided into two roughly parallel subsections (vv. 16–18, 19b–23), between which Paul inserts a parenthetical statement apologizing for the application of the language of enslavement to Christian existence (v. 19a). In vv. 16 and 19b Paul appeals to the Roman Christians not to present themselves as slaves of sin (in v. 16 the appeal is implicit). In vv. 17–18 and 20–23 he affirms that the Roman Christians have indeed left their pre-Christian life-style of enslavement to sin for a Christian life-style of righteousness.²

Verse 17 thus points to a past experience of the Roman believers which confirms Paul's assertion that they, thankfully, made a transition from a life of sin to a life of righteousness. Since the affirmations in 6:15–23 appear to provide Paul with the diplomatic leverage needed for exhorting his audience in Rome (cf. 15:14–16), 6:17 functions implicitly as a positive challenge to the Roman Christians to reaffirm their opposition to a life of sin.

I. Grammatical Problems

Several problems emerge in the Greek text of v. 17. First, the paratactic construction leaves some question as to whether the concessive force of 6:17a (χάρις δὲ τῷ θεῷ ὅτι ἦτε δοῦλοι τῆς ἁμαρτίας) extends to 6:17b (ὑπηκούσατε δὲ ἐκ καρδίας εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε τύπον διδασκῆς). If it did, one would then have to view 6:17b as a further characterization of pre-Christian life: "thanks to God that though you were slaves of sin and obeyed from the heart . . . , yet having been freed from sin. . . ." More will be said about this minority position in section III.

Second, the construction ὑπηκούσατε δὲ ἐκ καρδίας εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε τύπον διδασκῆς appears at first glance to be syntactically awkward. The problem, however, can be easily resolved when it is recognized that in Greek it is perfectly legitimate to incorporate the antecedent into its relative clause. In such cases the antecedent is often placed at the end of the clause, without the article, and attracted to the case of the relative.³

² For a more detailed analysis of the structure of Romans 6:1–7:6, see my dissertation: "Should We Sin? The Romans Debate and Romans 6:1–7:6" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1993) 153–92.

³ See BDF §294(5) and the NT examples cited there (esp. Acts 21:16; also Rom 7:19; Luke 3:19; 19:37; Mark 6:16; John 6:14); H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956) §§2536–38.

Third, there has been some debate over the question whether the antecedent here is to be understood as preceding the preposition (ὕπηκούσατε . . . τῷ τύπῳ διδαχῆς εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε) or only following it (ὕπηκούσατε . . . εἰς τὸν τύπον διδαχῆς ὃν παρεδόθητε). Proponents of the latter alternative must interpret εἰς in the sense of “with respect or reference to,” since ὑπακούειν never takes εἰς as its object.⁴ The usual motive behind choosing this reading is to give the translator the option of interpreting “(you became obedient with respect to) the *typos* of teaching which you were handed over” as “the *typos* of teaching which was handed over to you” (ὃν παρεδόθητε = ὃς παρεδόθη ὑμῖν), on analogy with ὃ ἐπίστεύθη ἐγὼ in 1 Tim 1:11; Titus 1:3—an interpretation which the εἰς ὃν of the first alternative would have rendered untenable.⁵

Normally the combination of παραδίδωμι and teaching/tradition would indeed refer to the handing over of tradition to people rather than the reverse (1 Cor 11:2, 23; 15:3; Mark 7:13; Luke 1:2; Acts 6:14; 16:4; 2 Pet 2:21; Jude 3; *Diogn.* 11.1; *Pol. Phil.* 7.2). Nevertheless, in the context of Rom 6:15–23, the “*typos* of teaching” as something to be obeyed functions as the master in a master–slave relationship, much as the personifications of sin (vv. 16–18, 20, 22) and “uncleanness and lawlessness” (v. 19) on the one hand, and obedience (v. 16) and righteousness (vv. 18–19; God in v. 22) on the other.⁶ For slave imagery the word παραδίδωμι is perfectly suited, since the idea of “handing over” to another power/authority (including the transfer to slave ownership) is also basic to the meaning of the word.⁷ With this recognition the need for construing εἰς as “with regard to” vanishes.

Hence, the more natural reading would be to view εἰς as a complement to παρεδόθητε, as elsewhere in Paul in Rom 1:24, 26, 28 (God gave an unrighteous humanity over to the enslaving power of its own “uncleanness,”

⁴ Although the genitive of person dominates in the papyri and the LXX, the dative of person or thing is nearly always employed in early Christian literature. See BAGD “ὑπακούω,” 837; *TDNT*, “ὑπακούω,” 1. 223; BDF §§173(3), 187(6), 202; LSJ “ὑπακούω,” 1851; and MM “ὑπακούω,” 650.

⁵ See T. Zahn, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer* (Kommentar zum Neuen Testament 6; 3d ed.; Leipzig: Deichert, 1925) 322; Moffatt, “The Interpretation of Romans 6:17–18,” 235–36; F. Büchsel, “παραδίδωμι,” *TDNT* 2. 170; and BDF §294(5) (a possibility). Oddly enough, despite his insistence that in Rom 6:17 believers are indeed handed over to teaching, Kürzinger chooses to read the text as ὑπηκούσατε δὲ ἐκ καρδίας εἰς τὸν τύπον διδαχῆς, εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε (“but you became obedient from the heart *with regard to the typos of teaching to which you were handed over*;” ΤΥΠΟΣ ΔΙΔΑΧΗΣ,” 170–71). Kürzinger prefers the double use of εἰς because it enables him to retain the accusative case of τύπον. However, in light of the fact that the antecedent is often attracted to the case of the relative (see above), such a consideration needlessly complicates the verse.

⁶ Contra Zahn, *Römer*, 322; and U. Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer* (EKKNT 6/2; Zurich: Benziger; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1980) 36.

⁷ According to LXX Deut 23:15, “you shall not hand over a (runaway) servant to his master.” Philo speaks of animals which, as mindless beings, “have been handed over under yoke . . . for service to people, as slaves to a master” (*Quod deus sit immut.* 9 §47; cf. *Mut. Nom.* 19 §113). See also *Jos. Asen.* 4.9; 2 Macc 14:33; Josephus *Ant.* 14.15.5 §428; *Corp. Herm.* 1.12; and the frequent references to being handed over to authorities for punishment (BAGD s.v. 1b).

“disgraceful passions,” and “unfit mind”; cf. 6:12, 14, 19–21; 7:5); and 2 Cor 4:11 (Paul is daily “handed over to death”; cf. 1 Cor 5:5).⁸ In Christian and Jewish literature of the period, παραδιδόναι τινὰ εἰς usually denotes a transference and subjection to a negative situation, reality, power, experience, fate, task, place, or thing (e.g., death, imprisonment, destruction, sword, judgment, slavery, affliction).⁹ However, not all uses are negative. Notable exceptions involving instruction are: “he handed over the *epheboi* to the mystery of Cybele” (τοὺς δὲ ἐφήβους παρέδωκε εἰς τὸ μητρῶον, *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum* III 1085);¹⁰ and “I was given over to the learning of a trade” (παρεδόθην εἰς μάθησιν τέχνης, a Transjordanian inscription dating to Nabatean times, *CIG* IV 9899).¹¹

The syntax of Rom 6:17b suggests the translation “you became obedient to the *typos* of teaching (in)to which you were handed over (to be its slaves).” Since the idea of handing someone over to a teaching is uncommon,¹² it is

■ “To death” is implicit also in christological formulas that speak of the handing over of Christ (Rom 4:25; 8:32; Gal 2:20; cf. Eph 5:2, 25; note too 1 Cor 13:3). Cf. 1 Cor 11:23 (implies a handing over of Christ to authorities); 15:24 (“when he hands over the kingdom to God” [dat.]).

⁹ Often παραδιδόναι τινὰ εἰς τι refers to being handed over “to” [εἰς] “death” (Matt 10:21; Mark 13:12; often in the Apostolic Fathers; LXX 2 Chr 32:11; Isa 53:12; *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 3:12; cf. Matt 26:2; Luke 24:20) and “prison or imprisonment” (Luke 21:13; Acts 8:3; 22:4; LXX Dan 4:15; *Herm. Sim.* 9.28.7; *1 Clem.* 55:2a). Note also the references to “destruction” (LXX Mic 6:16; Philo *Leg. Gai.* 32 §233), “sword” (LXX Mic 6:14; Isa 65:12), “slaughter” (LXX Isa 34:2; Ezek 21:15), “courts” (Matt 10:17; Mark 13:9), “judgment” (2 Pet 2:4; *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 1:23; 5:16), “burning” (LXX Dan 3:28), “a great curse” (*1 Enoch* 97:10), “slavery” (*1 Clem.* 55:2b), “captivity” (LXX Ps 77:61), “affliction” (Matt 24:9), “distress” (LXX Jer 15:4), “plunder” (LXX Isa 33:23), “the souls” of one’s enemies (LXX Ps 26:12; Ezek 16:27), “ridicule” (Matt 20:19) “corruption” (*Barn.* 5.1), “indifference” (*Herm. Vis.* 3.11.3), and a proposal to commit apostasy (Josephus *Ant.* 4.5.9 §139). By far the most common expression involving παραδιδόναι εἰς in the LXX is to “deliver into the hands of” (εἰς χεῖρας), usually denoting the condition of being at the mercy of one’s enemy. Although generally παραδιδόναι τινὰ εἰς takes an impersonal referent and παραδιδόναι + dative a personal one, there are exceptions to both cases: for the former, see 3 *Apoc. Bar.* 1:2; *Corp. Herm.* 1.26 (the intellects that ascend to God after death “hand themselves over to [εἰς] powers,” viewed as personal beings, to be assimilated to their form); cf. also LSJ; for the latter, LXX Ps 117:18; *Corp. Herm.* 1.22; Philo *Mut. Nom.* 32 §173; *Virt.* 32 §171. In the LXX both the dative and εἰς + accusative, when functioning as complements of παραδίδωμι, usually translate the same Hebrew preposition, הָ.

¹⁰ Cf. *Herm. Sim.* 6.3.6a (ἐμοὶ παραδίδονται εἰς ἀγαθὴν παιδείαν = “they are turned over to me for good instruction”); and the fourth-third century BCE fragment (164) of Demetrius of Phalerum (Demosthenes παραδίδωσι ἑαυτὸν τῷ Ἀνδρονίκῳ, i.e., initiated into dramatic art [BAGD, 615b]).

¹¹ The latter inscription is cited in Fridrichsen, “Exegetisches zum Neuen Testament,” 6–8. Fridrichsen used it to translate Rom 6:17b as “you became obedient to the form of teaching, for the learning of which (*zwecks deren Erlernung* = εἰς οὗ τὴν μάθησιν) you were given over” (so also BAGD [“παραδίδωμι,” 615a] and perhaps BDF §294(5)). Even if εἰς in Rom 6:17b denoted the purpose for which the Roman believers were handed over (which is unlikely), context dictates that it would be better to interpret the purpose as one of obedience or enslavement to this teaching rather than “learning” (a word that is explicit in the Nabatean inscription but not here). See A. Oepke, “εἰς,” *TDNT* 2. 426: the εἰς of Rom 6:17 is probably to be classed with other uses of εἰς “to describe a situation” as in Rom 11:32 (“God shut up all people in disobedience”) and 2 Cor 10:5 (“taking every thought captive to the obedience of Christ”).

¹² E. Käsemann does not substantiate the statement that τύπος διδασκῆς is “a Jewish form of

not too farfetched to suggest that the choice of the word παρεδόθητε entails a deliberate wordplay (paronomasia). Rather than say that the teaching was “handed over” to them (as if they were now its masters), Paul emphasizes their subordination to the teaching (cf. 1 Cor 8:2–3: one does not “know” so much as one is “known” by God).¹³

II. The Question of Interpolation

Having discussed the syntax of 6:17, it is now possible to address the various interpretations of “the *typos* of teaching.” The most extreme solution is simply to give up on interpreting the phrase in the context of Romans and to view it instead as a later interpolation. Rudolf Bultmann labeled Rom 6:17b a “stupiden Zwischensatz” because (1) it disrupted “the clear antithetical” parallelism between v. 17a and v. 18; (2) contained two non-Pauline expressions (ἐκ καρδίας, τύπος διδασχῆς); (3) could only be employing τύπος διδασχῆς with reference to “die spezifisch paulinische Lehre”; and (4) spoiled “die großartige Entfaltung der Dialektik” of freedom and slavery with a “trivial” remark about obedience to a teaching.¹⁴ Although some scholars have accepted Bultmann’s conclusions,¹⁵ most have not, simply because the clause can be explained in a way that is quite compatible with Paul’s thinking elsewhere. Each of Bultmann’s arguments is open to question.

First, v. 17b is not as disruptive to the context as Bultmann supposes. Only in v. 17b is the catchword “obedience” picked up from v. 16. Moreover, v. 17b may be part of a chiasm in vv. 17–18:

- A: you obeyed from the heart the *typos* of teaching
- B: to which (*typos* of teaching) you were handed over
- B': and having been freed from sin
- A': you were enslaved to righteousness

expression for the commitment of a student to the teaching of a rabbi” (*Commentary on Romans* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980] 181). Rom 2:20 (“having the embodiment [μὶς ἐν ὁρίῳ] of knowledge . . . in the law”) is a questionable parallel since in the context of Rom 6:17 τύπος διδασχῆς cannot be understood as an “embodiment of teaching.”

¹³ So C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (London: Black, 1957) 132; Greeven, “Propheten,” 21; contra Beare, “Romans VI. 17,” 207; Kürzinger, “ΤΥΠΟΣ ΔΙΔΑΧΗΣ,” 165–68.

¹⁴ R. Bultmann, “Glossen im Römerbrief,” *TLZ* 72 (1947) col. 202. Greeven cites C. H. Weisse (1867) and J. H. A. Michelsen (1887) as earlier proponents of this view (“Propheten,” 20 n. 46).

¹⁵ See, e.g., G. Bornkamm, “Baptism and New Life in Paul: Romans 6,” *Early Christian Experience* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969) 86 n. 27 (however, contra Bultmann, τύπος διδασχῆς means “the baptismal confession,” p. 83); N. Gäumann, *Taufe und Ethik: Studien zu Römer 6* (BEvT 47; Munich: Kaiser, 1967) 94–96; V. P. Furnish, *Theology and Ethics in Paul* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1968) 197–98; D. Zeller, *Der Brief an die Römer* (RNT; Regensburg: Pustet, 1985) 127–28 (6:17b may be Pauline but Bultmann’s thesis “retains some probability,” given 2 Tim 1:13); and W. Schmithals, *Der Römerbrief: Ein Kommentar* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1988) 199–200. It is amazing that Schmithals can tell us not only that τύπος διδασχῆς has to refer to “Paul’s special type of teaching” but also who wrote 6:17b: “the editor of the oldest collection of Paul’s letters.”

A and A' describe the active response of the Romans (a life lived in righteousness); B and B' describe the prior work of God. Schmithals says that v. 17b "comes too early, since Paul first mentions the liberation from the power of sin in v. 18."¹⁶ Yet such an assertion simply begs the question of what Paul is in fact doing: namely, stating in two different ways — one concretely, the other abstractly — the nature and shape of the believer's transfer to God's rule.

Second, the contention of non-Pauline diction has to be tempered by other considerations: (a) Comparable expressions to "obedience from the heart" occur elsewhere in Romans (see below); "obedience" and being "handed over" are consistent with the context (see above); and *τύπος διδασχῆς* is hardly more a fixture of early Christian literature than of Paul.¹⁷ (b) Paul could be taking up traditional language or themes (see section V), given the context of baptismal traditions and the repeated occurrence of unusual terms and concepts in Romans 6 (e.g., *σύμφυτοι γεγόναμεν* in v. 5; *δεδικαίωται ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας* in v. 7; and the whole notion of being "enslaved to righteousness").

Third, there is no reason to restrict the meaning of *τύπος διδασχῆς* to the *Pauline* type of teaching, let alone to a special "type" or "form" of teaching (see the range of proposals in sections IV–V). The word *τύπος* has a wide range of meanings.¹⁸ It derives from *τύπτω* ("to strike") and in its most basic sense denotes either: (1) "that which results from being struck by a blow" (thus, "impression, imprint, stamp, mark, trace, [foot]print, engraving, cast, replica, copy, a [figure worked in] relief, a [carved] figure, idol, statue, picture, painting," and so any "form, shape, image, feature, style, content[s], formulation, text, writ, summons, decree"); or (2) "that which strikes and so stamps or leaves an impression" (hence, "[hollow] mold, die," and so "archetype, model, pattern, type, a prescribed form, standard, norm, example, rule of life"). A secondary sense is that of "outline, sketch, general idea, general impression, general character, general instruction, general principle, basic features, gist, typical case, sample, [rough] draft."

Fourth, the idea that a reference to teaching (*διδασχῆ*) trivializes Paul's discussion must be rejected as a holdover from a long-standing Protestant bias that equates teaching with "law" and contrasts it with "gospel." Elsewhere in

¹⁶ Schmithals, *Der Römerbrief*, 199.

¹⁷ See H. Schlier, *Der Römerbrief* (HTKNT 6; Freiburg: Herder, 1977) 208–9; Wilckens, *Römer*, 2. 35. 2 Tim 1:13 provides the only potential parallel in the deutero-Pauline corpus of the NT: "have (or: keep, hold to) the *hypotypōsis* of sound words which you heard from me in the faith and love which is in Christ Jesus." The meaning of *ὑποτύπωσις* here is disputed; suggestions range from "outline" (judging from LSJ, this is the primary sense of the word) to "model, pattern, example, standard" (cf. the only other NT occurrence in 1 Tim 1:16). In any case, this single analogy proves only that a similar phrase could be employed on rare occasion by would-be heirs of Paul's legacy. One also cannot assume that author of the Pastoral Epistles used the phrase *ὑποτύπωσιν* . . . ὑγιαίνοντων λόγων in the same sense as *τύπος διδασχῆς* in Rom 6:17b.

¹⁸ See LSJ, MM, BAGD; and L. Goppelt, "τύπος, κτλ.," *TDNT* 8. 246–59.

Romans Paul speaks favorably of their renowned "obedience" to "the teaching (διδάχη) which you learned" (16:17, 19).¹⁹ They were "filled with all knowledge, able also to admonish (νουθετεῖν) each other" (15:14). In 1 Cor 4:17, Paul speaks of "my ways in Christ" which "I teach (διδάσκω) everywhere in every church." Teaching is (in Paul's opinion at least!) one of the most revered ministries (Rom 12:7; 1 Cor 12:28–29; 14:6, 26). Usually when Paul introduces his remarks with a disclosure formula it is clear that he is about to exercise his ministry as an apostolic teacher;²⁰ as is the case whenever he conveys traditional formulas, hymnic material, a "mystery" (Rom 11:25; 1 Thess 4:13), or proofs from the OT. Indeed, Romans 1–11 is nothing if not a teaching explaining the relationship of Paul's gospel to God's righteousness; and it is this teaching which brings about the "obedience of faith in all the nations" (1:5) and which Paul is eager to proclaim in Rome (1:15–17).

Given that Paul is addressing a community that he has yet to visit, the reference to obeying teaching rather than to imitation of Paul's ways (1 Cor 4:16; 11:1; Phil 3:17; 1 Thess 1:6; 2:14) is self-evident. No doubt he could have spoken of obedience to the gospel as in Rom 10:16 (cf. 2 Thess 1:8). Yet in a context where he wants to stress adherence to traditional norms of righteous conduct and where he is addressing a community that has not heard *his* gospel, a reference to teaching is more appropriate. In any case, there is no substantive difference between Rom 6:17b and other passages in Paul's letters in which he commends a church for adhering to (viz., receiving, learning, holding firmly to, putting into practice) the "traditions" or "commands" given to them (1 Thess 4:1–2; 1 Cor 11:2, 17; Phil 4:9). In the light of all this, the statement of Victor Furnish that Rom 6:17b "reflects a completely un-Pauline view of obedience" is inexplicable.²¹ It is a fallacy to think of obedience to teaching only as a mark of post-Pauline ecclesiastical development.

¹⁹ That in 16:17 "the concept of *obedience* is not specifically applied" (Furnish, *Theology and Ethics in Paul*, 197) is surely wrong. The report about the "obedience" of the Roman Christians which has "reached everyone" (16:19) can have no reference other than obedience to "the teaching which you learned" in the face of "those who cause dissensions and offenses" (16:17). To be sure, the authenticity of 16:17–20 has been disputed (e.g., Furnish, *ibid.*, 198 n. 144; W.-H. Ollrog, "Die Abfassungsverhältnisse von Röm 16," in *Kirche: Festschrift für Günther Bornkamm zum 75. Geburtstag* [ed. Dieter Lührmann and Georg Strecker; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1980] 229–34). But there is nothing materially different between the remarks in 16:17–20 and those in Phil 3:2, 17–19; 2 Cor 11:13–15; 1 Cor 16:22; Gal 6:11–17. Cf. U. Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer* (EKKNT 6/3; Zurich: Benziger, 1982) 139–40.

²⁰ Cf. the introductory formulas: "I want you to know . . ." or "I do not want you to be ignorant . . ." or "I make known to you . . ." (Rom 11:25; 1 Cor 10:1; 11:3; 12:1; 1 Thess 4:13); or "don't you know that . . ." (Rom 6:3, 16; 7:1; 11:2, 25; 1 Cor 3:16; 5:6; 6:2–3, 9, 15–16, 19; 9:13, 24; 12:3; 15:1). Sometimes, however, such formulas introduce information about Paul's own circumstances (e.g., Rom 1:13; 2 Cor 1:8; 8:1; Gal 1:11; Phil 1:12), though even here a didactic function is often present.

²¹ Furnish, *Theology and Ethics in Paul*, 198.

III. A Description of Pre-Christian Existence?

Among the majority of scholars who accept the authenticity of Rom 6:17b are a few who claim that the clause speaks of pre-Christian life. In 1928 C. Lattey contended that τύπος διδαχῆς denoted the Mosaic law as the "form" or "kind" of teaching to which the Jewish Christians in Rome had been given over prior to conversion.²² Forty years later, U. Borse concluded that, in the light of Rom 5:14 (Adam as τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος), τύπος διδαχῆς "designates not Christian teaching, but rather the teaching of Sin as its negative prototype (*Vorbild*)."²³ K. Haacker rightly rejected the link with Rom 5:14 on the basis that "one should probably not read into every combination of τύπος with a noun in the genitive this complicated relationship between Adam and Christ!" Drawing on examples from Philo, Haacker interpreted τύπος διδαχῆς to mean the "impression" (*Eindruck*) or "influence/effect" (*Einfluß*) made by "ungute Tradition" prior to conversion.²⁴ M. Trimaille, apparently unaware of Lattey's earlier work, likewise viewed τύπος διδαχῆς as a particular type of teaching. Paul is telling his readers that the "Didachè du Judaïsme hellénistique" is no antidote to their pagan bondage to sin (cf. 2:20).²⁵

Against both Lattey and Trimaille, there is nothing in 6:15–23 to suggest that Paul is speaking to former and/or present law-observers. The description of their former life-style as one of "uncleanness," "lawlessness," and "shameful" practices (vv. 19a, 21) resonates strongly with the plight of the pagans in 1:18–32. It is not until 7:1 that Paul turns his attention to "those who know law." Moreover, in the context of Romans 5–8, Paul does not construe *obedience* to the *Torah* as a problem. It is precisely the weakness of the law in the face of sinful passions, and thus one's inability to obey it, that is the problem with trying to be justified by the law (cf. 7:4–8:4; 10:5; 3:9–20, 23).

The basic arguments for the pre-Christian reference of 6:17b are weak. (1) The point is made that by viewing 6:17b as a description of the unbeliever's "voluntary" (= ἐκ καρδίας) service of sin, one diffuses Bultmann's argument that 6:17b interrupts the parallelism of 6:17–18. Yet I have already shown that 6:17b can be construed as a description of Christian obedience without disrupting the structure of 6:17–18. (2) Another argument is that, given the normally negative object of the phrase παραδιδόναι τινὰ εἰς and the use of the phrase by Paul in Rom 1:24, 26, 28, the same force should be attributed to the phrase in 6:17b. But not only are there some neutral and even positive

²² Lattey, "Note," 381–84; and idem, "A Further Note," 397–99. F. C. Burkitt's rejoinder to Lattey that Rom 6:17b–18 constitutes Paul's praise of a second state of human existence ("morality") between "immorality" and "evangelical freedom" is nonsensical ("On Romans," 190–91).

²³ Borse, "Abbild der Lehre," 102. Origen in his commentary on Romans construed τύπος διδαχῆς as the mere copy or shadow of the truth which we will one day see face to face (in Migne PG 14. 1061C).

²⁴ Haacker, "Exegetische Probleme des Römerbriefs," 9–12.

²⁵ Trimaille, "Encore le 'typos Didachès' de Romains 6,17," 278–80.

associations of the phrase in literature of the period (see above), but more importantly Paul himself in 6:19a admits the inappropriateness of his application of slave imagery to Christians. (3) According to Trimaille, the parallelism of 6:17–18 and 6:20–22 “invite à admettre une équivalence” between 6:17b and “you were free with regard to righteousness” (v. 20b).²⁶ However, the two subsections are not so identical in structure that one can make one-to-one correspondences for every clause (the whole of v. 21 and the second half of v. 22 have no parallel in vv. 17–18).

The close ties between 6:17b and 16:17, 19 (see above) confirm that the “teaching” is Christian teaching. Moreover, the expression “obeyed from the heart” (ὕπηκούσατε ἐκ καρδίας) is most naturally understood in a positive sense. Rom 2:15 speaks of “the work of the law written in their (i.e., the Gentiles) hearts”—obedience to this “law” could not be construed negatively. True circumcision, according to Paul, is “of the heart, in Spirit, not letter” (Rom 2:29; cf. 7:6); and salvation hinges on believing “with the heart” (καρδίᾳ, Rom 10:10; “in your heart,” ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου, 10:9). A comparable case where ἐκ καρδίας is used can be seen in 1 Pet 1:22 (“having purified your souls in *obedience of the truth* . . . love one another earnestly *from the heart*”).²⁷ “From the heart” not only means “voluntarily” but also is contrasted with purely external obedience to the “letter” of the law (7:6); it is an acceptable obedience precisely because it goes deeper than mere rote performance. In early Christian household codes, slaves were instructed to “obey” their master in singleness of heart,” “from the soul,” and not only outwardly with “eyeservice as people-pleasers.”²⁸ Given such a social context, the figurative application of “obedience from the heart” to the (Christian) slaves of God in Rom 6:15–23 can only connote something positive.

IV. A Pauline Description of Christian Experience: The Major Proposals

Typos Didachēs as a Reference to Christ

Among those who regard Rom 6:17b as a description of a (post-)baptismal experience are two recent commentators who equate τύπος διδασκῆς with Christ.

²⁶ Ibid., 274.

²⁷ Cf. 1 Tim 1:5; 2 Tim 2:22 for the phrase “from a clean heart” (ἐκ καθαρᾶς καρδίας); Mark 12:30, 33 par. (citation from LXX Deut 6:5) for ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου (cf. Acts 8:37 v.l.); Matt 18:35 (“forgive . . . your brother from your hearts”) for ἀπὸ τῶν καρδιῶν ὑμῶν; Eph 6:6 and Col 3:23 for “from the soul” (ἐκ ψυχῆς); *T. Gad* 6:3, 7 (love/forgive “from the heart”) for ἀπὸ καρδίας; and *T. Levi* 13:1 (“fear the Lord your God from your whole heart,” ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας). Mark 7:21 (various kinds of evils go out “from [ἐκ] the heart of people”) does not really apply because it is not of the form “people do x from the heart.”

²⁸ See Eph 6:5–8; Col 3:22–25; cf. 1 Tim 6:1–2; Titus 2:9–10; 1 Pet 2:18–19; *Did.* 4.11; *Barn.* 19.7; cf. Philo *Dec.* 31 §167: “servants . . . rendering an affectionate loyalty to their masters” (φιλοδέσποτον).

Since the case rests largely on Paul's usage of *τύπος* elsewhere, a brief review is appropriate here. Outside of Rom 6:17b, *τύπος* occurs four times in the undisputed writings of Paul. Twice it refers to a group of people who collectively constitute a positive "example" or "(role-)model" for others: the church at Thessalonica (1 Thess 1:7) and Paul along with those who live like him (Phil 3:17).²⁹ In 1 Cor 10:6 (cf. 10:11: *τυπικῶς*) Paul regards Israel's disastrous experiences in the wilderness as *typoi* ("pictures, images, examples, lessons, warnings") for the people of the end-times.³⁰ In Rom 5:14, Adam is called a *τύπος* "of the one to come" (Jesus). The context implies a meaning such as "antitype" (Goppelt: "opposite impression"); but since the aspect of antithesis is difficult to document for *τύπος*, the meaning may be either "prototype, prefiguration" or a "rough image, imprint, pattern, model"—and that of a divine (and eschatological) reality (viz., Christ) perhaps already imprinted in the mind of God.³¹

J. D. G. Dunn argues that, since "*τύπος* in the Pauline corpus almost always has a personal reference," *τύπος* in 6:17b must refer to "Christ as the pattern for Christian parenesis or the model for Christian conduct." In keeping with the appositional use of *τύπος* in Phil 3:17 and 2 Thess 3:9, Dunn translates 6:17b as "you gave your obedience from the heart to the one to whom you were handed over as a pattern of teaching."³² The problem with this translation

²⁹ Cf. 2 Thess 3:9 (Paul and his coworkers); 1 Tim 4:12 (Timothy); Titus 2:7 (Titus); 1 Pet 5:3 (elders); Ign. *Magn.* 6.2 (overseers). In 4 Macc 6:19, Eleazar refuses to pretend that he is eating pork because by such an act "we should . . . ourselves become a model (or pattern, *τύπος*) of impiety to the young by setting them an example in the eating of defiling food." Note also the inscription: *τύπον δὲ εὐσεβείας . . . παισὶν ἐχγόνους τε ἐμοῖς . . . ἐκτέθεικα* (*Oriens Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* 383.212 [first century BCE]; "I have set forth a model/example of piety for my children and descendants"). According to Philo, Jethro is the "clearest *model/example*" of people who heed human ordinances and so vacillate (*Ebr.* 10 §36; cf. Plato *Rep.* 396E); Abraham and Isaac are the original *models* of our education" (*Som.* 1.28 §173).

³⁰ It is possible, as Goppelt thinks, that the technical sense of the word which prevails in subsequent Christian literature (i.e., a "type," an "advance presentation" intimating eschatological events) is already emerging in Paul ("*τύπος*," 251–53). In *Barn.* 7.3, 7, 10, 11; 8.1; 12.2, 5, 6, 10; 13.5, the writer offers a number of "types" or pictorial representations from the OT that are meant to symbolize Jesus or the eschatological people of God. However, the usage is far from uniform in other Apostolic Fathers, often lacking any idea of foreshadowing: the master is a *τύπος* (image, representation, symbol) of God to his slave (*Did.* 4.11; *Barn.* 19.7); the "bishop" is likewise a *τύπος* "of the Father" to his congregation (Ign. *Trall.* 3.1; cf. Ign. *Magn.* 6.1 v.l.); two trees which Hermas sees in the countryside "are put as a *τύπος* (illustration, symbol) for the servants of God" (*Herm. Sim.* 2.2); and "the fourth vision [or beast] . . . was a *τύπος* (symbol, foreshadowing) of the persecution which is to come" (*Herm. Vis.* 4.1.1; 4.2.5; 4.3.6; cf. 3.11.4).

³¹ Cf. Philo *Quis Her.* 48 §231: "the mind in each of us . . . is a *copy* (*τύπος*) at third hand from the Maker, while between them is the Reason which serves as model for our reason. . . ." For Philo's view of humans (or the human mind) as copies of an image in God's mind (a heavenly person), see *Op. Mun.* 46 §134; *Leg. All.* 1.12 §§31–32; 1.16 §53; 1.29–30 §§90–94.

³² J. D. G. Dunn, *Romans* (WBC 38A–B; 2 vols.; Dallas: Word, 1988) 1. 334, 343–44, 353–54 (cf. Greeven, "Propheten," 22 n. 51). Of some help to Dunn's position is Ign. *Magn.* 6.2: "be united with the bishop and with those set over you as a *τύπος* and teaching of immortality" (*ἐνώθητε*

is that “to whom” (εἰς ὃν) would then lack an antecedent in the Greek text. The four other uses of τύπος in Paul’s writings are not so uniform that one is compelled to interpret τύπος διδασκαλίας as Dunn does: 1 Cor 10:6 does not refer to a person, and Adam in Rom 5:14 is hardly a model to be imitated. U. Wilckens’s position is confusing since he combines different senses of τύπος. According to him, τύπος διδασκαλίας probably means “the content of teaching,” but even more the resurrected Christ as both “the decisive content of the baptismal teaching” and the “archetypal (*urbildliche*) reality” of the baptismal creed into which believers are being molded.³³ This is clearly a case of trying to pack too much meaning into a single word. The decisive consideration against regarding τύπος διδασκαλίας as a reference to Christ is that Paul could not have expected his readers to make the connection, given the absence of a preceding ὡς, the unusual combination of τύπος (taken as a person) and διδασκαλή, the fact that παραδίδωμι εἰς normally takes an impersonal object, and the omission of any mention of Christ in vv. 12–22 (the only immediate personal referent is God).

Typos Didachēs as an Impersonal Reference

Of the remaining majority of scholars who regard Rom 6:17b as a reference to the handing over of the Roman believers to teaching, four basic positions have crystallized around the meaning of τύπος. In some instances there is overlap between the categories, but the distinctions are helpful from a heuristic standpoint.

(1) One position that used to be popular in German scholarship held that τύπος referred to a “type,” “kind,” or “specific form”³⁴ of teaching in distinction

τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς προκαθημένοις εἰς τύπον καὶ διδασκῆν ἀφθαρσίας). W. R. Schoedel thinks the passage is “terminologically dependent on” Rom 6:17 and interprets it as a hendiadys (“example of the teaching which leads to incorruptibility”; see *Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch* [Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985] 115). Even if the bishop is thought of as the embodiment of teaching in analogy with Rom 6:17b, the passage is not decisive for interpreting τύπος διδασκαλίας personally both because in Rom 6:17b there is nothing corresponding to the clear personal reference (“bishop”) in *Magn.* 6.2 and because Ignatius’s later interpretation cannot dictate Paul’s original meaning.

³³ Wilckens, *Römer*, 2. 36–37. For the meaning “content, text, form,” see 3 Macc 3:30 (“and the τύπος of the letter was written in this way”); *Ep. Arist.* 34 (“Now the letter of the king was having this τύπος” = “was as follows” [cf. v. 41]); Acts 23:25 (the tribune “having written a letter which has this τύπος”). In each case the remark is made in conjunction with a full citation of the letter’s contents. Cf. Iamblichus *Vit. Pyth.* 35.259; and *PFlor.* 278 II.20 (third century CE) cited in BAGD “τύπος 4,” 830a.

³⁴ The rather generic rendering of τύπος as “form” or “shape” in Jewish literature is relatively common and applied to a variety of subjects: 1 *Enoch* 106:5 (the angelic form of Noah at birth); *T. Abr.* (A) 19:9 (beholding “death in the form of a . . . precipice”); *T. Zeb.* 3:6 (Joseph as the form [or image] of the Pharaoh); *Sib. Or.* 3:27 (the shape of articulate beings); Philo *Cig.* 2 §9 (the unseen forms of souls); and *Ebr.* 42 §174 (the shape of an elk’s face). Cf. *Barn.* 6.11 (Christians as another form or kind [ἄλλον τύπον] of humanity). Philo does speak of the original “form” of

to other forms of teaching, whether the Pauline teaching in contrast to non-Pauline teachings (B. Weiss, E. Kühl) or the Christian teaching as opposed to the teaching of the law (H. Lietzmann, perhaps O. Michel).³⁵ The notion that τύπος διδαχῆς could refer to "Christianity in a Pauline stamp" (Weiss) has rightly received little if any support. Even if Paul had numerous contacts in Rome, as Romans 16 suggests, still the Roman Christians required the kind of detailed defense of his gospel that issued in Romans 1–11 (cf. 1:15). Only those who regard 6:17b as an interpolation now think in terms of a Pauline "type."

Yet a contrast with the Mosaic law is not so farfetched, given that the question of whether sin is compatible with a life "not under law" (6:15) introduces the discussion in 6:16–7:6. Alternatively, "the kind of teaching" to which the Roman Christians were handed over could be distinguished from Paul's own personal instruction (rather than being equated with it, as Weiss and Kühl supposed). Both contrasts (Christian teaching versus law, or the teaching received by the Romans versus the teaching given by Paul) lie within the pale of possible options for interpreting 6:17b.³⁶ Nevertheless, if Paul had indeed intended to contrast one type of teaching with another, one might have expected a clearer development of the contrast in the immediate context. The very fact that he does not do so suggests that the meaning of τύπος διδαχῆς lies elsewhere.

the Hebrew laws, which the LXX translators could not alter by addition or subtraction (*Mos.* 2.6 §34). Note the references above to the "form" of a document, and below to the "form" of a summary. Incidentally, one usage of τύπος in Jewish writings of the period can be discarded as irrelevant for interpreting Rom 6:17b: that of "idol, image, statue" (LXX Amos 5:26 [quoted in Acts 7:43]; *Sib. Or.* 3:14; Josephus *Ant.* 1 §§311, 322–23; 15 §329; never in this sense in Philo).

³⁵ E. Kühl, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1913); B. Weiss, *Der Brief an die Römer* (MeyerK; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1899); H. Lietzmann, *An die Römer* (HNT 8; 4th ed.; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1933) 70. Wilckens considers Lietzmann's interpretation to be a possibility (*Römer*, 2. 36). L. Morris thinks of "the accepted Christian teaching" in contrast to any non-Christian one (*The Epistle to the Romans* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988]). O. Michel's position is ambiguous (*Der Brief an die Römer* [MeyerK 4; 5th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978] 212–13). At one point he speaks of Paul's description of a "kind" (Art) of teaching "in distinction to rabbinical teaching and popular Hellenistic philosophy, or a fixed form of teaching in distinction to other early Christian 'types'" (p. 212). But later he seems to suggest that the passage is an interpolation (p. 213). The idea of a contrast with the Jewish law is not embraced only by German scholars; see D. Moo, who combines this view with that of *typos* as a pattern that molds (*Romans 1–8* [Wycliffe Exegetical Commentary; Chicago: Moody, 1991] 418).

³⁶ W. Sanday and A. Headlam (followed by Beare) contend that "to suppose . . . that some special 'type of doctrine' . . . is meant, is to look with the eyes of the nineteenth century and not with those of the first" (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* [ICC; Edinburgh: Clark, 1900] 168). Yet Paul was aware of other teachings (the law; the message of the Judaizers in Antioch, Galatia, Corinth, and Philippi; the "gospel of the circumcision" entrusted to Peter; the perspective of the "weak" in Romans 14 and the "strong" at Corinth). Paul's remarks in Rom 1:11, 15; 15:15, when penetrated beyond the diplomatic veneer, certainly suggest that he regarded the "form" of teaching received in Rome as deficient at a number of points.

(2) Perhaps the dominant interpretation in the English-speaking world from 1900 to the 1950s was that of the “standard” or “pattern” (i.e., prescribed form) of teaching.³⁷ That this became the reading of the RSV was probably due in large part to the verdicts rendered by Sanday and Headlam (1900) and by James Moffatt (1929).³⁸ The emphasis could vary from that of a “norm” or “rule of faith, authoritative guide for life . . . which ruled the practice of the churches” (Moffatt) to that of a “traditional scheme of teaching,” a relatively uniform arrangement of *topoi* widespread in the early church (Dodd). “Pattern” in the latter sense should probably be ruled out of bounds. Although a very basic pattern of instruction probably had wide circulation in early Christianity, one should be cautious about ascribing such a significant meaning to τύπος διδασχῆς when there is so little supporting evidence to confirm that Paul consciously thought in such terms.

Yet a translation such as “the model, standard, pattern, or rule” of conduct “offered by teaching” (genitive of source; or, if an epexegetical genitive, “which consists in teaching”) is an option.³⁹ The advantage of such a reading is that it approximates the meaning of the word τύπος in 1 Thess 1:7; Phil 3:17; and the deutero-Pauline material—only in this case the Roman Christians were given a “model” or “example” of behavior solely by their teaching rather than by the public conduct of Paul’s own life. Still, if this is a plausible reading, the question remains whether it is the best one, since the characterization of the totality of a given teaching as a “model” is unusual.⁴⁰

(3) From the late 1950s on, a related interpretation of τύπος διδασχῆς began to take hold especially in the English-speaking world (Beare, Lee, Cranfield, but also Goppelt)—that of Christian teaching (gen. of apposition) as “the (hollow) mold,” “impress,” or “stamp,” which shapes the one handed over to

³⁷ Cf. Plato *Rep.* 377C (the kinds of stories mothers should not tell their children can be illustrated by reference to the major legends in Homer and Hesiod, since both major and minor legends share the same “pattern”); *Rep.* 379A, 380C, 383A, 383C, 398B, 398D (of the “patterns, models” or “rules, guidelines, standards, norms, principles” which the founders of a city should prescribe and to which poets should conform when they write stories); *Rep.* 443C (a “model of righteousness/justice” in Plato’s ideal state); also *Rep.* 559A; *Leg.* 718C; 778C.

³⁸ Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, 168; Moffatt, “Interpretation,” 237; C. H. Dodd, “The Primitive Catechism and the Sayings of Jesus,” in *New Testament Essays* (ed. A. J. B. Higgins; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959) 107–8; John Murray, *The Epistle to the Romans* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959) 232.

³⁹ The suggestion by A. Maillot that Paul is making a sarcastic allusion to the “model” or “exemplary” teaching that the Roman Christians had received from Peter (!) is misguided on many counts (*L’Épître aux Romains* [Paris: Centurion, 1984] 170). Maillot also considers the possibility that Paul is referring to a common “manual of baptismal teaching.”

⁴⁰ Cf. God’s order to Moses to construct a sanctuary “in accordance with the model (pattern, blueprint) shown you on the mountain” (LXX Exod 25:40; cf. *Proph. vit. fab.* 3:15; Acts 7:44; Heb 8:5); the expectation of “a new priesthood in accordance with the model (?) of the nations” (*T. Levi* 8:14); and the pattern against which everything in the world is judged (viz., through comparison with its opposite; Philo *Ebr.* §187).

it into the image of Christ.⁴¹ The advantage in adopting this interpretation is twofold: it maintains continuity with the meaning of “model” or “example” found elsewhere in Pauline texts (see above) and takes seriously a root meaning of (and concrete imagery behind) *τύπος*. However, despite the support given to this interpretation by Basil, this graphic sense of “mold” is difficult to document as a metaphor in Greek literature (other than in the watered-down sense of “model”).⁴² Another problem is that such a rendering of Rom 6:17b puts the emphasis squarely on the molding of the believer that transpires only through obedience rather than the molding that, according to 6:1–11 (death with Christ), constitutes the basis for obedience.

(4) The view that currently dominates German scholarship is that *τύπος διδασχῆς* refers to the “formed, stamped, traditional teaching” (Kuss), “a teaching which exists in a fixed form” (Schlier) and was taken over at baptism — thus a semi-formed “baptismal instruction” (Halter).⁴³ A related position was staked out by J. Kürzinger: *τύπος διδασχῆς* is the “outline” or “basic form” of teaching, “a formal summary of the most important truths of the faith” tied to baptism and which Paul knew was circulating in churches outside his own.⁴⁴ Käsemann similarly thought in terms of “a summary of the gospel . . . given at baptism . . . something like a baptismal creed.”⁴⁵ Traditions such as 1 Cor 15:3–4; Eph 4:20–24; and NT baptismal hymns have been cited as examples of what Paul may have been alluding to (cf. Rom 6:2–11, where Paul builds an argument by appeal to baptismal formulas). These two variant interpretations resemble “the pattern of teaching” discussed above (#2), though the emphasis here is more strongly placed on baptism and on concise, fixed, summarizing formulas (less so on “norms” and a systematic arrangement of topics).

⁴¹ Beare, “Interpretation,” 209–10; Lee, “Words Denoting ‘Pattern,’” 169–70; Goppelt, “*τύπος*,” *TDNT* 8. 250; Cranfield, *Romans*, 1. 324; already espoused by Zahn (*Römer*, 320–21) and Nygren (*Romans*, 256–57). Zeller refers to “der prägenden Form” of teaching (*Römer*, 127).

⁴² See Basil *De Bapt.* 1.2: “just as the wax is being shaped when it is handed over to the carved mold, so too we by handing ourselves over to the mold of the teaching of the gospel might be transformed in the inner person.” For the literal sense of a “(hollow) mold,” see the lexicographer Hesychius (fifth century CE), who defines *χοάνη* as “a mold into which that which is being casted/smelted is poured”; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 60.9; Arist. *Part. Animal.* 676b.9; *Geoponica* 10.9.3 (of the mold used to shape fruit). For a metaphorical use of a die for striking coins, see Aeschylus *Supp.* 282. There are a few passages in Philo where “mold” or “stamp” (i.e., a device that stamps) may be appropriate: *Op.* 9 §34 (of the creation of intelligible realities as *τύποι* and seals of their sense-perceptible counterparts); *Mos.* 1.28 §159 (of the virtuous living of Moses as a *τύπος* [an image on a seal?] capable of being imprinted on souls); cf. *Mos.* 2.16 §76; *Decal.* 2 §11. E. Lee (“Words,” 169) cites Plato *Rep.* 396E as an example of a metaphorical application of “mold,” but the weaker sense of “model, pattern, image, type” is probably more apt.

⁴³ Kuss, *Römerbrief*, 1. 389–90; Schlier, *Römerbrief*, 209; H. Halter, *Taufe und Ethos: Paulinische Kriterien für das Proprium Christlicher Moral* (Freiburger Theologische Studien; Freiburg: Herder, 1977) 78–81. Cf. H. Ridderbos, *Paul: An Outline of His Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975) 240: “that form of teaching which you have received as [authoritative apostolic] tradition.”

⁴⁴ Kürzinger, “*τύπος διδασχῆς*,” 172–75.

⁴⁵ Käsemann, *Romans*, 181.

Neither of these two variant views is completely satisfactory. What would be the point of thanking God that the Roman Christians obeyed “the *fixed* form of teaching”—unless perhaps the intention is to stress obedience to the right kind of teaching (i.e., the teaching transmitted through universally approved traditions)? It is difficult to document an example of *τύπος* that in and of itself denotes “fixed tradition.” The meaning of “outline, gist, general form” (and thus perhaps “summary”) in conjunction with teaching is, however, well attested in Greco-Roman philosophical writings.⁴⁶ In fact, what may be in view is not an “official,” traditional summary but simply a basic presentation of Christian teaching which now needs to be supplemented by Paul. In any case, the meaning of “outline” or “summary” is not common in Jewish writings of the period.⁴⁷ Without any other explicit indicators in the context that Paul is distinguishing between a detailed presentation of the gospel and a summary contained in traditional baptismal formulas, it is difficult to hold firmly to this interpretation of *τύπος διδασχῆς*.

V. An Alternate Proposal

To these four proposals I would like to add a fifth, which incorporates elements from the position espoused by K. Haacker (see section III) and which

⁴⁶ The following examples can be cited:

(i) In Plato, *τύπος* frequently denotes an “outline” in contrast to a detailed presentation: *Rep.* 414A (“sketched in *outline*, but not drawn out in detail”); *Prot.* 344B (although we have no time to detail all the fine points of the poem, “let us review its *general character*”). Cf. also: *Phileb.* 61A; *Crat.* 397A, 432E; *Phileb.* 32B; *Rep.* 403E, 412B; *Leg.* 816C; 905C; and the additional references cited in LSJ (esp. from Aristotle).

(ii) At the end of a brief discussion of philosophy, Isocrates (436–338 BCE) 15.186 concludes by saying, *ὁ τύπος τῆς φιλοσοφίας τοιοῦτός τις ἐστίν* (“the *general shape* of philosophy is of such a kind”; LCL reads “I have given you now some impression of what philosophy is”). Isocrates then goes on to give his readers a more complete presentation.

(iii) According to Epicurus (ca. 300 BCE) 1.35.9 (Bailey’s ed.), even those familiar with the details of his work on nature “should keep in mind the *outline* of the whole system (*τὸν τύπον τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας*) reduced to its basic elements.” This statement is parallel to a previous sentence about Epicurus preparing “a summary (*ἐπιτομήν*) of the whole system.” Cf. Epicurus 1.36.5; 1.68.4; 1.45.2.

(iv) In Iamblichus (ca. 300 CE) *Vit. Pyth.* 23.105, mention is made of members of Pythagoras’s school who taught through symbols to protect their talks from being grasped by the uninitiated. “It is well to mention a few [viz., of the symbolic utterances] in order that the *general character* of the teaching may become clearer” (*τὸν τύπον τῆς διδασκαλίας*). See the text and translation of this work by J. Dillon and J. Hershball (Texts and Translations 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991). It is difficult to distinguish here between “kind” (see #1 above) and “outline.”

⁴⁷ In Philo, there are five instances where *τύπος* is combined with *κεφαλαιώδης* (“summarizing”) to refer to “the form of a summary”: *Op.* 44 §129; *Decal.* 32 §168; *Spec. Leg.* 4.13 §78 and 32 §160; and *Leg.* 28 §178. Here it is interesting that Philo does not employ *τύπος* alone for the meaning of “outline, summary” but has to qualify it to give it that sense. There are only two instances in Philo in which *τύπος* independently may carry that meaning: *Plant.* 29 §125 (*ὡς τύπῳ φάναι* = “as might be said in general”); and *Aet.* 9 §49 (*ἀπομαζόμενος . . . τὸν τύπον τοῦ λόγου* = “reproducing the *basic form* [or gist] of the argument”).

I believe merits consideration as the most probable of the various options.⁴⁸ The word *τύπος* occurs very frequently in a diaspora Jewish writer of Paul's own day: Philo (eighty times; cf. only nine times in Josephus and forty-three times in Plato). Almost half of these eighty occurrences refer to the "impression" or "imprint" stamped (as if with a seal) on the soul or mind (which is likened to wax).⁴⁹

Philo's imagery has some antecedents in Greek philosophical thought, although in the latter the imagery is far more restrictive. In Plato *Theaet.* 192A and 194B, *τύπος* is twice employed to refer to the "impressions" or "imprints" that memory stamps on the mind, much as one would stamp a block of wax with a seal ring (cf. 191C–D). Similarly, the point is made in *Rep.* 377B that the critical time of teaching is when a child is young, "for it is above all then that it is molded, and whatever *impression* one wants to be stamped on each child is received" (cf. *Laws* 681B). In the Stoic doctrine of *φαντασία* ("presentation, appearance, visual [= mental, psychic] image, impression"), external objects and knowledge are manifested to the mind through the senses or the imagination.⁵⁰ Yet Stoics disagreed on how best to portray the "presentation" of knowledge. Zeno (the founder of Stoicism, ca. 300 BCE) characterized *φαντασία* as "an imprinting (*τύπωσις*) on the soul." His disciple Cleanthes (the second leader of the Stoa) interpreted this "imprinting," naturally enough, along

⁴⁸ Haacker deserves the credit for first pointing (in a two-line footnote!) to Philo's use of *τύπος* in the sense of "impression" as a key to understanding Rom 6:17b ("Exegetische Probleme," 10 n. 34). Yet his attempt to apply this interpretation to the effect of *pre-Christian* traditions was so misguided that it might have forever buried his helpful insight (indeed, to my knowledge no other scholar has picked up on this interpretation since the publication of Haacker's article in 1978). My own study provides a much more plausible application of this insight (viz., as a reference to the impression left by *Christian* teaching), is comprehensive in its analysis of Philo, and shows how such an interpretation coheres with Paul's view of Christian existence elsewhere.

⁴⁹ For the heart and brain likened to a coin (rather than wax) stamped with an image, see *Sac.* 40 §137. The translations that follow are largely those of F. H. Colson in the LCL series, though on a number of occasions I have retranslated for the sake of precision. For bibliography on Philo, see R. Radice and D. T. Runia, *Philo of Alexandria: An Annotated Bibliography 1937–1986* (Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae* 8; Leiden: Brill, 1988); updates in *The Studia Philonica Annual* (Brown Judaic Studies; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989–). To my knowledge, little has been written about Philo's use of *τύπος*. C. J. de Vogel makes a few cursory comments about it as both "a natural sequence of Plato's way of speaking" and "a certain shift of imagery . . . due to the Stoic way of representing 'phantasia'" ("Platonism and Christianity: A Mere Antagonism or a Profound Common Ground?" VC 39 [1985] 16). In two works inaccessible to me, P. Carny provides short analyses of Philo's use of *τύπος* to designate the "ideas" created by God as archetypes for the material world ([פ. קרני], *התיאוריה האלגוריתית של פילון*, [Philo Alexandrinus' Theory of Allegory], diss., Tel-Aviv University, 1978]; and [פ. קרני], *היסודות ההגותיים של רשנות פילון האלכסנדרוני*, [Philo's Theory of Allegory], *Daat* 14 [1985] 5–19; nos. 7810 and 8510 respectively in the Radice-Runia bibliography).

⁵⁰ G. Watson discusses changes in the meaning of *φαντασία* in Greek sources, from a Platonic background of visualization based on sight to the Stoic incorporation of mental images conjured up by the "mind's eye" ("Discovering the Imagination: Platonists and Stoics on *Phantasia*," in *The Question of "Eclecticism"* [ed. J. M. Dillon and A. A. Long; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988] 208–33).

the lines of “the imprints (τύποι) made by the seal upon the wax.” However, Cleanthes’ own disciple and the third head of the Stoa, Chrysippus (232–207 BCE), contended that by τύπωσις Zeno must have loosely meant an “alteration” (ἐτεροίωσις), since the imagery of an imprint on a waxlike mind led to absurdities (new impressions would obliterate old impressions and thereby abolish memory); better then to compare the substance of the mind (πνεῦμα, “breath”) with the air’s capacity to receive different sounds simultaneously.⁵¹

Such concerns about the aptness of the analogy were not germane to Philo’s less exacting interests, though (as we shall see) Philo recognized that the soul’s “imprints” could be erased or deepened. Rather, Philo primarily utilized the imagery to denote the basic character and orientation of individuals, not the daily and piecemeal accumulation of knowledge.⁵² Other Middle Platonists applied the imagery of figures stamped in wax to the sense-perceptible counterparts of the intelligible realm of ideas.⁵³ According to Philo, “imprints” are stamped on the soul or mind at various points of human existence:

(i) At creation, “the invisible deity stamped on the invisible soul the *imprints* of itself” (*Det.* 24 §86), molding the human mind after the pattern of the archetypal divine mind, so that “an accurate cast, bearing a clear *impression*” was achieved (*Op.* 23 §71). Restated in terms of Gen 1:27 and 2:7,

⁵¹ Sextus Empiricus *Adv. Math.* 7.227–31, 236, 372–75; 8.400–402; *Pyrrh. Hypot.* 2.70; 3.188; Diogenes Laertius 7.45–46, 50; cf. Epictetus *Dis.* 1.6.10; 1.1.14; 2.23.3; *Ench.* 33.1). For texts, see the appropriate volumes in LCL; and J. von Arnim (ed.), *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* (4 vols.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1903–24) 1. nos. 58, 484; 2. nos. 53, 55–56, 59, 96; and A. A. Long and D. N. Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers* (2 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) nos. 39–41. For discussion, see A. A. Long, *Hellenistic Philosophy: Stoics, Epicureans, Sceptics* (2d ed.; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986) 123–31; and J. M. Rist, *Stoic Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969) 133–51. The Stoics also compared the mind at birth to “a sheet of paper ready for writing upon” (Aetius *Plac.* 4.11); and the acquisition of knowledge to an open and closed fist (Cicero *Acad.* 2.145).

⁵² To be sure, for Philo too the senses stamp on the mind the “imprints” of objects, for the mind “resembles wax, and receives the images that reach it through the senses” (*Op.* 59 §166; cf. *Leg. All.* 3.64 §183; *Det.* 34 §127; *Quod Deus* 9 §43 [below]).

⁵³ J. Dillon cites two cases in addition to Philo which indicate to him that “this image of the seal on wax . . . was generally current in Middle Platonism” (*The Middle Platonists: 80 B.C. to A.D. 220* [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977] 200). The first-century BCE Alexandrian philosopher Arius Didymus wrote in his *Compendium of Platonic Doctrine* that “the ideas are the models (παραδείγματα). . . . Just as many impressions (ἐκμαγεῖα) arise from one seal (σφραγίδος) . . . , so from each single idea arise innumerable sense-perceptible objects of nature. . . . So then, just as particular ideas precede sense-perceptible bodies as archetypes (ἀρχέτυπα), so that which encompasses everything in itself, being the most beautiful and perfect, is the model for our world; for the latter has been made to resemble the former by the demiurge . . .” (Eusebius *Pr. Ev.* 11.23.3–6). According to Plutarch (*De Is.* 373AB), “what [truly] exists and is intelligible and is good prevails over destruction and change; but the images (εἰκόνες) which that which is perceptible and corporeal fashions from it, and the *logoi*, forms (εἶδη) and likenesses (ὁμοιότητας) which it assumes, are like figures stamped on wax (ἐν κηρῷ σφραγιδεις) in that they do not endure forever.” In neither citation, however, does the precise word τύπος occur.

the breath that "man" (= the mind/reason) received from God is "an *impression* stamped by the divine power . . . thus indicating that God is the Archetype of rational existence, while man is a copy and likeness" (*Det.* 23 §83). However, the divine stamp imprinted on the human mind does not carry over to all people. God made only those whose souls received "the noble *impress*" and "did not form the soul of the bad" (*Mut.* 4 §31). For Paul, the believer's inner person is in the process of being transformed into the eschatological image of the new Adam, Christ (Rom 5:15–21; 1 Cor 15:49; 2 Cor 3:18), having crucified with Christ "the old person" (Rom 6:6) through baptism into Christ (Rom 6:3). Implicitly, the "new creation" (2 Cor 5:17) entails a new stamp or imprint.

(ii) Imprints are also received on the soul or mind when one thinks virtuous or evil thoughts (*Leg. All.* 1.18 §§61–62). By endowing humans with reason God made them capable of receiving the "impressions" left by virtue (*Leg. All.* 1.26 §79; cf. *Post.* 29 §99). As an example, Philo at one point calls on his mind to receive "the imprint" of the two cherubim, that is, to learn the lesson symbolized by them about God's goodness and sovereignty (*Cher.* 9 §29). Precisely because "to keep on recalling anything is the way to engrave on the mind distinct *impressions* of it," dwelling on sense-perceptible objects of beauty "spells . . . harsh slavery for our reasoning faculty" (*Leg. All.* 3.5 §16). The relevance for Rom 6:17b of a link between the impression stamped on one's inner being and enslavement is obvious. Not only is the image of enslavement to sin or God central to the discussion in 6:15–23, but also later in 8:5–8 Paul emphasizes that such service is closely tied to one's "mind-set": "for those who are conformed to flesh are minded towards the things of the flesh, but those conformed to Spirit the things of the Spirit" (8:5). Moreover, Paul acknowledges in Rom 12:2 that inner transformation takes place with the continuous "renewal of the mind."

(iii) Since one's thinking affects the imprint stamped on the inner person, then teaching quite naturally plays an important role in shaping that imprint. (a) Philo says that Moses, knowing the seductive and pervasive quality of idolatry, repeatedly taught the "devotees of piety" about the "sole sovereignty of God." Thereby, "he stamped upon their minds as with a seal deep *imprints* of holiness, so that no fusion or smoothing in the course of years should ever blur their distinctness" (*Spec. Leg.* 1.5 §30; cf. 1.2 §12). (b) Of all peoples, the Jews are especially zealous of guarding their customs: "having been trained in this doctrine from their earliest years, they carry the likenesses of the commandments enshrined in their souls. Then as they contemplate the clear *forms* (or: imprints) and shapes they always think of them with awe" (*Leg. Gai.* 31 §211). Interestingly, here as apparently in Rom 6:17b (" . . . obedient to the *typos*"), the internal impressions left by teaching become themselves an object worthy of attention.

(c) "The souls of the young" are particularly susceptible to instruction since they "take indelible *impressions* of the ideas first presented to them and

do not have them washed away by the stream of the later influx" (*Quod Omn. Prob.* 2 §15). (d) The high priest is not permitted to marry a widow because such a woman "is naturally less amenable to instruction. For her soul is . . . like a sheet of wax . . . roughened by the *imprints* already scored upon it, which . . . either do not yield to the dint of other seals or, if they do, confuse them with their own indentations." On the other hand, "the minds of virgins" are like blank slabs of wax "and very ready to be taught" (*Spec. Leg.* 1.20 §106). (e) "The pupil after receiving from the teacher . . . wisdom prolongs the process of learning . . . , till by using memory . . . , he stamps a firm *impression* of them on his soul" (*Spec. Leg.* 4.18 §107).

Thus for Philo there are a number of factors that determine how deeply an impression will be left on the soul: the emphasis given to particular doctrines within the context of the whole teaching, the length of time over which the instruction is given and thus committed to memory, and the amount of prior contrary teaching that has to be overcome.⁵⁴ Particularly important for our analysis of Rom 6:17b is the strong link between teaching and the imprint (τύπος) left by such teaching on the inner person.

For Paul, speaking from the standpoint of a theology of conversion, the power of the gospel mediated through the Spirit and baptism is sufficient to overcome the previously ingrained sin-orientation of humanity (Rom 1:16; 6:2–10, 16–18, 20–22; 7:6; 8:2–4; 1 Thess 1:4–5; 1 Cor 2:4–5). The "imprint of teaching" in Rom 6:17b is of one piece with the eschatological promise of a heart engraved with the law (Jer 31:33), of a new heart (Ezek 11:19–20; 36:26–27), and of a circumcised heart (Deut 30:6; *Jub.* 1:23) made possible by the gift of the Spirit. Rather than being consigned to an outward engraving of "letter"—for Paul (unlike Philo) the teaching of the law was an inadequate tool for creating indelible imprints on the human heart (cf. Rom 2:17–24, 28–29; 7:7–8:4)—Christians are said to be inwardly transformed by the Spirit (Rom 2:29; 7:6; cf. 2:15). The church at Corinth is described as "a letter from Christ . . . written not with ink but with the Spirit . . . on tablets of hearts made of flesh" (2 Cor 3:3). Yet the Spirit is here not contrasted with teaching; it is rather the mode in and through which Paul proclaims God's word in distinction to the Spirit-less instruction of the law of Moses (2 Cor 2:17–4:6). Paul constantly emphasizes that the gospel he preaches is effective in and through the Spirit (1 Thess 1:5; 1 Cor 2:1–13).

⁵⁴ Given that Philo thought of memory as an integral element in forging a deep imprint on the soul, by the same token forgetfulness can wipe out the imprint. An external object presents itself to the organs of sense "like a ring or seal" and "stamps on the image. . . . And the mind like wax receives the impress and retains it vividly, until forgetfulness . . . levels out the *imprint*, and makes it indistinct, or entirely effaces it" (*Quod Deus* 9 §43). In this connection, Paul too is not averse to reminding his readers of past instruction and so to preserve the imprint left by the Spirit-imparted gospel (Rom 6:3–4; 1 Cor 11:23–26; 15:1–8; see the discussion above about Paul's disclosure formulas).

The internal Spirit-engraving of the believer is also reflected in the phrase “the law of the Spirit of life” in Rom 8:2—a “law” that replaces the internal “law of sin and death” (Rom 8:2; 7:23, 25) which had hitherto thwarted the external law of Moses. The gift of the Spirit (and baptism) stands in close connection with the idea that Christians have been “sealed” (2 Cor 1:21; cf. Eph 1:13; 4:30); that is, stamped with a seal and so marked as God’s property (note the link once more with slavery as in Rom 6:16–23). While the Spirit is not explicitly mentioned in Rom 6:1–7:6 until 7:6, it is everywhere the presupposition (particularly for being joined to Christ in baptism [cf. 1 Cor 12:13], “newness of life” [cf. Rom 6:4 with 7:6], and putting one’s members at the disposal of God and righteousness [cf. Rom 8:1–17]). It is likewise the Spirit that makes possible the inner transformation or “imprint of teaching.”

(iv) For Philo, the imprint stamped on the soul/mind is also affected by one’s conduct. Philo notes that “habit has the power . . . to tutor and mold [harsh temperaments] to better *forms* . . . which righteousness imprints on the soul” (*Spec. Leg.* 4.40 §218). Here, habitual righteous conduct stamps the soul with better imprints. However, it is not only a question of improving a prior imprint. An “*imprint*” engraved in the waxlike soul can also be “obliterated by another seal which has made over it a clearer and bolder one” (*Leg. All.* 1.32 §100).⁵⁵ Hence, the wise person who has already once become “holy” through the destruction of “the passions,” should remain on the alert, for evil can “efface the *imprints* of virtue and impress (as with a seal) in its stead . . . the stamp of vice” (*Sac.* 39 §135; cf. *Post.* 26 §93; 27 §94).⁵⁶ As an example, men “affected with effemination . . . restamp the masculine *cast* into a feminine form” (*Spec. Leg.* 1.60 §325; here of the imprint of gender stamped by nature on human beings). Moreover, “Let every lover of self . . . be taught that he has slain . . . the *impression*” stamped by virtue—though Philo makes clear that the archetypal virtue in God’s mind remains unaffected (*Det.* 21 §78; cf. §76; *Spec. Leg.* 1.8 §47). Paul similarly cautions his readers that the past transfer from enslavement to sin to enslavement to God can be undone if one continues to put one’s members at the disposal of sin and the body’s “desires” (6:12–13, 19–23). The

⁵⁵ Yet not all imprints are so easily erased. “The soul is a block of wax. . . if it is docile . . . it allows the *imprints* to sink deep into it, and thus reproducing the shape of the seal preserves the forms stamped upon it, beyond any possibility of effacement” (*Quis Her.* 37 §181).

⁵⁶ In connection with the threat posed by passion, Philo mentions that retreat from urban temptations is sometimes needed to erase evil imprints on the soul. Thus Moses needed to stay in the desert “till the *marks* (imprints) which his old transgressions have imprinted on him have gradually grown faint, melted away and disappeared” (*Decal.* 2 §11). For Philo, all humans on some level bear the imprint of unrighteousness and so are unworthy of receiving through dreams or oracles some kinds of heavenly knowledge (e.g., knowledge about “the indestructibility of the world”). “If schooled in the doctrines of wisdom . . . and every virtue we had scoured away the stains of the passions . . . , perhaps God would not have refused to impart the knowledge of things heavenly through dreams or oracles . . . to souls thoroughly purged. . . . But since we bear upon us deep ingrained the *imprints* of unrighteousness and folly . . . we must be content” to discover truth “by our own efforts” (*Aet.* 1 §2).

inference is clear that the imprint left by teaching, to which they have been handed over, can likewise be effaced.

VI. Conclusion

Rom 6:17b is best translated as: “you obeyed from the heart the imprint stamped by teaching, to which (imprint) you were handed over.” The genitive διδαχῆς should be construed as a genitive of source, as is the case not only in a number of the metaphorical references to τύπος cited above for Philo but also for references to literal imprints (e.g., John 20:25: “the mark/imprint of [= from, left by] the nails”; *Herm. Vis.* 9.10.1–2: “the marks/impressions of stones” removed from the ground; Josephus *J.W.* 3 §420: on the cliffs of Joppa “are still shown the impressions of Andromeda’s chains”).

The advantages of reading “the imprint from teaching” are that this understanding utilizes a core meaning of the word (viz., the impression resulting from a blow); is in keeping with the consistent use of concrete imagery throughout Rom 6:1–7:6 and Paul’s writings in general; explains the brevity and non-Pauline aspect of the phrase (inasmuch as the phrase stems from a traditional motif present in some philosophical writings and especially prominent in a fellow Hellenistic-Jewish author of the day); ties together the seemingly disparate elements of “heart,” “teaching,” and τύπος; finds rough parallels in the consistent Pauline theme of the Spirit’s work in engraving the inner person; makes use of an image which is closely connected with motifs of ownership; and takes into consideration the preceding material in Romans 6 which presumes a transformation of the individual already accomplished to which the individual gives obedience.

Negatively, my analysis indicates that the phrase τύπος διδαχῆς says nothing one way or the other about the set “pattern” of early Christian teaching, or the “fixed form” of baptismal instruction, or even the *imitatio Christi*. It is certainly not a gloss or a reference to the pre-Christian life. Positively, it reaffirms through the use of another piece of imagery the centrality for Paul’s thinking of the prior, inner transformation of the believer accomplished by gospel and Spirit, as well as the concomitant requirement of obedience. As Paul in 6:11 exhorted the Roman Christians to be true to the transformation that had already taken place in the inner person and will one day be consummated in resurrection, so too Paul in 6:17b gives praise to God for the fact that in some measure they have indeed already demonstrated such obedience.

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CRITICAL NOTES

MORE SILENT READING IN ANTIQUITY: *NON OMNE VERBUM SONABAT*

Two recent complementary articles by Paul Achtemeier and Michael Slusser in *JBL* have asserted (1) that in the Greco-Roman world “the general—indeed, from all evidence, the exclusive—practice was to read aloud”; (2) that late antiquity was unacquainted with the “silent, solitary reader”; (3) that “the oral environment was so pervasive that *no* writing occurred that was not vocalized”;¹ (4) that there is a “common scholarly view that Bishop Ambrose of Milan was the first figure in Western antiquity described as reading silently”; but (5) that nevertheless there is “another instance of this phenomenon in patristic literature” from “the Greek-speaking world about AD 350,” from the catecheses of Cyril of Jerusalem.² The citation from Cyril about how a group of young women awaiting prebaptismal exorcism should behave is extremely interesting and a welcome addition to what we know about silent reading in the ancient world. It is probably the earliest evidence for the influence of communal Christian practices, later to be institutionalized in monastic communities, on a habit that has become so prevalent in modern times. But inasmuch as there are several other instances of the phenomenon of silent reading that go back long before Ambrose and Cyril—and show that such reading was not so unusual—some revision of the five assertions may be in order.

Achtemeier, and Slusser following him, seems to have relied heavily on the work of Josef Balogh, without consideration of that of W. B. Stanford and, more importantly, of G. L. Hendrickson, W. P. Clark, and B. M. W. Knox.³ Balogh's article “*Voces paginarum*” of 1927 set the mold for the “standard doctrine that silent reading (and writing) was, if not completely unknown in the ancient world, at least so rare that whenever it was

¹ P. J. Achtemeier, “*Omne verbum sonat*: The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity,” *JBL* 109 (1990) 15, 17. Emphasis in the original.

² M. Slusser, “Reading Silently in Antiquity,” *JBL* 111 (1992) 499, who was revising Achtemeier's contention that Ambrose's silent reading “shows him unique even as late as the fourth century” (Achtemeier, “*Omne verbum sonat*,” 16–17).

³ Josef Balogh, “*Voces paginarum*: Beiträge zur Geschichte des lauten Lesens und Schreibens,” *Philologus* 82 (1927) 84–109, 202–40; cf. Achtemeier, “*Omne verbum sonat*,” nn. 35, 44, 61, 91–94, etc. W. B. Stanford, *The Sound of Greek: Studies in the Greek Theory and Practice of Euphony* (Berkeley: University of California, 1967); G. L. Hendrickson, “Ancient Reading,” *Classical Journal* 25 (1929–30) 182–96; W. P. Clark, “Ancient Reading,” *Classical Journal* 26 (1930–31) 698–700; B. M. W. Knox, “Silent Reading in Antiquity,” *GRBS* 9 (1968) 421–35.

observed, it aroused astonishment, even suspicion.”⁴ When Stanford delivered his Sather Lectures, “The Sound of Greek,” in 1966 at the University of California in Berkeley, he did not fundamentally differ from Balogh, although he did make clear, more explicitly than Balogh had done, that Ambrose was not the first person in Western antiquity who was described as reading silently. Stanford cited Plutarch, *Brutus* 5, to show that the “earliest named silent reader in Europe is, as one might have expected, a man of supreme genius, Julius Caesar—who once was seen to read a letter to himself in that way.”⁵ At the same time Stanford referred to Suetonius, *Augustus* 39, to show that “some unnamed Roman senators under Augustus were expected to be able to do the same.”⁶

Stanford, alas, in pointing to Julius Caesar had overlooked another man of supreme genius, Alexander the Great, who, as Mary Renault later informed Stanford, is known from Plutarch, *On the Fortune of Alexander* 340A, to have read a letter from his mother Olympias silently to himself: σιωπῇ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν. Stanford’s acknowledgment of his oversight was relegated to a footnote in a book published in 1980;⁷ but he gave no indication that he had changed his opinion, substantially the same as Balogh’s, that in “ancient Greece and Rome reading without speaking the words seems to have been a rare accomplishment” and that for long after the fourth century CE “silent reading seems to have remained rare and difficult for most people.”⁸ Knox, however, building on the arguments of Hendrickson and Clark, had already argued in a scathing article of 1968 that Balogh’s case was untenable, partly because it depended too strongly on the examples of Ambrose and of Augustine, who is our source for Ambrose’s reading habits (*Confessions* 6.3) and who himself was able—with no indications of difficulty—to read silently (*Confessions* 8.12). Knox, despite having missed Plutarch’s reference to the silent reading of Alexander, attempted to refute Balogh’s main thesis, successfully undermining many of his arguments and showing in addition that there was considerable evidence before Ambrose and Augustine for silent reading, not only in Rome of the late republic and the principate but even in Athens as early as the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.⁹ Dirk Schenkeveld recently summarized the fifth-century aspect of Knox’s work for a broader public in the sometimes rarefied letters-column of the *Times Literary Supplement*:

Knox adduced two examples from fifth-century Attic drama in which silent reading actually takes place on stage before the audience. In Euripides’ *Hippolytus*, Theseus notices the letter which is tied to the hand of his now dead wife. He opens it, the chorus proceeds to sing several lines, and then Theseus bursts out in a cry of grief and anger (lines 856–74). As Knox says, “Clearly he has read the letter and read it silently—the audience watched him do so.”

⁴ Knox, “Silent Reading,” 421.

⁵ Stanford, *Sound of Greek*, 2; cf. Knox, “Silent Reading,” 431–32. Balogh discussed this passage, yet he called Ambrose “die erste, uns ‘lesetechnisch’ verwandte lesende und schreibende Gestalt des Altertums” (“Voces paginarum,” 220), thereby leading Achtemeier to credit him with a uniqueness he did not in fact deserve (“*Omne verbum sonat*,” 17).

⁶ Stanford, *Sound of Greek*, 2.

⁷ W. B. Stanford, *Enemies of Poetry* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980) 72 n. 89. I owe this reference to Peter Gras, *Times Literary Supplement*, 1 March 1991, p. 13.

⁸ Stanford, *Sound of Greek*, 1, 3.

⁹ Knox, “Silent Reading,” 433–35.

The other passage comes from the prologue of Aristophanes' *Knights*. There, a Demosthenes opens a writing-tablet containing an oracle and while looking at it he continuously expresses his amazement at its contents, asks for more drink but does not tell what he is reading. His partner presses him with demands for information, which Demosthenes finally gives (lines 116–27). Both passages make sense only if we infer that both Theseus and Demosthenes are reading silently.¹⁰

Knox also, following the lead of E. G. Turner,¹¹ called attention to the riddle recounted in *Sappho*, the fourth-century Athenian comedy of Antiphanes:¹²

“What is it that is female in nature and has children under the folds of its garments, and these children, though voiceless, set up a ringing shout . . . to those mortals they wish to, but others, even when present, are not permitted to hear?” . . . The answer is ἐπιστολή, a letter; it is a feminine noun and its children are the letters of the alphabet. “Though voiceless, they speak to those far away, those they wish to, but for anyone who happens to be standing near the man who is reading (ἀναγινώσκοντος) they are inaudible.”

Knox concluded that the evidence demonstrates clearly “for fifth and fourth century Athens that silent reading of letters and oracles (and consequently of any short document) was taken completely for granted.”¹³ It is especially noteworthy that not only Euripides, Aristophanes, and Antiphanes, but also Suetonius and Plutarch mentioned silent reading explicitly or implicitly without suggesting in any way that it was, as Balogh had termed it, an “abnormality.”¹⁴ Ranging over six centuries, the testimony of these authors of tragedy, comedy, biography, and moral essays, and the other Greek and Latin testimony discussed by Knox,¹⁵ shows that although ancient texts were most often read aloud, there was nothing astonishing or difficult about reading letters and other short documents silently.

And Cicero, in a discussion of the evils of deafness (*Tusculan Disputations* 5.116) first adduced more than sixty years ago by Clark,¹⁶ seems to imply that silent reading of literary works was not unusual. The precise meaning of Cicero's Latin may be ambiguous, but its import for the present discussion is obvious in the translation from the 1927 Loeb edition of J. E. King, who had no *parti pris* in the argument. Cicero is speaking of the deaf:

And if, may be, music has charms for them [cantus eos forte delectant], they should first reflect that many wise men lived happily before music was invented [ante quam hi sint inventi], secondly that far greater pleasure can be derived from reading than hearing verse [legendis his quam audiendis].

The first definition of *cantus* in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* is “Singing, song (with or without instrumental accompaniment)”; in the course of the definition *cantus* is

¹⁰ Dirk Schenkeveld, *Times Literary Supplement*, 22 March 1991, p. 13.

¹¹ E. G. Turner, *Athenian Books in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* (London: H. K. Lewis, 1954) 14 n. 4.

¹² T. Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1880–88) 196.

¹³ Knox, “Silent Reading,” 434.

¹⁴ Balogh, “Voces paginarum,” 88, 97; cf. Knox, “Silent Reading,” 428.

¹⁵ Knox, “Silent Reading,” 428, to whose evidence one should add Plutarch, *On the Fortune of Alexander* 340A, and perhaps Pseudo-Aristotle, *Problems* 18.1 and 7, on which see below.

¹⁶ Clark, “Ancient Reading”; cf. Knox, “Silent Reading,” 427.

explicitly also “applied to a musical intonation in speech,” and the citation given is Cicero, *Orator* 57: “est . . . etiam in dicendo quidam cantus obscurior.” There is no reason, then, to doubt that, especially in the works of Cicero, *cantus* may include the harmonious sounds of poetry, and even of prose,¹⁷ and that King’s translation of *his*, referring to *cantus*, as “verse” is warranted.¹⁸ Knox was right to conclude that “Cicero could not possibly have written the concluding phrase if silent reading of poetic texts had been impossible or even a nine-day wonder—in fact the words imply that he had read them silently himself.”¹⁹

There is another ambiguous yet possibly relevant text that has not been discussed in the scholarly literature on silent reading in antiquity.²⁰ The *Problems*, a Peripatetic work that incorporates some original material of Aristotle but with additions from others as late as the fifth century CE, contains a brief consideration (18.1 and 7) of why some people are put to sleep by reading and others are kept awake.²¹ Although not explicit in the passage, solitary reading, most likely at bedtime, is probably what the author had in mind.²² He, whether Aristotle or a student of his, in proposing a solution that involved humoral theory and intellectual stimulation, did not mention the reader’s voice as an element to be considered; so that, using an *argumentum ex silentio*—which admittedly does not always produce sound results—we may conclude that the kind of solitary reading the author imagined was voiceless reading. In addition, we may reasonably infer that longer literary works, and not brief letters or documents, were envisioned as a part of the problem. Otherwise there would hardly have been time to get sleepy.

Even though we have no other explicit, unambiguous evidence that lengthy works, such as the epic poems of Homer and Vergil or the histories of Livy and Josephus, were read silently, one may appeal, as Knox did, to common sense and argue that if a man could read a letter from his mother silently, he also could—if he wanted to—read Homer silently. For Knox as a classical scholar the question was:

Are we really to imagine that Aristarchus read aloud all the manuscripts of Homer he used for his edition? That Callimachus read aloud all the works from which he compiled his 120 volumes? That Didymus wrote his more than 3,000 volumes and read the countless books on which he based them, pronouncing every syllable out loud?²³

¹⁷ As Clark would understand it (“Ancient Reading”). Contra Knox, “Silent Reading,” 427 n. 11.

¹⁸ Had Cicero meant to use *cantus* in its meaning of “songs,” he probably would have used the verb *cano* or *canto* and not *lego*, which in Latin idiom may be used freely with *carmina*, but hardly with *cantus*.

¹⁹ Knox, “Silent Reading,” 427.

²⁰ It is referred to in R. Thomas, *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 24 n. 13.

²¹ Aristotle, *Problems* (vol. 1, LCL 1936; rev. ed.; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953).

²² One should distinguish carefully between solitary and silent reading, and not assume simply that one implies the other, as Eric Havelock seems inadvertently to have done with Dionysus’s reading to himself, which may or may not have been silent, in Aristophanes, *Frogs* 52–53 (*The Literate Revolution in Greece and Its Cultural Consequences* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982] 203).

²³ Knox, “Silent Reading,” 421–22.

For students of the NT the more material question is whether a person in the first and second centuries CE might sometimes have read letters like 1 Thessalonians and Romans, or books like Acts, or the Gospel of Mark, or the Septuagint, without speaking the words. The evidence, in tandem with common sense, strongly suggests that a person not only might have but sometimes did. Just how often is hardly knowable. Was silent reading more common among younger readers, because their eyes were more likely to be strong? As one got older and eyesight dimmed and eyeglasses were not an option and one came to depend on the aid of others for both reading and writing, did these activities of necessity gradually become exclusively vocal? Because the transition from reading aloud to reading silently is a slippery slope, exactly how inaudible must the murmurs have been for us to regard them as silent? How immobile, if at all, must the lips, tongue, and larynx have been? However one answers such questions, it seems clear that the NT era should not be viewed as one in which the exclusive practice was to read aloud. *Non omne verbum sonabat*. This being the case, there is good reason to doubt the categorical generalization that “the oral environment was so pervasive that *no* writing occurred that was not vocalized.”²⁴ Similarly, to go a bit further afield, there is also good reason to doubt the recent assertions that word division in the early Middle Ages made written Latin “for the first time a series of comprehensible images intelligible to the reader without syllabic pronunciation” and that word division “provided the *sine qua non* for the silent copying of texts by medieval scribes.”²⁵

Yet, even though silent reading and writing must have been practiced in the fourth century CE, there is Augustine’s well-known account referred to above (*Confessions* 6.3) about his surprise at the silent reading of Ambrose. How shall that be explained, if reading silently was not so unusual? Knox proposed that Ambrose’s peculiar habit was due to his membership in the senatorial nobility of the empire, which allowed him a Roman education superior to that of Augustine, whose North African family, although curial, was too poor to give their son the educational advantages enjoyed by the son of the prefect of Gaul: the “two men came from different worlds,” and Augustine’s world was deprived of examples of or instruction in silent reading.²⁶ But Knox’s proposal, without some evidence or further argument to support it, is more creative than persuasive. There was not a separate educational cursus for aristocrats. We know from the prosopographical studies of Paul Petit, for example, that the students of the renowned fourth-century Antiochene professor of rhetoric Libanius came from diverse backgrounds: of 105 students whose social origins are discernible, about 36 percent were from the imperial aristocracy, 47 percent from curiales, and 16 percent from fathers in liberal professions (lawyers, professors, etc.).²⁷ One might well wonder how Knox’s theory would account for the silent reading of the Athenians in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, or of Cyril of Jerusalem’s group of prebaptismal women some seven and a half centuries later. To learn to read silently hardly requires, or required, an aristocratic family or wealth or an élite education. Not that there was anything inferior

²⁴ Achtemeier, “*Omne verbum sonat*,” 15, 17.

²⁵ P. Saenger, “Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society,” *Viator* 13 (1982) 377–78 (emphasis added). Saenger, also led astray by Balogh’s work, presents too stark a contrast between the reading and writing practices of antiquity and the Middle Ages.

²⁶ Knox, “Silent Reading,” 422.

²⁷ Paul Petit, *Les étudiants de Libanius* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1957) 113–14 and appendix 2.

in Augustine's education, whether because of the particular excellence of the schools of Madaura and Carthage (the former a university town of some distinction and the latter "the second city in the Western Empire"²⁸) or because of innate talent: his later successes demonstrate the quality of his education clearly enough.

We do not really know just when Augustine first began to read silently; he may have been accustomed to the practice long before 384 and his arrival in Milan, where he encountered Ambrose.²⁹ In the famous "tolle, lege" sequence of the *Confessions* (8.12), which is datable to August 386,³⁰ Augustine tells us—with no indication that he was doing something out of the ordinary—that he read silently in the company of his friend Alypius, who seems to have accepted the act without remarking it. If Augustine was accustomed to reading silently before he came to Milan, his lengthy notice of Ambrose's doing the same thing would be even more perplexing. The most plausible solution to this problem, which for some unexplained reason Knox passed over without comment, is the one that was suggested by Clark: Augustine's surprise at the silent reading of Ambrose was due simply to the bishop's unusual habit of *always* reading silently: "sic eum legentem vidimus tacite *et aliter numquam*."³¹

The preceding comments, which show that silent reading was not so rare in the ancient world, are not meant to gainsay the main contention of Achtemeier, to which Hendrickson, Clark, and Knox also subscribed. There is abundant evidence that "we have in the culture of late Western antiquity a culture of high residual orality which nevertheless communicated significantly by means of literary creations."³² There is no question that the predominance of orality in the ancient world has "potentially wide-ranging effects" on NT studies.³³ It still seems self-evident, from what we know about how ancient books were written and read, that we would get a more authentic experience of the text of the NT, and gain valuable insights, if we regularly did read it aloud, preferably from an uncial edition, with no punctuation or paragraphing, and in *scriptio continua*. But we should be mindful that the predominance of orality does not mean exclusivity, either in writing or in reading.³⁴

Frank D. Gilliard

California State University, Hayward, CA 94542

²⁸ P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (London: Faber & Faber, 1967) 38, 65.

²⁹ Pace Knox, "Silent Reading," 422.

³⁰ Brown, *Augustine*, 107.

³¹ Clark, "Ancient Reading," 700.

³² Achtemeier, "Omne verbum sonat," 3.

³³ *Ibid.*, 26.

³⁴ I wish to thank Christopher Bryan of The University of the South, whose generous help has greatly strengthened the argument presented here.

A NOTE ON WEINFELD'S "GRACE AFTER MEALS IN QUMRAN"

Moshe Weinfeld in his article "Grace after Meals in Qumran" (*JBL* 111 [1992]) writes:

The affinity of the Decalogue (and *Shema*) with the blessing after meals may be explained by the common meal (*agapē*) which followed the prayer. This custom is reflected in the epistle of Pliny the Younger to Trajan (10.96) about the group of Christians who used to get up before dawn (like the Essenes; see Josephus *J.W.* 2.8.5 §§128–29); after their singing of hymns . . . , they recited a *sacramentum* (that is, the pledge of the Decalogue) not to steal, not to commit adultery, and so on, and then assembled to partake of food (p. 428).

Jonathan Goldstein also suggested that "the *sacramentum* by which the early Christians of Bithynia bound themselves . . . may well have been the *Shema*' plus the Decalogue."¹ The evidence to support the argument for the presence of the Decalogue, namely, that the *sacramentum* consists "of abstaining from theft, robbery, and adultery, to commit no breach of trust and not to deny a deposit when called upon to restore it" (*Ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria commiterent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent*) is far too general to specify the Decalogue; it could just as well point to Lev 19:11–13; Ezek 21:6–12; or another of the biblical collections of laws and instructions that have been compared to the Decalogue,² as well as to the many epitomes of Hellenistic ethics then in circulation,³ or even chapter 125 of the ancient Egyptian *Book of the Dead* with its protestations of abstaining from stealing (B2), covetousness (B3), robbery (B4), killing (B5), lying (B9), and adultery (B19). However valid Goldstein's observation that "to the rabbis it [the *Shema*'] constituted acceptance of God's kingship just as the Roman soldier's oath (*sacramentum*) constituted acceptance of the emperor's rule," it is misleading to assert that when Christians "met regularly before dawn on a fixed day [*stato die*] to chant hymns/verses responsively/in turn [*carmen . . . dicere secum invicem*] amongst themselves in honor of Christ as (if) to a god" that they were involved in a *Shema*'-centered liturgy. Even the combination of the term *sacramentum* along with the responsive chanting of possible verses could not be suggestive of a *Shema*' ceremony⁴ without there being greater clarity on the meaning of the passage and without evidence of explicit liturgical use of the *Shema*' or the Decalogue in early Christianity. The absence of traces of such

¹ J. Goldstein, *I Maccabees* (AB 42; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976) 133 n. 171.

² See M. E. Andrew and J. J. Stamm, *The Ten Commandments in Recent Research* (SBT 2/2; Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1967) 22–75.

³ See the parallels cited by Arthur Darby Nock, *Early Gentile Christianity and Its Hellenistic Background* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964) 22–23 n. 3.

⁴ Which was once chanted antiphonally; see Reuven Kimelman, "The *Shema*' and Its Rhetoric: The Case for the *Shema*' Being More than Creation, Revelation, and Redemption," *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 2 (1992) 22–24.

in later Christian practice makes it unlikely that such a service was extant in Pliny's day⁵ and thus cannot be assumed by Weinfeld to support his thesis.

Reuven Kimelman

Brandeis University, Waltham, MA 02254-9110

⁵ See Casper J. Kraemer, "Pliny and the Early Church Service," *CP* 29 (1934) 293-300; Helmut Koester, *History and Literature of Early Christianity* (New York: de Gruyter, 1987) 2. 334; and Paul F. Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer in the Early Church* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982) 42ff. Even if Birger Gerhardsson is correct that "Jesus of Nazareth invoked the Shema' in his teaching" ("The Shema' in Early Christianity," in *The Four Gospels 1992: Fest-schrift Frans Neirynck* [ed. F. Van Segbroeck et al.; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992] 292), there is still no evidence of its liturgical use in early Christianity.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version, 1/2 Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, and 2/1b Joshua, ed. by D. J. Lane, A. P. Hayman, W. M. van Vliet, J. H. Hospers, H. J. W. Drijvers, and J. E. Erbes. The Peshitta Institute, Leiden. Leiden: Brill, 1991. Pp. xxx + 79; xxiv + 111; xxiv + 99; xx + 65. \$120.

This volume represents one more step in the publication of the first critical edition of the Peshitta version of the OT, which includes the citation of variants. Its appearance completes the publication of the entire Pentateuch and the Former Prophets. As with the other volumes in the series, so with this volume, MS B.21 Inferiore of the Ambrosian Library in Milan (cited by the siglum 7a1) serves as the base text, emended where the editor in charge considered it in error. For the lacuna of Num 3:23-5:10 in 7a1, the editor used MS 5b1, except for 3:23-25, where it had a lacuna. There he used MS 6b1. The value of this edition cannot be overstated, for it offers the textual critic of the Hebrew Bible, the historian of exegesis, and the researcher of the Syriac language a critical edition of this text for the first time. All editions of the Peshitta Old Testament to date have been based on a relatively late MS tradition of poor quality and have excluded the citation of variant readings.

Each page of the edition has two apparatuses, separated by a list of the MSS consulted for that page. The first apparatus records readings of MS 7a1 which have been emended in the text of the edition. The second apparatus records all variants appearing in the pre-thirteenth century MSS consulted. Post-twelfth century MSS are cited in the second apparatus only when they support an earlier attested reading. Research has shown that post-twelfth century MSS offer nothing of independent value for research, apart from inner-Syriac deviations.

Each book is accompanied by an introduction, in which the editor gives general remarks about his edition, a description of the MSS found in the second apparatus, a list of post-twelfth century MSS not used in the edition (except where they confirm a reading attested earlier), section divisions appearing in the Syriac text and lectionary headings appearing in the sources. Verse division follows BHK³ and BHS (and so differs at times from that found in the facsimile edition of 7a1 produced by A. M. Ceriani, who added verse numbering to his text). The verse numbering of the parallel passages Lev 11:14-19 and Deut 14:12-18 (containing a list of birds) follows the research of J. A. Emerton (*JSS* 7 [1962] 204-11).

With regard to Leviticus, after pointing out the homogeneity of the MS tradition, D. J. Lane advances a thesis of local texts, as over against theologically variant points of view, to explain the differences that exist. In his opinion, three MS groups emerge, associated with separate localities, namely, Takrit, Mosul, and Tur Abdin. The differences between MSS are not to be found in the theological distinctions between the Jacobites

and the Nestorians. Lane suggests that some of the textual variants in Leviticus echo the "exegetical differences between such Jewish scholars as Akiba and Judah ben Ilai" (p. x). In other words, a number of variants reflect different translation possibilities for the same Hebrew *Vorlage*. They are not evidence of revision, in his opinion, but of different understandings of the same Hebrew source text. His thesis is hard to accept, because one would expect doublets (rather than replacements) somewhere in the MS tradition. Also, it is difficult to imagine two distinct Peshitta translations, identical except for a few words, made at the same time.

With regard to Numbers, A. H. Hayman follows the model proposed by M. D. Koster for Exodus. In particular, the emended text of 7a1 is considered a later, developed form of an earlier text, better represented by 5b1 and associated MSS. In the opinion of Hayman, the earliest Peshitta text of Numbers must be reconstructed on the basis of the second apparatus. His view is not universally accepted.

While Hayman does recognize that MS 5b1 consists of two, unrelated parts, namely, Genesis and Exodus, which were copied by John of Amid in 463/4, and Numbers and Deuteronomy, which were copied by another, unknown scribe, at an unknown time, he still treats it as though it were a more original form of the text of Numbers than 7a1. While van Vliet does not make such pronouncements with regard to Deuteronomy, he does remark that "5b1 is the oldest dated Peshitta MS" (p. IV), implying that the date of the colophon to Genesis and Exodus covers Numbers and Deuteronomy as well, which it does not. It is precisely here that the present reviewer must take odds with the Peshitta Institute. What they call 5b1, namely, BM add. 14425, appears to be in reality two different MSS, bound together in one codex at a later time. Not only does the colophon of John of Amid appear after the book of Exodus, but the Numbers-Deuteronomy section was written by a different hand than the Genesis-Exodus section. Furthermore, the book of Leviticus is missing altogether. Therefore, I would suggest the creation of a new siglum to describe the Numbers-Deuteronomy section of this MS. Perhaps, BM Add. 14425 should be subdivided into 5b1 (Genesis-Exodus) and 5b2 or even 6b2 (Numbers-Deuteronomy).

With regard to Joshua, J. E. Erbes has promised "a forthcoming companion volume" to appear in *Studia Semitica Upsaliensia*. One should note that Job properly belongs between Deuteronomy and Joshua in the Syriac Bible tradition. Hence, the already published Job is volume II.1a and the now published Joshua is volume II.1b. No doubt production cost was a key factor in binding Joshua with Leviticus-Deuteronomy. It does give the student the opportunity of comparing two different translation units with regard to language and translation technique. The use of *dytyq* in Joshua versus *qym* in the Books of the Law, for example, shows that the book of Joshua was made at a time when the Greek word had replaced the earlier native Syriac word in general use. Undoubtedly, a comparative study of this material would yield several interesting examples.

To sum up, the scholarly community owes a debt of gratitude to the editors of this volume for their careful and faithful labor through many years. It provides the opportunity for new research into the Peshitta.

Jerome A. Lund
Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, OH 45220

Symmachus in the Pentateuch, by Alison Salvesen. JSS Monograph 15. Manchester: University of Manchester, 1991. Pp. xviii + 329. £30.

This monograph originated as an Oxford doctoral thesis prepared under the supervision of Sebastian Brock, from whose considerable expertise the author has demonstrably (and by her own admission) benefited enormously. However, Salvesen leaves little doubt about her own competence; the production of this demanding piece of scholarship required not only acquaintance with, but a facility in, several ancient and modern languages which she demonstrates admirably throughout. When selected portions of the work were subjected to rigid scrutiny, they were found in the main to be carefully done.

The core of the book consists of a systematic analysis of the evidence for Symmachus's (Sym) translation in the Pentateuch concentrating principally on renderings which are of exegetical interest. Research on the exegetical peculiarities of this translation is not new, nor is analysis of its mechanics. Geiger, Schoeps, and more recently Barthélemy analyzed aspects of Symmachus's version in order to resolve the question of his religious identity; thorough surveys of his techniques in the Psalms (J. R. Busto Saiz) and the Major Prophets (J. González Luis) have also been prepared in recent years. What Salvesen purports to do is provide for the Pentateuch (the most useful section for exegetical analysis) a work of the scope of the Madrid scholars on the Psalter and the Prophets, but with an eye to resolving the problem of Symmachus's religious affiliation. She thus compares Sym's readings with a wide range of Jewish Christian, Samaritan, and Ebionite sources—the LXX, Theodotion, Aquila, Vulgate, the Targumim, (*Onkelos*, *PsJ*, and *Neofiti*) the Peshitta, Samaritan Pentateuch, Philo, Josephus, rabbinic sources, early Christian fathers, and so on—offering complete and encyclopedic descriptions and evaluations at every turn.

The work is divided into two parts—Exegetical and Non-Exegetical Features of Symmachus's Version of the Pentateuch. In the first section (chaps. 1–6), each Sym reading is diligently compared with and carefully evaluated against any and all evidence which theoretically could have had a bearing on it. This exhaustive section is summarized graphically in a series of charts and also by discussions of various aspects of Sym as an exegete. The following conclusions are noteworthy: Sym (a) had a very sound knowledge of Hebrew, (b) has numerous parallels with rabbinical traditions and methods, especially with the Targumim, (c) avoided any expression which would impugn the sovereignty or dignity of the one God of Israel, (d) failed to acknowledge the existence of other gods, and (e) tended to demote celestial beings and to humanize saintly heroes and patriarchs.

The second major section (chaps. 7–8)—Non-Exegetical Features—discusses elements of syntax and lexicography in Sym with the same degree of care displayed in section one but includes only representative or interesting examples. Three principal and contrasting features are highlighted: Sym's greater fidelity to the Hebrew text, his attempt to make the translation read reasonably well in Greek, and his incorporation of haggadic elements which sometimes have only a tenuous link with the biblical text. In addition, Salvesen discusses the question of Sym's relationship to other Greek versions, concluding that he certainly knew Aquila (Aq), probably knew Theodotion (Th), and may also have known the Old Greek (OG). But she admits the difficulty of distinguishing OG's influence from that of Th.

Two other issues are addressed in the final chapters of the book—the influence

of Sym on Jerome and the question of the identity of the former. Having surveyed all the Vulgate passages in the Pentateuch for which Sym readings exist, and properly recognizing the limitations of her samples and method, Salvesen concludes, not surprisingly, that Jerome's Pentateuch has the greatest proportion of parallels with Sym, followed closely by LXX, Aq, and finally Th. With respect to the identity of Sym, she reviews the primary and secondary conflicting data concerning him and concludes that the notion that Sym was an Ebionite is unfounded, based as it is on Eusebius's inaccurate surmise from Irenaeus's comments on Isa 7:14. Rather, she deems the report of Epiphanius that Sym was a Samaritan who converted to Judaism and was recircumcised, becoming in due course "the translator of the Jews" to be reliable and correct. He performed his work ca. 200 CE in Caesarea of Palestine. There are no traces of any Ebionite belief in Sym's Pentateuch translation, but there is evidence of a thorough knowledge of the rabbinic exegesis of his time.

It is not possible within the constraints of a review to praise this work highly enough nor to begin to discuss in detail any of its hundreds of assertions and insights. It will clearly be a definitive resource for years to come. On virtually every page there are columns of data in Hebrew/Aramaic, Greek and Latin neatly interwoven with cautious, balanced English commentary and detailed footnotes. The work is not for the faint-hearted nor for the inadequately trained; the Greek is generally not accented, the Hebrew and Aramaic is unpointed, and citations in all languages are usually untranslated.

If there is one overarching negative comment that could be made, it is that the monograph, long as it is on data and short on sustained discussions, still reads very much like a dissertation, albeit an exceptional one. The curtailing (or relegating to an appendix) of some of the data, especially those on which little or no comment is offered, would have made the work more inviting to the general scholar in Hebrew Bible without minimizing its value to Septuagint specialists.

Specifically, it was disappointing to discover that citations of LXX in Exodus were apparently drawn from Brooke-McLean (in the absence of the Göttingen edition) rather than from the semicritical text of Rahlfs. Caution is therefore advised in using the Exodus data. What is listed there as LXX in 10 of 63 instances (5:16; 7:16; 9:17; 9:30; 21:8; 24:10; 25:22(23); 32:18; 32:25 2x) is in each case a minority reading and is probably incorrect. A check of LXX citations in Genesis (for which the Göttingen edition does exist) revealed that while Salvesen usually cited the Göttingen LXX accurately, she does deviate on occasion, notably 1:27; 2:15; and 48:15.

The foregoing critical observations are not intended to cancel my positive evaluation. Salvesen shows every sign of being a talented, well trained, highly resourceful scholar to whose future work this reviewer looks forward with anticipation.

Melvin K. H. Peters
Duke University, Durham, NC 27706

Property and the Family in Biblical Law, by Raymond Westbrook. JSOTSup 113. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991. Pp. 175. £22.50/\$39.50 (£18.75/\$29.50 subscriber).

Raymond Westbrook is an important commentator on biblical law and its relationships with ancient Near Eastern traditions. This volume provides a convenient

collection of essays previously published in journals perhaps unfamiliar to biblical scholars. Chapters 1–3 on the topics “Purchase of the Cave of Machpelah,” “Jubilee Laws,” and “Redemption of Land” appeared in the *Israel Law Review* for 1971. Chapters 4–5 appeared in the *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité* on the topics “The Law of the Biblical Levirate” (1977) and “The Price Factor in the Redemption of Land” (1985). The book ends with publication of two of Westbrook’s recent papers: “Undivided Inheritance” and “The Dowry.”

Westbrook maintains that special rules were in force in Israelite legal custom to preserve the link between property and the family and to bend ownership of property to the goal of assuring the family’s continuation. Westbrook also assumes that the type of family organization, property concerns, and legal argument attested in the Bible was common throughout Mesopotamia and the Levant and persisted from the Bronze Age through the Iron Age. The rich parallels that Westbrook draws upon to support his conclusions, particularly from Mesopotamia, support this assumption.

Westbrook is at his strongest in discussing neglected or misunderstood aspects of the land redemption system. Among points he makes are the distinction between discounted sales and full value sales of patrimony as a condition of redemption, the necessity for heritable land as a condition for the performance of the levirate, the existence of the institution of undivided inheritance in ancient Israel, and the relationship between land possession and the dowry. His results illuminate the details of a number of biblical texts. He explains, e.g., the biblical emphasis on the full price payment made by Abraham and David in their purchases of land (cf. Gen 23:11, 13 and 2 Sam 24:22, 24) and the legal backgrounds to Jeremiah’s purchase of the field of Hanamel (Jer 32:6–15) and the levirate law in Deut 25:5–10.

Not all of his positions, however, are equally convincing. This reviewer, e.g., takes exception to his thesis that the mention of the Hittite community as a party to Abraham’s purchase of the cave of Machpelah (e.g., Gen 25:9–10) is to be understood as a fiction on the model of third party transfers involving the king at Ugarit. It may well be that approval of the central power was required in Israelite legal theory when the transaction involved an ethnic outsider. Comparative material to conclude discussion on this matter is simply lacking.

Another major difficulty arises because the property rights of women in ancient Israel are still not fully understood. Ruth 4:10 is clear about the fact that Boaz acquired all that belonged to Elimelech and to Chilion and Mahlon from Naomi. But under what conditions can one imagine that Naomi, a woman, could exercise such a right? The possibility is unlikely according to Westbrook. Consequently, he suggests that the detail regarding Naomi’s sale is an error in the narrative. The sale of Ruth 4:3 is explained as a reference to a previous unrecorded sale of Elimelech’s land to third party. The transaction found in Ruth 4 actually concerns the transfer of rights from the closest redeemer to the next in line (pp. 65–66).

Space precludes a detailed discussion of all the aspects of Westbrook’s argument. But his own discussion of the levirate law in Deuteronomy 25 points out the right of the widow to initiate proceedings in order to force the dead husband’s family to act despite their unwillingness to do so. By the same token, the “sale” of Ruth 4:3 is, in effect, a demand by his widow that the family of Elimelech act in order to resolve the intestate condition of his patrimony. It is possible that the situation came about because Elimelech simply abandoned his land during the famine of Ruth 1:1. Sub-

sequently, the usufruct of the field was enjoyed by members of Elimelech's extended family (though it was unavailable to Naomi), while its legal title remained unresolved. The statement of Boaz in Ruth 4:3 may be understood as a declaration that Naomi has undertaken a formal action for transfer of title within the family. At least within the story world of Ruth, the plot assumes that the widow of Elimelech has such a right.

The remarks above should be taken as indications of the rich and provocative results of Westbrook's research. Though by no means the last word on every topic, these essays are bound to stimulate discussion and reevaluation of various biblical texts. Students of both the Bible and ancient Near Eastern law will be rewarded by careful study of them.

William Morrow

Queens Theological College, Kingston, ON K7L 3N6

Israel in Kanaan: Zum Problem der Entstehung Israels, by Hartmut N. Rösel. Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums 11. Frankfurt am Main/Bern: Peter Lang, 1992. Pp. 150. \$36.80.

Scholars have long debated the process by which Israel appeared and coalesced in Palestine. A key issue has been whether Israel was constituted as a people before entering the land, or first appeared within the matrix of Canaanite society. John Bright and Martin Noth parted company on this issue thirty years ago. Noth, relying primarily on his screening of the OT literary traditions, placed Israel's origin within Palestine. Bright, using archaeology in tandem with the literary traditions, argued for an invasion of Canaan by an already-constituted Israel. More recently, some scholars (most notably Norman Gottwald) have approached Israel's origin from a sociological perspective. Recent archaeological work has added greatly to our knowledge of life in ancient Palestine, and has forced substantial reassessment of earlier hypotheses. Clearly, the question of Israel's origin(s) has been one of the most frequently debated issues among OT scholars during the last several decades.

Rösel sides with those who argue that Israel first appeared within Palestine. A strength of his work is his attempt to address a variety of factors that have a bearing on the origin of Israel. For example, Rösel analyzes various OT literary traditions that relate to Israel's origin in Canaan; he treats the Merneptah stele, the Habiru and Schasu; and he surveys recent finds in Palestinian archaeology. The opening statement of Rösel's conclusion also suggests his sensitivity to the multifaceted character of Israel's origin: "Die Entstehung Israels war ein sehr komplexer Vorgang" (p. 95). By this complexity Rösel means not only the variety of factors which played into the origin of Israel, but also the geographically differentiated processes which in various areas ran different courses as Israel came into being. Rösel's candor is refreshing when he admits that our knowledge of Israel's origin is sketchy, due to the large number of factors involved.

Unfortunately, the brevity of Rösel's analysis (90 pages, plus 33 pages of notes) prevents his assessing in much detail the various factors which he raises or the manner in which these factors mesh with one another in the process that led to Israel's origin. At times he appears to have been less than thorough in assessing the work of other scholars, as evidenced by the referencing in his bibliography of only one of Gottwald's works (albeit the most significant one), by his citing only one of Mendenhall's works, and by his failure to list any works of Albright, Bright, or G. Ernest Wright.

As a result, Rösel's arguments do not always seem to profit from careful dialog with the approaches of other scholars, and his conclusions appear to be drawn primarily from a selective emphasis on certain biblical texts.

Rösel dismisses the historical usefulness of the traditions in the book of Joshua which claim that Israel invaded Palestine as a wave of people and subdued the land. Rather, he argues that the origin and development of Israel took place within Palestine, even though the initiative for the creation of Israel came from without. As evidence for this latter point he cites the fundamental assumption in numerous traditions that Israel was not indigenous to the land. In Rösel's opinion, a number of groups within Palestine saw fit to join with a small group that had come to Palestine, and this series of accretions led to the creation of Israel. That leaves the question of what this initial, small group brought to Palestine that led others to desire to join with it. Rösel's answer is that they brought Yahweh, a god who was not Canaanite but rather originated in the desert south of Canaan. Here Rösel finds a revolutionary moment, an element that cannot be derived from Canaanite influence. This revolutionary moment he labels "mysterious," in which a strong ideology breaks forth which subsequently has the power to attract other groups in an evolutionary process which leads to the gradual formation of Israel. In Rösel's opinion, the origin of Israel is inexplicable without this strong ideology, this mysterious revolutionary moment. One wonders whether Rösel does not resort too quickly to the term "mysterious," avoiding thereby the necessity to deal in detail with the cause and nature of the revolutionary moment and the basis for its strong appeal.

There is not a great deal here that is new, and Rösel's own methodology is at times open to question. For example, he cautions against the tendency to project a later view (from the time of Ezra) of what constituted Israel back into the period of Israel's origin. Yet his own method for screening the literary traditions leaves the reader wondering why the texts he chooses to use (esp. pp. 23–35) are any more reliable for historical purposes than those he chooses to bypass. He desires to dismiss basic components of the salvation history complex, but he is not clear on how one determines which biblical traditions are reliable. This constitutes a serious flaw in Rösel's work, especially given his tendency to derive much of his hypothesis from an analysis of particular literary traditions in the OT.

Alan J. Hauser

Appalachian State University, Boone, NC 28608

La Théophanie du Sinai: Ex 19–24: Exégèse et Théologie, by Bernard Renaud. CahRB 30. Paris: Gabalda, 1991. Pp. 219. 348 F.

In this monograph, Renaud offers a diachronic study of the Sinai theophany, focusing on the theophany report and only occasionally examining the legal materials contained therein (pp. 7–11). His monograph contains two parts. Part One executes the diachronic compositional analysis of the material, which is followed in Part Two with an analysis of the theology (by which Renaud often means exegetical interpretation) of the diverse traditions. Renaud's method works from the latest stratum to the earliest in Part One and from earliest to latest in Part Two, an eminently sensible arrangement.

The three chapters of Part One focus on the Priestly, Deuteronomistic, and pre-

Deuteronomistic layers of the Sinai theophany. Renaud assigns Exod 19:1–2a, 20 and 24:15–18 to Pg; 24:1, 9–11 to a Priestly “milieu” which is close to Ezekiel but not identical with Pg; and 19:12–13a, the redaction of 19:13b, the insertion of 19:20, 21–25 and 24:2 (making 24:1–2 and 9–11 a frame for 24:3–8, later assigned to Dtr1) to Rp who – on the basis of Priestly language in Deut 5:12(–15) = Exod 20:8(–11) – is identified as the final redactor of the Pentateuch. A number of intriguing suggestions are raised in this discussion. Thus, Renaud proposes that the Decalogue is in its proper location, and that it is the insertion of 19:20–25 which has disrupted the earlier connection of 19:19 + 20:1 (pp. 23–24). Later, Renaud proposes that 24:1–2 disrupts the earlier connection of the Covenant Book (20:22–23:33) and 24:3ff. (pp. 34–35). Both suggestions are plausible and go a long way toward explaining the roughness of the ascent-descent pattern.

Having stratified the Priestly material, Renaud turns in Chapter Two to the text which remains, arguing that it is a coherent and structured narrative using, in part, a comparison of the narrative flow of Exodus 19–24 with Deuteronomy 5 as support (and noting that the Priestly materials identified in the previous chapter find no correspondence in Deuteronomy 5). Following a close linguistic analysis of Exod 19:(3)4–8, 19, Renaud identifies two deuteronomistic layers in this material, an earlier (Dtr1) and a later (Dtr2) hand. To Dtr2 is assigned Exod 19:11b, 18, 19; 20:18a, 19; 24:3, and the insertion of the Covenant Book. To Dtr1 is assigned Exod 19:3–8; 24:4–8, and the insertion of the Decalogue. This analysis permits Renaud to identify two redactional strata in Deuteronomy 5, the earlier of which includes 5:1*, 2 [less Horeb], 5 [only *l'mr*], 6–11, 13–21.

In Chapter Three, Renaud analyzes the pre-Deuteronomistic material, arguing that the theophany report (19:2b, 3a, 10, 11a, 13b, 14–17, 19; 20:18b, 20) belongs to the “Elohistic” (early eighth century) and viewing the covenant ritual report (24:4–8, 9–11) as an old, independent piece of tradition, later reworked into its present form by Dtr1, the earlier form of which cannot be separated from its later redaction. By “Elohistic,” Renaud does not mean to imply the existence of an older, originally independent narrative.

Having recovered a five-part compositional history, Renaud then discusses the “theology” of the diverse traditions. The theophany narrative is oriented toward the (true) fear of God (Exod 20:18b, 20) for which the theophany is the ground. The covenant ritual turns on the notion of the exclusive service to Yahweh as an element of the theology of election. The shared meal (Exod 24:9–11; cf. 18:12) is a sign of adoration generated by a rejoicing before God: “It is a way of celebrating God in the joy and acts of grace” (cf. Deut 12:7; 14:26) (p. 123). Dtr1 focuses attention on the law (= the Decalogue) by inserting it into the Elohistic theophany report. Now, the fear of God follows the proclamation of the law, so that it is the latter which is the ground of the former. The preamble of the Decalogue which emphasizes the revelation of God, Yahweh as the divine Lord who liberated Israel from Egyptian servitude, orients the reader to see obedience to the law as a way of actualizing Yahweh’s ancient liberation on a day-to-day basis and thus serves to prolong Israel’s existence as the people of Yahweh. In this way, law is related to election and stands between the theologies of election and covenant (p. 154). The Dtr1 framing narrative in Exodus 19–20* and 24* serves to underscore the centrality of the law and the editor’s legal interpretation of the Sinai theophany. Dtr2 focuses on highlighting the prophetic aspects of Moses (cf. the Dtr2

glosses in 19:9, 11b, 18; 20:19, 21) and on inserting the Covenant Book into the Sinai theophany while assuming the theological stance of Dtr1. The contributions of the Priestly tradents shift the emphasis from law to theophany via the addition of 19:20–25 and, following Hossfeld, thereby create a parallel structure between Exod 19:1–24:15 and Exod 24:15–Leviticus 9. The heightening of the figure of Moses continues in this tradition the hierarchic arrangement of 19:20–25; 24:2 aligning Moses with the position of the postexilic high priest. Holiness separation and consecration ground the ascent–descent pattern of Moses the editor. Lexical studies (both word and phrase) make up the bulk of the theological interpretation.

This is a carefully conceived and well-crafted monograph which invites comparison with the recent monograph by T. Dozeman, *God on the Mountain* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989). It is, of course, unclear whether Renaud's five-stage composition history will be generally persuasive, and some may view his heavy reliance on language as evidence of heterogeneity as methodologically tenuous. Renaud's failure to interact with American scholarship (e.g., Dozeman, *God on the Mountain*; R. Knierim, "The Composition of the Pentateuch," *SBL 1985 Seminar Papers*, 393–415; J. Van Seters, "'Comparing Scripture with Scripture': Some Observations on the Sinai Pericope of Exodus 19–24," in *Canon, Theology and Old Testament Interpretation* [ed. G. M. Tucker, D. L. Peterson, and R. R. Wilson; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988] 111–30) weakens his argument, and the theological section may well prove ultimately to be unsatisfying to those interested in the place of the Sinai theophany in the theological systems of P and D. Finally, the failure to interact with issues of anthropology and sociology (see, e.g., N. Gottwald, *The Hebrew Bible: A Socio-Literary Introduction* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985] 223–27) or of political materialism (see, e.g., R. Coote and D. Ord, *In The Beginning* [Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1991]) will be deemed by many as a major lacuna in Renaud's work. Nonetheless, for those who are interested in traditional historical-critical issues, Renaud's monograph will be a welcome and helpful addition.

Henry T. C. Sun

Lexington Theological Seminary, Lexington, KY 40508

Ezechielstudien: Zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Buches und zur Frage nach den ältesten Texten, by Karl-Friedrich Pohlmann. BZAW 202. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1992. Pp. x + 274. DM 138.

In terms of German scholarship this work stands in the redaction-critical tradition of Hölscher and takes a more radical line than Zimmerli's commentary. Those acquainted with Pohlmann's researches in Jeremiah will recognize his application of two earlier concerns to the book of Ezekiel: a quest for the oldest texts and the discovery of a "golah-oriented" redaction claiming that Israel's future lay with the exiles, in this case those exiled in 597 BCE.

He finds a strategic clue to the oldest texts in the royal imagery of a cedar or grapevine running through chapters 15, 19, and 31, along with features of a funeral lament. Behind these chapters he sees a collection of nonprophetic laments counterpointing the demise of the Judean monarchy in 587 and its past glory. These laments react to the chaotic turn of events and lack any moral or supernatural explanation.

The Egyptian setting of chapter 31 was a later recasting. The allegory in 17:1–10 made use of the laments behind chapters 19 and 31 to blame Zedekiah's political ineptitude for the end of the monarchy and to express a positive evaluation of Jehoiachin and Babylon. Pohlmann also traces chapter 23 back to a lament contrasting Jerusalem's nobility and its ignoble fate. 18:5–13, like the neighboring chapters 17 and 19, originally dealt with the theme of the Judean monarchy, explaining its downfall in terms of the social irresponsibility of the final kings (cf. Jeremiah 22). Verse 2 may have been appended to the lament collection, as a fatalistic comment on the chaotic suffering caused by the kings. The addition of vv. 14–20 had the effect of "democratizing" vv. 5–13 and encouraging the post-587 generation with a sense of moral order.

Pohlmann finds in the book of Ezekiel evidence of a redactional process that stressed the special status of the 597 group of exiles over against survivors of the 587 catastrophe, whether in Jerusalem or Babylon. Examples of this discriminating process are 14:21–23; 15:4b–8; 17:19–21, 22–23; 24:2, 21b, 25b–26; 33:21–29. The emphasis in 35:1–36:16 on a totally ruined and depopulated land is a sign of such redaction, which used an older nucleus that promised growth to the inhabitants of the land (cf. Jer 42:10). Similarly the disputation in 37:11b, 12a, 14 referred in the first instance to Judeans who remained in the land: וְהִנַּחְתִּי in v. 14 means "and I will let you stay" (cf. Jer 27:11). It has been adapted by the addition of vv. 12b–13 into a promise to the exiles. Along with this adaptation came a new interpretation of v. 11b in terms of the added vision of 37:1–10, so that the exiled elite were regarded as the beneficiaries. The vision formed the conclusion of the *golah*-related form of the book. Its visionary beginning is to be found in a nucleus that consists of 1:3b; 2:9, 10; 3:1a α b α , 2, 3, 10a, 11, 14b, 15. Pohlmann considers the vision of Yahweh's glory, a motif that is not featured in chapter 37, to be a later elaboration, both here and in chapters 8–11. In the latter case an account that presupposes Ezekiel's prophetic activity in Jerusalem, 11:2–13, was initially adapted to an exilic situation by the prefixing of a visionary introduction, 8:1, 3. The redactional intent was to make clear that the "end" of chapter 7 did not relate to the first group of exiles: 11:13 was the springboard for their identification in vv. 14–21 as the remnant with whom alone the future lay.

However, 11:17 is an addition that represents a further redactional process, one that denied any privileged position to the first exiles and spoke comprehensively in terms of the diaspora. Another example of this correcting process is 12:1–16. The role of 12:15–16 is to modify 14:21–23; that of 12:4 is to correct 17:21. The disparaging description of the first group of exiles as "a rebellious house" in 12:2, 3, 9 reappears in 3:26–27, whose purpose was to delay with dumbness the discharging of Ezekiel's commission as watchman (3:17–21) until after the fall of Jerusalem, to include the 587 exiles, as 33:1–20 means to assert. The obstinacy of the first exiles in 3:4–9 is also a clue to this process at work, as is the rebelliousness of them and their ancestors in 2:3–7. Chapter 20, which is marked by an emphasis on the first exiles' sinful heritage and present rebellion and by diaspora language, is a (postexilic) part of this redaction. 36:16–23b α represents an earlier stage of theological reflection on the problem of the diaspora. As in the Greek papyrus 967, it was originally followed by chapters 38–39, which promise Yahweh's final sovereignty over the nations.

Pohlmann's concept of a redaction that invested the first group of exiles with a special status has enabled him to establish a new literary grid that divides much of the book into three broad categories. These categories tend to cut across both the plain impres-

sion of the text and earlier redactional readings. Interestingly, there is a revival of the notion of a "Palestinian" Ezekiel (see especially pp. 128–29), although in principle skepticism is expressed as to the historical setting and work of the prophet whose name the book bears. To ask who and what Ezekiel was is tantamount to asking who or what Moses was. A valuable feature of this book is its painstaking exegetical analyses. As with much redactional study, the reader has to ask whether literary wedges are being unnecessarily driven between texts and whether their intention has been rightly grasped. Future work on Ezekiel will need to consider Pohlmann's reconstruction in detail.

Leslie C. Allen

Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, CA 91182

A Study of Job 4–5 in the Light of Contemporary Literary Theory, by David W. Cotter. SBLDS 124. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992. Pp. xi + 259. \$44.95/\$29.95 (\$29.95/\$19.95 member).

Literary interpretations of the book of Job are currently in vogue; witness the commentaries by Norman C. Habel, *The Book of Job* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1985), David J. A. Clines, *Job 1–20* (Word BC; Dallas: Word Books, 1989), and above all Edwin M. Good, *In Turns of Tempest* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990) and monographs by David Penchansky, *The Betrayal of God* (LCBI; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1990) and Bruce Zuckerman, *Job the Silent* (New York: Oxford University, 1991). Cotter's addition to this impressive list is unique in its extensive discussion of literary theory and its narrow focus on two chapters in the book of Job.

The exhaustive attention to method threatens the unity of the whole enterprise, giving it a disjointed appearance and amounting to two distinct books. More attention to integrating the separate discussions would undoubtedly have improved the finished product. The long survey of theories about meter and rhythm covers familiar ground to most readers and fails to advance scholarship in any way. Cotter's own views govern this analysis in an almost heavy-handed fashion, at one point becoming downright nasty (p. 63, Schramm's article "might as well have been published at any time in the previous century"). Is it no longer reasonable to expect more humility and generosity than this from a beginner? Cotter's disdain for naïve readers and his conviction that ancient authors *signaled* intention place him at odds with many literary theorists, although his position is certainly defensible.

The book falls naturally into two parts, method and application. The section devoted to method begins with an insightful statement about the poetic function of language, then describes the language of poetry, and offers a fine analysis of meaning in poetry. A long survey of theories about meter and rhythm follows, with emphasis on parallelism as the decisive aspect. This methodological treatise concludes with brief comments about divisions of poetry, readers, and ambiguity. The second part, application of theoretical conclusions to Job 4–5, starts with thirty-six pages of dense outline and elaboration in which these two biblical chapters are submitted to a complicated system of notation developed mainly by Dennis Pardee. If the aim of literary interpretation is to elucidate the meaning of a text, such esotericism fails miserably, although perhaps making a useful contribution in preparatory stages of interpretation. The actual

application of theory to Job 4–5, despite its brevity, is the heart of the book; fortunately, it leaves behind the earlier sigla.

By far the most profound insight in this latter section concerns Cotter's remarks about the way the author has Eliphaz isolate Job and set him over against the three friends. Sixteen "verbal punches" achieve that ostracizing of a friend, and the repeated personal pronouns finally come to an end in the contrasting pronouns "us" and "you" in 5:27. Other suggestive observations are less sweeping: the symbolism of a moth in 4:19 suggests inexorable destruction; the divine voice that Eliphaz heard in 4:16 was a vigorous sound, unlike the one spoken to Elijah in a comparable situation; in 5:8, a nodal sentence, a fourfold repetition of the divine name is draped over Eliphaz; 4:10–11 describes Job as a lion against which powerless people cry out for protection; and 4:3–4a constitute parallelism of greater precision.

More problematic is Cotter's argument based on Gen 15 that the narrator condemns Eliphaz for being awake when he should have succumbed to sleep and that virtual consensus on the segments in Job 4–5 proves that the conclusions must be correct. What requires one to read the two texts from Genesis and Job in a unitary way? Who is to say that a dozen or more interpreters have not missed decisive clues about a text's segmentation? Furthermore, if "the dominant of the poems studied here is ambiguity" (p. 236), and poetry speaks by indirection, does this very fact not preclude quasi-definitive treatments like this one that endeavors to explain away all polyvalency (contrast Good's commentary)?

Central to Cotter's understanding of poetry is a fourfold system of parallelism, one that seems to leave almost nothing outside its scope. He appeals to the following types of parallelism: (1) repetitive, (2) semantic, (3) grammatical, and (4) phonetic. Verbatim repetition refers to the use of the exact words more than once within a textual unit. Semantic parallelism covers that of meaning, hence the traditional synonymous, antithetic, and synthetic(?) parallelism. Under this heading come such features as ellipsis, or gapping, and the use of a ballast-variant in the second half of the line. The third type of parallelism, grammatical, includes such things as type of sentence (indicative or interrogative), verb tense (complete or incomplete action), conjugation (qal or niph'al), number, case, gender, and definiteness. The fourth type, phonetic parallelism, emphasizes recurrence of sound, difficult to assess because of inadequate knowledge about pronunciation of Hebrew in the ancient world. Paying attention to all these features gives a measure of personal satisfaction, but does Cotter really think ancient poets gave serious consideration to balancing such an array of disparate features? How could one fail to discover parallelism when just about everything falls into its net? If such considerations are anything more than a pleasant aesthetic, they should be demonstrably more than ornament. Do contrasts or synonymous duplications in gender, order of subject and verb, variations in conjugation, and the like constitute anything more than the normal accidents resulting from a language's natural flow?

The book is flawed by the adoption of a metric system that requires elaborate explanation without offering the necessary clarification for readers to profit from the analysis. This failure is especially noticeable in a treatise that devotes more than half its pages to methodological considerations. On the positive side, the book has nice turns of phrases such as "the rhetorical lift of an ironic eyebrow" in 4:7; suggests a new term to designate lists, specifically "tour," by which the narrator accompanies readers on a tour of available lions (4:10–11) or anticipated disasters (5:20–22) and blessings

(5:23–26); and recognizes the ambivalence of 4:17, although the translation on p. 187 does not correspond to the comments on p. 190 (“Is Man just before God, or, before his Maker, is a man pure?” as opposed to “the specter wonders rhetorically whether man is more *šdq* or *thr* than God,” a possibility considered in n. 68 on p. 187). The further designation of 4:8 as quasi-narrative (Alter’s terminology) strikes me as less appropriate than “proverbial saying.”

Such criticisms notwithstanding, this dissertation, completed in 1989 at The Gregorian University under the direction of Dermot Cox, makes a significant contribution to the literary interpretation of the Bible. Readers unfamiliar with this particular approach will do well to consult Cotter’s perceptive remarks about various literary theories and his astute comments on poetry in general. He has demonstrated a sophistication seldom found in first works, and he has shown an admirable familiarity with the views of leading literary theorists who, like poets, construct their masterpieces “out of a mass of stolen devices and plundered conventions.”

James L. Crenshaw

Duke University, Durham, NC 27706

Tradition als Interpretation in der Chronik: König Josaphat als Paradigma chronistischer Hermeneutik und Theologie, by Kim Strübind. BZAW 201. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1991. Pp. xii + 220. DM 98.

In the present work, Strübind examines the Chronicler’s hermeneutical method and theology of history as they emerge in 2 Chr 17:1–21:1, a text with paradigmatic value in Strübind’s view. The book has four parts: (1) a statement of purpose and procedures, (2) an exploration of the major questions currently debated in Chronicles research and an investigation of the Chronicler’s historiography, (3) an examination of 2 Chr 17:1–21:1 and its parallel in 1 Kings, and (4) a few concluding observations.

As for *einleitungswissenschaftliche* issues, Strübind concludes that 1, 2 Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah should be treated as separate works and that the former can be dated no earlier than the Hellenistic period, when the province of Yehud was threatened by powerful enemies. In addition, the views of Noth and Rudolph that Chronicles addressed inner-Israelite problems and so was directed against the North are rejected as examples of “over-interpretation,” and little support is found for Williamson’s pan-Israelite thesis. Finally, Strübind maintains that the composer of Chronicles was far more than a simple redactor of tradition. He was an author who worked with great skill to produce what is best regarded as an interpretation of earlier traditions.

It is in the second half of Strübind’s study that the Chronicler’s interpretive and literary techniques are explicated. This section has three parts: (1) a comparison of the historical Jehoshaphat with the Chronicler’s image of him, (2) an examination of 2 Chr 17:1–19; 18:1–20:30; and 20:31–21:1a, and (3) a discussion of Chronicles as an interpretive work. Strübind carefully examines these texts—text-critically, literarily, and theologically—and systematically applies the nine categories that Willi formulated for assessing the differences between Chronicles and Samuel-Kings, noting the various literary techniques (e.g., repetition, synchronism between the beginning and end of an account) that the author used. In addition, he employs the literary and theological *topoi* (e.g., fortifications and buildings, condition of the army) that Welten identified

for explaining the Chronicler's historiography and notes the typological parallels between Jehoshaphat and Solomon and the use of war of Yahweh traditions in Chronicles. He concludes that the author integrated theologically and literarily disparate material about Jehoshaphat into a coherent unit of text that is more homogeneous than the corresponding section of 1 Kings and that it is the accent, rather than the substance, of the picture of Jehoshaphat that changes as the author shifts from his *Vorlage* in Kings to the material that is unique to Chronicles. Strübind believes that the latter, with few exceptions (the lists of names in 17:7–8 and 19:11, the etiology in 20:26, and the reference to the prophet Eliezer in 20:37), was created by the author essentially from his canonical sources and still bears their stylistic and semantic imprint.

As for the investigation of the Chronicler's theology, Strübind finds that the terms "theocracy" and "eschatology" have contributed little. In the case of the former, it is clear that Chronicles is a theocratic work in that king, worship, and prophets mediate the rule of God—the word of God is primary in all this—but there is no suggestion that the people are to be ruled by cultic officials. In the matter of eschatology, what is at stake is not *whether* there is an eschatological element in Chronicles, but *which* eschatology is to be found there. While these and several other aspects of the Chronicler's theology receive considerable attention in Strübind's research, his chief concern is to show how scholarly understanding of Chronicles may be clarified by a better appreciation of the books as interpretation of an authoritative tradition. From this perspective, then, one is prepared to explore further the ancient author's continuity and discontinuity with that tradition.

Tradition als Interpretation in der Chronik is an important contribution to Chronicles research and raises serious questions about a number of widely accepted views on the books. Strübind's sensitivity to the literary artistry and theological nuances of the Chronicler shows what can be gained by a careful reading of the text, application of the approaches of Willi and Welten, and familiarity with some of the older investigations of the books (in particular, de Wette, Wellhausen, and Rothstein/Hänel). While Strübind's work will benefit all who work in this part of the canon, it would have been improved by greater attention to American and Israeli scholarship. These include not only the classic article by W. F. Albright in the *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume*, but also several recent studies that would have been useful for Strübind's research.

M. Patrick Graham

Pitts Theology Library, Atlanta, GA 30322

The Aramaic of Daniel in the Light of Old Aramaic, by Zdravko Stefanovic. JSOT 129. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992. Pp. 128. \$47.50 (\$35.00 for subscribers).

This revised 1987 dissertation from Andrews University (directed by W. H. Shea) seems, *prima facie*, to make an odd choice of comparative material for the Aramaic of Daniel. If Old Aramaic is dated to the period 900–700 BCE, it is several centuries older than even the ostensible date of Daniel in the sixth century. The oddity of the choice betrays an apologetic intention to defend the possibility of an early date for Daniel, an issue which has figured with inordinate prominence in scholarship emanating from Andrews University for several years.

The texts from which Stefanovic draws his characterization of Old Aramaic are as follows: the Tell Fakhriyah Inscription and Bir-Hadad Inscription from the ninth century, the Zakkur, Sefire, Hadad and Panammu inscriptions from the eighth–seventh centuries and the Barrakab, Nerab and Ashur inscriptions from the period of transition to Official Aramaic. Stefanovic examines these texts for literary (chap. 2), grammatical (chap. 3), and syntactical (chap. 4) correlations with Daniel.

The literary correlations are especially weak. Such commonplaces as the use of chiasmic patterns are cited as significant parallels. Stefanovic claims that “an average OA inscription” has over 65 percent of its vocabulary attested in Daniel. The significance of this claim, however, is not established, since Stefanovic fails to bring in other comparative material, or to show that the degree of correspondence with Daniel is exceptional.

The chapter on grammar is divided into orthography, phonology, and morphology. The most significant finding in orthography is the presence of vowel letters in several Old Aramaic texts. Hence the presence of vowel letters in Daniel is not necessarily a late feature. In the matter of phonology, Daniel’s preference for *d* instead of *z* has usually been taken as evidence of a late date. Stefanovic appeals to the argument of P. Coxon that the development took place in the living language already in “the latter part of the sixth century BC, although it found no uniform expression in the script until after the fifth century” (P. Coxon, “The Problem of Consonantal Mutation in Biblical Aramaic,” *ZDMG* 129 [1979] 11). Even if this were granted, however, the predominance of *d* spellings in Daniel would still point to a date after the fifth century. Stefanovic’s suggestions that this phenomenon is to be attributed to the updating of the text by later scribes, or that “texts of narrative-didactic style . . . exhibit a higher proportion of an advanced phonetic spelling . . .” (pp. 74–75) are gratuitous. In the area of morphology he admits “a distinct difference” between Daniel and Old Aramaic, as well as some similarity (p. 94). In the matter of syntax, he follows Kutscher’s characterization of the Aramaic of Daniel as eastern Aramaic. Since Kutscher’s evidence for eastern Aramaic included the Egyptian papyri, however, the geographical import of the designation is unclear.

Perhaps the chief merit of Stefanovic’s book is that he summarizes the evidence of the Old Aramaic inscriptions, and the secondary literature thereon, on certain issues. The volume throws little or no light, however, on the Aramaic of Daniel. No conclusions can be drawn about the language of Daniel without consideration of the evidence from the papyri, including now the Samaria papyri (see D. Gropp, “The Language of the Samaria Papyri: A Preliminary Study,” *Maarav* 5–6 [1990] 169–87), and from the Dead Sea Scrolls. To a great degree, Stefanovic’s book can be seen as a partial rejoinder to H. H. Rowley’s famous study *The Aramaic of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929). To be sure, Rowley can now be corrected on several points (see, e.g., p. 89 on *’ln* as a demonstrative pronoun, p. 91 on the independent object pronoun *yt*). But the discussion has long moved on. The current consensus regards the Aramaic of Daniel as an example of Official Aramaic, which Fitzmyer dates from 700 to 200 BCE (*A Wandering Aramean* [Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979] 61). The attempt to specify the date of Daniel on linguistic grounds has been virtually given up (although it may well be revived by the publication of the Samaria papyri). Stefanovic’s attempt to show that certain features of the Aramaic of Daniel could be early is pointless

since it is not balanced by a corresponding analysis as to whether they might equally well be late.

John J. Collins

The Divinity School, The University of Chicago, Chicago, IL 60637

The Armies of the Hasmoneans and Herod: From Hellenistic to Roman Frameworks, by Israel Schatzman. Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 25. Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1991. Pp. xv + 354. DM 178.

In this volume, Shatzman presents a focused treatment of the military institutions of the Hasmoneans and Herod, relating them to the foreign policies and security problems of these rulers. The starting point of Shatzman's work is the claim that military power was a fundamental condition for the Hasmonean and Herodian political achievements, a view that is not unique to this author, but one that previously has not been developed with such specificity. To support his claim, Shatzman sets forth a detailed documentation, description, and analysis of the structure of the Hasmonean and Herodian armies, the military installations constructed by these rulers, the security problems they faced and the use they made of their power.

Schatzman's study is divided into two parts. He begins with an examination of the military institutions of the Hasmonean state, including a discussion of the weapons available to the Jewish rebels at the initial stage of the revolt and of the tactics they employed then and later, when a regular Hasmonean army came into being. This is followed by a description, based mainly on literary sources and to a lesser extent on the archaeological evidence, of the fortifications constructed by the Hasmoneans, especially as they are related to the developing relationships between the Hasmoneans and the Nabateans.

The second part of the book starts with a detailed description of the military and political events of the period 63–30 BCE, focusing on the military aspects of Herod's rise to power. The size, structure, and nature of Herod's army, as well as the military installations he constructed in his realm, concentrating on the Augustan period, are then described and analyzed with respect to Herod's relations with Jews and Greeks as well as with the Nabateans.

In his analysis of the military minutiae of the Hasmonean and Herodian periods, Shatzman stresses the considerable Greek and Roman influence. From a purely military point of view, both of these Jewish administrations constructed their military institutions either in response to (in the case of the Hasmoneans) or by borrowing from (in the case of Herod) the foreign powers they confronted.

Schatzman's work has a distinctive purpose and will be of interest to scholars concerned with the relationship between military institutions and foreign and domestic policy. In producing such a detailed military study, Shatzman has drawn on two kinds of evidence—literary and archaeological. How does he handle the evidence from these two sources and their relationship to one another? When doing such a study that so depends upon appraisals of geographical details, estimates of troop strengths, etc., one would expect a critical assessment of the literary sources used. Unfortunately, Shatzman supplies no such assessment. He cites both 1 and 2 Maccabees without discussing the fact that both books are the work of Judean authors concerned with the sufferings

which had been inflicted on the Jewish people by the Gentiles in a context in which the Jewish faith increasingly assumed the linguistic, conceptual, and even aggressive forms of the "persecutors," a fact of no little significance, given Shatzman's stated purpose of demonstrating that Hasmonean military institutions were modeled after those of the Greeks. Likewise, Shatzman makes extensive use of the works of Josephus, but neither cites nor includes in his bibliography the important recent works on Josephus by S. J. D. Cohen (*Josephus in Galilee and Rome* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979]) and Louis Feldman (*Josephus and Modern Scholarship* [Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1984]). Shatzman is obviously aware of the limitations of using Josephus as a historical source, as he makes, in passing, such comments as: "Josephus need not be expected to give a precise account" (p. 75); "Perhaps Josephus, or his source, exaggerated the Nabataean victory" (p. 118); "Josephus' account is biased in favour of the Antipatrids" (p. 145); and "Some inaccuracy and exaggeration are to be taken into account in these data. This reservation may hold true of Josephus' other figures as well" (p. 221). To his credit, Shatzman admits Josephus's biases and makes sensible judgments regarding the sources used by Josephus. A critical assessment of Josephus and other literary sources in the preface, however, would have strengthened the book considerably. It should be admitted, however, that Shatzman is quite skilled in using his sources against themselves, pointing out inner contradictions, and drawing his own reasoned conclusions accordingly.

In the use of archaeological evidence, Shatzman's basic maxim seems to be "the absence of evidence is not the evidence of absence," which he generally follows, especially with regard to numismatic evidence. He does, however, appear to have a preference for interpreting archaeological evidence in the light of literary sources. There are also places where he ignores the substantial results of archaeology, such as in his description of the harbor at Herodian Caesarea (p. 250). At other places, however, he is quite astute in his evaluation of archaeological evidence, such as in the discussion of Pseudo-Nabatean pottery (p. 303).

Unfortunately, Shatzman's work is marred by a large number of spelling errors and/or typographical mistakes. In addition, the book is spoiled by numerous distressing grammatical flaws, such as ending sentences with prepositions, incomplete sentences, inadequate punctuation, awkward constructions, etc. Typographically, the book lacks a neat appearance, due to such things as the vertical misalignment of lines. There is also a puzzling inconsistency in transliterating Greek in some cases or printing it in Greek characters in others.

The book includes numerous (twenty-two in all) line-drawn maps, in some of which the contour lines are drawn at such unnecessarily frequent intervals as to be distracting. In a map of coastal cities in the Herodian period, Caesarea is omitted (Map 20, p. 248)! Also included are twenty-eight plates of uneven quality. Plates showing details of archaeological excavations have no indication of scale. The book has a general index that cites ancient, but not modern, authors.

In spite of these reservations, the critical specialist should find Shatzman's book to be a useful compilation of particulars on the military infrastructures constructed by the Hasmoneans and Herod to establish their control of the country.

Frank S. Frick
Albion College, Albion, MI 49224

What Are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography, by Richard A. Burridge. SNTSMS 70. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. Pp. xiv + 292. \$54.95.

This volume by the Lazenby Chaplain and part-time Lecturer in Theology and Classics at the University of Exeter, originally a 1989 dissertation under P. Maurice Casey at the University of Nottingham, contends that the view that the Gospels are literarily unique is false and that a first-century reader would have seen the Gospels as biographies. It falls into two parts: (1) the problem (chapters 1–4), and (2) the proposed solution (chapters 5–10). It concludes with an appendix (analysis charts of verb subjects), a select bibliography, and indices of passages and of names and subjects. It is written by one with a classics background who began with the assumption of the literary uniqueness of the Gospels and wound up contending for their inclusion in the biographical genre of antiquity.

Part One consists of four chapters. The first is a historical survey tracing the full circle of scholarly opinion from the nineteenth century's assumption of the biographical genre of the Gospels through the denial of such a thesis at the beginning of this century to the present reaffirmation of the Gospels' biographical character. The second focuses on genre criticism in modern literary theory and concludes that genres are conventions which assist readers by providing a set of expectations to guide their understanding. The third chapter is concerned with how classicists view genre criticism and Graeco-Roman biography. It concludes that classicists' views on genre are similar to those of modern literary theorists and that Graeco-Roman biography is an extremely flexible genre, admitting works of very different patterns. Chapter four is an evaluation of the recent debate. Most prior attempts to demonstrate the biographical character of the Gospels failed because of either an insufficient grasp of critical literary theory or an inadequate understanding of the nature of Graeco-Roman biography or both.

Part Two consists of six chapters. Chapter five focuses on generic features. They include opening features (e.g., title, preface), subject, external features (e.g., mode, meter, size and length, structure, scale, use of sources, methods of characterization), and internal features (e.g., setting, topics, style, tone, quality of characterization, social setting, authorial intention). Chapter six treats the generic features of five early Graeco-Roman lives (Isocrates, *Evagoras*; Xenophon, *Agésilas*; Satyrus, *Euripides*; Nepos, *Atticus*; Philo, *Moses*). Each of the five is examined in terms of the generic features of chapter five. The primary similarity derives from their subject—an account of a person, portraying the subject's character through the indirect means of narrating his deeds and words. On the other features there is a high degree of flexibility. Chapter seven treats the generic features of five later Graeco-Roman lives (Tacitus, *Agricola*; Plutarch, *Cato Minor*; Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*; Lucian, *Demonax*; Philostratus, *Apollonius of Tyana*). Again, each of the five is examined in terms of the generic features discussed in chapter five. Again, the major determining feature is the subject; all of the works concentrate on one individual. Regarding the other features there is great flexibility.

Chapter eight turns to the Synoptic Gospels. When they are examined in terms of the generic features discussed in chapter five, one can conclude that there is a high degree of correlation between the generic features of Graeco-Roman lives and those of the Synoptic Gospels. In fact the Gospels exhibit more of the features than are shown by works on the edge of the genre, such as those of Isocrates, Xenophon, and Philostratus. The Synoptic Gospels, therefore, belong to the overall genre of *bioi*. Chapter nine focuses

on the Fourth Gospel. Its investigation concludes that John is clearly in the same genre as the Synoptic Gospels, namely, *bioi*. All four canonical Gospels share a common biographical genre.

Chapter ten offers the author's conclusions. As a result of an interdisciplinary study involving literary theory, Graeco-Roman literature and Gospel studies, the author concludes that the four canonical Gospels have as many features in common with *bioi* as *bioi* tend to have in common with each other. These gospels are all *bioi*, Luke as well as the other three. Acts may belong to another genre (but not novel) or it may belong to the biographical genre, either as a list of the lives of the main subject's followers or as a *bios* of the church, in the manner of Dicaearchus' biographical work on Greece, *Peri tou tes Hellados biou*. Many possible genres proposed for the Gospels are actually modal relationships: thus the dramatic, tragic or tragi-comic elements (mode) do not make the Gospels into drama or tragedy (genre), any more than parabolic concepts make them parables. The biographical genre was developed by Christians from Mark, through Matthew and Luke who bring Mark closer to other Graeco-Roman *bioi* and John who pushes the *bios* toward other genres such as philosophical dialogues, to the apocryphal gospels some of which were *bioi* and others different genres altogether.

This volume ought to end any legitimate denials of the canonical Gospels' biographical character. It has made its case. At the same time, it is far from the final word. For example, three questions come immediately to mind!

(1) Why choose just these ten biographies to examine? What difference would it have made if the author had substituted from the early period Nicolaus of Damascus's *Life of Augustus* (which ends with Augustus' entry into the Civil War) and added more of Cornelius Nepos's lives, e.g., "Miltiades"; "Aristides"; "Pausanias" (which begin in mid-career)? One thing it would have done is to lay to rest the oft repeated claim that an ancient biography is an account of a person's life from birth to death. What difference would it have made if he had included among the later biographies Diogenes Laertius's *Life of Epicurus* (which includes within itself a brief narrative of Epicurus's successors and selected other disciples) and Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus* (which stands as the introduction to his *Enneads*)? It would have avoided the claim that a biography focuses on one individual only and would have expanded the scope of possible purposes of *bioi* in antiquity.

(2) What difference would it have made if early Christian biographies had been included in this interdisciplinary study? Instead of an evolutionary model for viewing Christian use of the *bios* genre which sees Mark as a rough appropriation that is improved by Matthew and Luke on the one hand and stretched by John on the other and that is eventually fragmented by some of the apocryphal gospels, one might regard ancient *bioi* as being written in four forms (encomia, prose narrative, dialogue, and collections of sayings), all of which had roots in ancient Greece and which continued into the early Christian biographical tradition. Only consideration of Christian lives avoids distortions due to a narrowed perspective.

(3) What criteria are used to determine subgenres of *bios*? Why are the subgenres, political *bioi*, literary *bioi*, *bioi* of philosophers, etc., more appropriate than those based on social function (what Burridge would call purpose)? I submit that the contention that the gospels are *bioi* is of limited help to interpretation without the further move to subgenres based on social function.

Charles H. Talbert

Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, NC 27109

Irony in Mark's Gospel: Text and Subtext, by Jerry Camery-Hoggatt. SNTSMS 72. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. Pp. xii + 219. \$49.95.

This book is based on the author's doctoral dissertation, directed by Howard Clark Kee. The subtitle is taken from James E. Miller's "rhetoric of imagination" developed in his *Word, Self, and Reality* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1972), which explores the tension between the surface meaning of a text and its underlying connotations. The aim of Camery-Hoggatt's study is to develop a "rhetoric of irony" in relation to the text of Mark. The introduction contains a summary of scholarship on the role of irony in Mark, which notes that the topic began to receive increased attention in the 1970s. The author attributes this to advances in sociology of knowledge and literary criticism.

In chapter 2, Camery-Hoggatt applies the methods of the sociology of knowledge to create a "sociological paradigm" for investigating the Gospels. He concludes that, by telling their stories in one particular way, rather than another, the evangelists established "loci of loyalty" with reference to which their readers defined their similarities to one another and their differences from those who told different stories or the same ones in different ways.

The third chapter explores the ways in which narratives differ from brute, uninterpreted experiences and discusses the basic irony inherent in the fact that the reader knows more than the characters. The author's intention, however, is to explore the way in which this inherent irony is consciously worked out in specific rhetorical strategies.

In the fourth chapter, Camery-Hoggatt argues that the dialectic between world-construction and world-maintenance pointed out by Berger and Luckman is analogous to the dialectic between competence assumed by the text and competence generated by the text. In explaining the latter dialectic, he relies on Umberto Eco's *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979).

The fifth chapter is a study of the evidence of irony in the Gospel of Mark. The author finds 105 pericopae in Mark, organized into a dozen or so major blocks of material. Only those passages that function especially ironically are discussed. In an excursus on "the cries of the demons," he argues that their descriptions of Jesus are disclosures of his identity for the reader to overhear; the evangelist signals subtly that the characters in the narrative apart from Jesus do not hear these cries. Like the superscription and the quotation of the voice from heaven, these declarations indicate to the reader that he or she is the possessor of privileged information. In his discussion of 1:1–8:26, Camery-Hoggatt argues that Mark has placed verbal twists and complications alongside "reliable commentary." Both orchestrate the reader's response.

He argues further that the reader has known from the beginning that the story will end in Jesus' passion; this knowledge is part of the enabling frame of reference which allows the reader to perceive the deeper significances beneath the story's surface. But he suggests that, even so, the narrative sets the reader up for a dramatic reversal, since he or she may not fully realize that the death itself is messianic. The deepest irony of the narrative is the king who rules from the cross (pp. 155–56). He also argues that the frequent allusions to scripture and extracanonical traditions in Mark 11–16 constitute ironic overcoding (pp. 167–68). Taking further an insight of William Lane, he points out the irony in the fact that Jesus is mockingly asked to prophesy at the very moment that his prophecy of the denial of Peter is being fulfilled (pp. 3–4, 173–74).

Chapter 6 is a brief conclusion which emphasizes that Mark is a narrative that

signals to the reader that there is more to the story of Jesus than meets the eye. All of these signals, of course, are hidden from the characters inside the narrative. The core of the ironies lies in the tension between exclusionary strategies and veiled revelations. Mark's ironies express a crisis of loyalties between Christianity and traditional Judaism, calling into question those attitudes and institutions that oppose the emergence of this new piety. Finally, the esoteric wisdom of the eschatological community involves insight, not just into the life of Jesus, but into the structure of reality and the life of the believer, for which it serves as a series of sign-posts.

This book is a fine introduction to certain types of literary criticism which are compatible with the methods of the sociology of knowledge and a good illustration of how such criticism may be applied to Mark. It should find a place on the reading lists of introductory courses as a complement to studies that emphasize the historical approach.

Adela Yarbro Collins

The University of Chicago, Chicago, IL 60637

The Rhetoric of Righteousness in Romans 3.21–26, by Douglas C. Campbell. JSNTSup 65. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992. Pp. 272. £35.00/\$60.00 (£26.25/\$45.00 subscribers).

Whoever is disposed to regard Rom 3:21–26 as a “burned over district” of the Pauline territory should read Campbell’s revised dissertation (University of Toronto, 1989, under Richard Longenecker). Carefully crafted and clearly written, this monograph advances the discussion by challenging the broad consensus that its vexing lexical, grammatical, and syntactical (and hence theological) problems are traceable to Paul’s use of an extant tradition. Campbell, now at the University of Otago in Dunedin, New Zealand, argues that careful attention to rhetorical considerations eliminates the problems and therefore makes appeal to a cited tradition unnecessary. In fact, he concludes that the passage is so tightly woven that “either *the entire section* is an early church confession (minus the asides) or none of it is” (p. 201). In short, the passage, instead of being theologically dense, literarily overloaded, and syntactically obscure, is a carefully wrought, rhetorically elegant, and theologically coherent paragraph whose theme is not soteriology (justification by faith) but Christology.

Campbell shows that the paragraph’s structure can be discerned when the syntax of vv. 22b–24 is resolved. In Nestle-Aland²⁶ these verses appear as follows:

οὐ γάρ ἐστιν διαστολή, ²³πάντες γὰρ ἡμαρτον καὶ ὑστεροῦνται τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ ²⁴δικαιούμενοι δωρεὰν τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι διὰ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

Campbell solves the well-known problem of the awkwardness of v. 24 by dividing it and by regarding οὐ γάρ ἐστιν διαστολή . . . χάριτι as a parenthesis containing a complete sentence. This allows the structure of the passage, based on the triple use of διά-phrases (epanaphora), to appear:

the righteousness of God
through the faithfulness of Jesus Christ
for all who believe . . .
through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus

whom God put forward as expiation
through the faithfulness in his blood.

For vv. 25b–26, he finds the key in isocolic reduplication, noting, however, that “on account of the passing over of previously committed sins” mars the perfect symmetry.

The exegetical pay-off is clear: the three *διά*-phrases have parallel meaning, each explicating God’s righteousness revealed through the faithfulness of Christ (Appendix 2 provides the supporting arguments for the subjective genitive). Moreover, the clear christological focus is consistent with what is announced in 1:3–4. Less convincing is the claim that in 1:16–17 Paul takes Hab 2:4 (ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται) as referring to the faithfulness of Christ ὁ δίκαιος (defended in Appendix 1). Although Campbell is on firmer ground in noting that in Rom 3:21–26 “the Cross seems less of a scandal than a final consummation of God’s saving purpose” (p. 199) and in seeing that the believer’s faith is a “muted theme,” in claiming that the doctrine of justification by faith is not present at all (p. 202) he virtually deletes the parenthesis from the content of the passage.

The discussions of the “atonement vocabulary” (chap. 3) and of Paul’s righteousness language (chap. 4), while solid, are not as revisionary as the analysis of structure and syntax. Nonetheless, they do more than provide excellent, concise surveys of the issues that generated the debates across the whole theological spectrum of scholarship; they also argue judiciously toward plausible conclusions. For instance, in maintaining that *ἱλαστήριον* is “a metaphorical description of Christ’s death as . . . sacrifice for sin, in analogy to . . . *Yom Kippur*” (p. 133) and not “mercy seat,” he notes that the absence of the definite article is a datum too ambiguous to be really helpful (p. 111 n. 2). Two additional appendices deal with the date of 4 Maccabees (because it uses *ἱλαστήριον* in 17:22) and with God’s righteousness outside of Romans. The book has a 24-page bibliography as well as indices of passages and authors.

It is in the use of rhetorical figures (parenthesis, epanaphora, and isocola) to address the problem of structure and syntax that Campbell makes his major contribution, for his analysis reopens the question of Paul’s use of fixed tradition far more effectively than the usual recital of objections (though Campbell assembles these as well). At the same time, by restricting the Pauline “origin” of the passage to the “syntactical and theological shaping” done by Paul (pp. 201–2), he wisely implies that Paul depends on modes of thought and vocabulary which were traditional. Should his thesis be sustained, an important item in the reconstruction of Paul’s relation to early Christian theology will need to be revised. In the meantime, no student of Romans can afford to ignore this book.

Leander E. Keck

Yale Divinity School, New Haven, CT 06511

Amt, Gemeinde und kirchliche Einheit in der Apostelgeschichte des Lukas, by Christoph Zettner. European University Studies XXIII, Theology 423. Frankfurt am Main/Bern: Peter Lang, 1991. Pp. lviii + 434. \$65.80 (paper).

In the brief *Forschungsbericht* that introduces his work, Zettner rules out the presence of an exclusive, institutionalized (i.e., “early Catholic”) notion of office-succession in Acts; for Luke conversion and commissioning are God’s work. Never-

theless, he warns against a reactionary undervaluing of the role of office and suggests that the absence of a formal succession principle does not exclude Luke's depiction of a succession to the twelve apostles of another sort.

This study originated as a dissertation directed by Gerhard Schneider and was accepted in 1991 by the Catholic theological faculty of the Ruhr-Universität in Bochum. Zettner locates the distinctiveness of his approach to the office question in his attention to the entire narrative sequence of Acts. His assumption is that Luke's theology and intention are expressed decisively in the organization of his work. Thus Zettner identifies a four-part structure for Acts to serve as the prospectus for his investigation: the church in Jerusalem (1:15–5:42), development of the Gentile mission (6:1–15:35), Paul as an independent missionary (15:36–19:20), and Paul between Jerusalem and Rome (19:21–28:31); the first verses of Acts (1:1–14) function as the introduction to the whole.

Part one (pp. 18–145), "The Twelve Apostles and Peter in the Beginning of the Church" (1:15–5:42), focuses on the narrative of the restoration of the circle of the Twelve in 1:15–26. After a detailed verse-by-verse literary-critical treatment (which concentrates on the separation of tradition from redaction), it discusses the historical background of various elements in the pericope, the passage in the context of Luke-Acts, and office and community in 1:15–26. The section is rounded out with studies of the Twelve apostles (pp. 86–131) and Simon Peter (pp. 132–45) in Luke-Acts and in history. Zettner accentuates the importance of 1:15–26 for Luke's understanding of office by identifying it as the programmatic introduction to the first part of Acts (the introductions to the remaining sections are 6:1–7; 15:36–16:5; and 19:21–22, respectively). That such structural judgments are more art than science, however, is confirmed by a random check of twelve commentators, who discern twelve different basic outlines for Acts; only two of these begin a major section with 1:15, neither of which ends with 5:42.

The second part (pp. 146–300), "The Church Grows—Jerusalem Remains Its Center" (6:1–15:35), first presents an in-depth analysis of 6:1–7 according to the outline established previously (literary criticism, historical background, context, office, and community) along with the question of whether the "Seven" are deacons. Then it treats the Twelve apostles and Peter, Paul in 9:1–30, Paul up to the Apostolic Council, and Jerusalem and church unity.

Part three (pp. 301–408), "The Way to the Worldwide Mission," covers the third and fourth parts of Acts (15:36–19:20; 19:21–28:31). After a discussion of Paul as an independent missionary, it engages in an extended analysis (pp. 327–89) of Paul's address to the Ephesian elders in 20:17–38 (literary criticism, connections with 1 Thessalonians and 1 Peter, possible tradition-historical connections, structure, context, genre, and office and community). Finally it discusses James and the elders, with attention to the Lucan context and the historical classification of Luke's presbyters.

Zettner concludes that while Luke has no abstract concept of office, nevertheless, office is present in Acts insofar as church functions fall to specially designated people. Thus although *diakonia* is not a designation for an office or official position, it nevertheless describes how officeholders fulfill their tasks. Similarly the close connection of *martys* and *didaskain* (and cognates) with particular function-bearers operates to stress genuine teaching and tradition. In the absence of any terminology that would designate officeholders more precisely, Zettner finds the roles of the apostles, Paul, and the presbyters as described throughout Acts to be determinative for Luke's view.

According to Zettner Luke takes pains to depict the “apostolic succession” of new Christian communities/generations (e.g., pp. 379, 419–20). These not only hold to the teaching of the apostles but exhibit a continuous connection with the apostolic generation through the line: apostles — Paul — presbyters. Thus the officeholders of Luke’s time, the presbyters, are successors of the apostles insofar as they are involved in an analogous service of the word and care of the flock. The apostles are not merely general examples for later officeholders but their historical predecessors (pp. 420–21).

Zettner’s work exhibits many admirable characteristics. His critical approach to Acts and the entire range of issues connected with its interpretation is by and large judicious. His framing of the specific issue at hand permits a fresh assessment of Luke’s concern with office(s) without getting bogged down in debate about charismatic community life versus institutionalization. Zettner’s thorough familiarity with the entire text of Luke-Acts is impressive and often employed convincingly to establish points along the way or expose the shortcomings of previous commentary. Interaction with secondary literature is ample without being overdone, but it is restricted to German scholarship for the most part.

Unfortunately, the advancement of Zettner’s argument is encumbered by a fair amount of extraneous discussion in which he fleshes out various ancillary issues (e.g., lot-casting, pp. 46–49), offers extended paraphrastic commentary (e.g., the Cornelius pericope, pp. 209–13), or belabors the discussion of widely accepted perspectives in Lukan scholarship (e.g., the importance of Jerusalem and the Temple, pp. 250–300). The primary goal of elucidating Luke’s “theology of office” (p. 18) from the narrative sequence of Acts is hampered by his decision to delve repeatedly into the historical background (p. 12).

With respect to the principal contention of the book, the key to Zettner’s identification of Luke’s “apostolic succession” emerges from his attention to the larger context, which yields a link between the presbyters of 20:17–38 and the apostles in 1:15–26, forged by Luke’s use of a “presbyter-paraenesis” (esp. pp. 22–25, 31, 37–38, 74, 327–61). Zettner maintains that Acts 26:18 when compared with Col 1:12–14 shows that Luke drew upon an older “text” (p. 23; p. 74 refers to a “source”; elsewhere “tradition” is used), which was also employed in Luke 22:3, 53. This same tradition underlies Acts 1:15–26 and 20:17–35, 1 Pet 4:12–5:8, and is visible in such diverse texts as CD 13:7–12 and *Apostolic Tradition* 3. The correspondence between Acts 20 and 1 Peter 4–5 secures the tradition’s identification as an admonition to presbyters (p. 359).

Where Zettner finds remarkable parallels pointing to a common tradition, others have seen little more than evidence for general paraenetic material. Indeed a number of the correspondences Zettner draws appear overly facile. Words, phrases, and images that he prefers to assign to the “presbyter-paraenesis” may reflect independent use of the Bible. Zettner depends on the connections afforded by this paraenesis, in conjunction with the alleged programmatic significance of 1:15–26, to reveal the “apostolic” nature (esp. pp. 365–81) of the “succession” (e.g., pp. 326, 379–80) of the presbyters in his analysis of 20:17–38. Aside from the question of whether the use of such loaded terminology clarifies Luke’s intention, one must ask whether Luke’s readers would have perceived the underlying tradition in the crucial passages and, if so, whether they would have assessed the implications in the way Zettner has outlined. Certain trends in Luke’s narrative as explicated by Zettner himself suggest negative answers to these queries.

Zettner rightly highlights Luke’s concern to portray continuity between the earliest

church, including the apostles, and the Christian community of Luke's day. He also cogently maintains that neither the apostles nor Paul holds offices that may be passed on to subsequent leaders. He records the disappearance of the apostles from Luke's account after chapter 15 and the corresponding depiction from that point on of Paul as an independent missionary. To be sure Luke is concerned with the continuity of Christian teaching and witness in 20:17–38, but that this is to be specified as “apostolic” and that Paul's role is to mediate its “succession” (e.g., pp. 326, 369) is hardly made explicit by Luke.

Christopher R. Matthews

New Testament Abstracts, Weston School of Theology, Cambridge, MA 02138

The Farewell of the Word: The Johannine Call to Abide, by Fernando F. Segovia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991. Pp. xvi + 341. \$27.95.

The Farewell of the Word is the first of a trilogy of volumes on the Gospel and Epistles of John. The present volume reflects methodological shifts in the discipline and Segovia's appropriation of these shifts since the inception of this volume. Segovia has moved from a redactional, excavative approach to the Farewell discourse that sought to explain it in terms of redactional layers and multiple authors to an integrative approach that views all aspects of the text as facets of “an artistic and strategic whole” (p. viii). Belief in Jesus as the word, for example, is not separated from matters of praxis, as though the two foci of the discourse should be attributed to separate authors and different stages in the Gospel's composition history. Hints at a more recent shift—to a grasp of the necessity for and contours of an intercultural criticism of the text which allows for significant dialogue between the text and the social world of the reader—are also evident in the preface and conclusion of the book.

The first chapter is the theoretical and methodological heart of the book. Segovia regards the Farewell Discourses as an exemplar of a well established type scene in Greco-Roman, Jewish, and Christian literature. In this respect one can see a strong thread of continuity between the books by Talbert and Segovia. Both maintain the necessity and demonstrate the value of reading John with sensitivity to the literary conventions of Greco-Roman as well as Jewish and early Christian writings. Segovia reviews the contributions of recent research on the form and functions of farewell discourses, providing succinct summaries and judicious critiques of the work of E. Stauffer (1950), J. Munck (1950), H.-J. Michel (1973), E. Cortes (1976), and W. S. Kurz (1985). In response, Segovia proposes a comprehensive, integrative analysis that recognizes the constitutive motifs of farewell scenes and seeks to correlate motifs and functions (p. 20). After reviewing the compositional difficulties in the Farewell Discourse, Segovia characterizes six different approaches that have been taken to explain the present text: the historicizing, transpositional, redactional, symbolic, unfinished, and compositional approaches. In the past decade two developments emerged: the extension of the redactional approach in the work of J. Painter and J. Ph. Kaefer, and the displacement of the diachronic approaches in favor a synchronic approach to the text—in the work of Y. Simoens (structural analysis) and G. A. Kennedy (rhetorical criticism). Segovia's work is both synchronic and diachronic, though the primary emphasis is on synchronic analysis of the discourse.

Segovia's integrative approach unfolds in two stages. In the first stage (chapter 2-5), he subjects each part of the discourse to four operations: "delineation of [1] the units of the discourse, [2] literary structure and development of the units of the discourse, [3] literary-rhetorical analysis of the units of the discourse, and [4] strategic concerns and aims of the units of the discourse" (p. 49). The first three steps move progressively from the macro to the micro structures of the discourse, with each step complementing and corroborating the previous one. The fourth step shifts attention from the artistic structure to the rhetorical function of each unit. The second stage (chapter 6) has two steps. The first (synchronic) is to examine the relationship among the major units of the discourse, exposing its coherence as an artistic and rhetorical unit. The second (diachronic) is to analyze the stages in the composition of the Farewell Discourse.

The result is a minutely detailed, judicious, and impressively comprehensive interpretation of the Farewell Discourse. Segovia finds that in the first section (13:31-14:31) "didactic and consolatory functions are primary while exhortative, admonitory, and polemical functions are secondary" (p. 117). In the second section (15:1-17), exhortation and admonition become primary (p. 163). The same is true of the third section (15:18-16:4a), but here the admonitory function prevails (p. 208). The fourth unit (16:4b-33) is closely related to the first and serves a supplementary function. Consolation and teaching are again primary concerns in the final unit (pp. 276-78).

The four components also reflect variously on the rhetorical situation of the Farewell Discourse. The disciples are viewed positively in the first and fourth units. The second unit warns of dangers from within the community, and the third unit warns of dangers from outside the community. The disciples reflect "a community that is deeply embattled and oppressed, in serious danger of rupture and dissolution" (p. 307).

In the conclusion Segovia reviews the appearance and function of the farewell motifs identified by Michel and Stauffer. Finally, he proposes that the Farewell Discourse was composed in three stages: 13:31-14:31; 15:18-16:4a and 16:4b-33; and then 15:1-17. In other words, the section that concentrates on the threat of internal difficulties was the last section to be composed. It foreshadows the schism reflected in the letters. Parenthetically, we may note that Segovia's analysis of the development of the Farewell Discourse serves as a further challenge to the view adopted by Talbert and others that the Epistles preceded the Gospel.

The closing paragraphs project future phases of Segovia's work, including work on the prayer in John 17 and "an exercise in intercultural dialogue from the perspective of liberation and with the aim of liberation" (p. 329). We will follow his work with keen interest, and look forward to the publication of the next volume in this trilogy.

R. Alan Culpepper
Baylor University, Waco, TX 76798-7284

Jesus and the Samaritan Woman: A Speech Act Reading of John 4:1-42, by J. Eugene Botha. NovTSup 65. Leiden: Brill, 1991. Pp. xii + 220. Gld 115.

The multitude of newer critical methods continues to have an impact on current Johannine scholarship in creative and original ways. Botha's book, a revised form of his 1989 University of South Africa dissertation under W. Vorster, is among the most recent examples of that process. In this case, speech act theory is applied to John 4

with special concern for the discernment and description of literary style. Botha maintains that a speech act reading provides a means to overcome what he calls the traditional approach to the style of the Fourth Gospel and thereby achieves a more comprehensive understanding of style. He correctly asserts that there has been little effort to use modern stylistics in assessing Johannine style. Therefore, he undertakes "for the first time in Johannine research, a detailed examination of the style of the Fourth Gospel from a speech act perspective" (p. x).

To accomplish his goal, Botha divides his study into five parts. In the first chapter, he describes and evaluates the various approaches to the style of the Gospel of John in past research. For the most part, these programs have been traditional in the sense that they have been limited to a listing of selected features such as vocabulary, syntax, grammar, and the author's peculiarities regarding each. He shows that this approach is too narrow yet has remained unchanged since the end of the previous century. He then moves in the second chapter to a brief summary of contemporary stylistics. Considering these studies, style is to be understood in terms of the speaker or author's choices made within a concrete context to achieve successful communication in that context. The third chapter explores Johannine style in general from the perspective of both stylistics and speech act theory. Here Botha summarizes speech act theory and tries to explain its unique features and distinctive categories. Dealing with utterance rather than sentences, the theory emphasizes that speech performs acts that may be classified as locution, illocution, and perlocution. But it is done within the context of shared knowledge and certain principles. Such an understanding of speech offers some advantages for the study of style, most importantly its broad inclusion of a variety of concepts. This chapter concludes with preliminary concerns for the theory's application to John 4, with special attention given to the relationship between speech act reading and the newer literary methods of biblical interpretation.

The fourth and longest chapter is a speech act interpretation of the encounter between Jesus and the Samaritan woman. At this point Botha defines discrete units in the dialogue structure of the narrative and deals with each in turn. He does so with considerable apology, for he insists that a speech act reading usually ought to deal with the entirety of a literary document. His reading of each unit involves some general introduction and a brief summary of its contents, invoking his method's categories of classification for the portions of the unit. A few of his concerns in reading the units include its Samaritan context, characters, the use and absence of certain maxims for communication, as well as the presence of the performatives.

Finally, in what I found to be the most fascinating of the chapters, Botha concludes with observations on what has been accomplished in his enterprise. There he claims that speech act theory teaches us "to consider utterances in terms of their success" and that John 4 is "a very successful unit of communication" (p. 189). He concludes that style involves "the total communication of the text, carried by a multitude of aspects in combination" (p. 199). Along the way in this final chapter he summarizes the means by which the literary speech of the chapter achieves the readers' involvement, unstabbling them and repeatedly forcing them to formulate the meaning of the passage for themselves, while ever forcing them to reevaluate their formulations. It is here, too, that he reviews the intertexts of the text.

I was impressed by this study in several ways. Not least of all, Botha has dared to read a well-worn text with new eyes. If nothing else were accomplished by this book,

we would have to conclude at least that it is innovative. But I was struck, too, by the fact that the author demonstrated that his understanding of speech act reading employs the concerns of a number of other new literary methods. He easily accommodates the methods of reader response, narratology, structuralism, and to some degree even deconstruction. Yet he is careful to say that his method does not exclude historical questions. Implicitly Botha claims that speech act theory allows the interpreter to absorb other methods without doing violence either to them or his basic theory itself. Furthermore, he convinces me that what he calls the "traditional approach" to Johannine style is far too constricted and limited in its concerns and results. His approach opens the whole issue of Johannine style for more exhaustive research.

This is not to say that Botha will convert all of us to speech act theory! The method still seems to me to labor under its own burden with its analytical categories that sometimes seem to belabor the obvious. Still, we are in need of a methodology that frees us from a one dimensional reading of the text and provides a framework within which to employ the strengths of a number of different methodological approaches. Botha may accomplish that inclusion too easily without taking into account the fundamentally different presuppositions of some of the methods he enlists in a secondary role. I had to wonder if the intertextuality of a post-structuralism can live happily ever after its absorption into a method that honors the validity of historical critical concerns. Nonetheless, a modified speech act theory holds considerable promise of being methodologically eclectic. But there may yet be other and preferable ways to accomplish that goal. Until then, Botha's work should prove interesting to all students of the Fourth Gospel and provide a context within which the long and difficult methodological discussion might continue.

Robert Kysar

The Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, PA 19002

By What Law? The Meaning of Νόμος in the Letters of Paul, by Michael Winger. SBLDS 128. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1992. Pp. xiv + 236. \$44.95/\$29.95 (\$29.95/\$19.95 members).

Ever since E. P. Sanders published his ground-breaking book *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), the debate over Paul's conception of the law has been at the forefront in Pauline scholarship. Michael Winger, in this dissertation completed at Union Theological Seminary under Robin Scroggs, attempts to determine the meaning of the term νόμος in the letters generally accepted as Pauline. The substance of the book (chapters 2 through 4) is devoted to discerning the "meaning" of and "referents" for the term νόμος. The basic conclusions reached regarding meaning and reference are elucidated in chapters 5 and 6 through an intensive study of νόμος in Gal 2:15-21 and Rom 7:14-25.

One of the virtues of this work is the linguistic study of the term "law" in Paul. Winger uses the methodology of lexical semantics in his attempt to discover more precisely the meaning of and referents for the term νόμος in the undisputed Pauline letters. The methodology used enables Winger to approach traditional texts from a fresh perspective. For instance, he groups the syntagmatic patterns of νόμος into seven categories in order to establish its meaning: the law (1) speaks and is perceived; (2) is

a standard of judgment; (3) is a guide to conduct; (4) controls; (5) is tied to a particular people; (6) has a source; and (7) is something under which people put themselves.

The seven components listed above comprise the meaning of the law, according to Winger, but to what does νόμος refer in the undisputed Pauline letters? He argues that in the majority of cases that the νόμος refers to the Jewish law, although there are also instances in the letters (e.g., Rom 3:27; 7:22, 23, etc.) in which the term is used in a more general sense. Since Paul uses νόμος both of the Jewish law and of law generally, Winger concludes that the Pauline conception of Jewish νόμος is shaped by his universal comprehension of νόμος. In other words, the overarching category was the general conception of law which was common to various peoples. The Jewish law is simply a subcategory of law in general. What distinguishes the Jewish law from the law in Gentile cultures is that the Jewish νόμος describes what Jewish people do, or at least what their law says they "should" do. The "law" in other cultural groups describes what is practiced by people in their various settings. What is unique about "Jewish" law is that it depicts what is practiced in Jewish culture.

Winger's work is instructive methodologically, for there is a significant need for scholars with a knowledge of linguistics to bring their expertise to biblical literature. Despite the value of many of his insights, the central theses of the work, in my opinion, are either not persuasive, or they are not of much help in understanding Paul. For example, much of the book hangs on the seven components of meaning established by Winger, but the adequacy of these seven categories is questionable. It is instructive and important to note the specific wording associated with νόμος in the various passages; viz., it speaks, testifies, brings wrath, is transgressed, etc. But Winger seems to assume too quickly that the wording associated with νόμος is the key to assigning it to a particular category. In other words, the various categories are assigned too easily on the basis of the syntagmatic patterns. Much more exegetical work is needed to support the validity of these categories. One example will have to suffice. Winger assigns 1 Cor 9:8; 14:34; and Rom 7:7 to the "verbal" category because the law "says" something in these texts. It is doubtful, though, that this is the salient feature of these texts. I would argue instead that what is prominent in each of these passages is that a "command" of the law is given. Winger's work is not sophisticated enough linguistically, for he moves too quickly from syntagmatic patterns to the delineation of categories. A convincing linguistic analysis of νόμος must be rooted in exegesis which takes the entire context into account. The specific wording associated with νόμος is not necessarily crucial for placing it into a particular category. Such decisions must be exegetically vindicated.

The distinctive contribution of Winger lies in his conclusion that the Jewish νόμος refers to what the Jewish people do. Thereby he can offer an explanation as to why Paul refuses to impose the law on Gentiles. The νόμος for Paul is the "Jewish" law, and it does not make any sense to demand Gentiles to keep the Jewish law. The reason the Gentiles are free from the "law" is because it is not theirs.

The definition suggested by Winger is not so much wrong (although Winger's claim [p. 100] that Jewish oral traditions are included in Paul's view of the law is highly questionable) as it is incomplete and remarkably reductionistic. The Jewish law does describe what the Jews do, but the question is whether this is the salient point in Paul's use of νόμος. Winger's study goes astray in that he minimizes again and again the divine origin of the law for Paul (pp. 99, 111–12, 123, 153, 167, 199, 201). Paul believed the Jewish law was qualitatively different from the law of other peoples because the Jewish

law was from God. Paul's struggle with his opponents and his churches on an issue like circumcision was so difficult precisely because he was persuaded that the Torah was God's Torah. His task would have been much simpler if he had merely believed that the Jewish νόμος was not binding on Gentiles because it belonged only to the Jews. Instead, Paul tried to show why a law which came from God was no longer binding on the Gentiles. Indeed, the whole discussion is even more complex because he also claims that Gentile believers should keep the law (Gal 5:14; Rom 8:4; 13:8–10). Winger (pp. 111, 199–200) waves this problem away too easily by asserting that there can be no distinctions in the law and by claiming that this poses no problem for his definition of the law. But if Paul believed that Gentiles should keep at least some of the law, then Winger's view that the Gentiles do not have to keep the law because it is Jewish collapses.

Winger's study is helpful in that it reminds us that any definition of νόμος in Paul must be established on an adequate linguistic basis. His own work, however, suffers from a facile use of lexical semantics. The reduction of the law to sociological categories also fails to convince. No solution which eliminates or downplays the theological dimension from νόμος in Paul is satisfactory.

Thomas R. Schreiner

Bethel Theological Seminary, St. Paul, MN 55112

Paulus als Weisheitslehrer: Der Gekreuzigte und die Weisheit Gottes in 1 Kor 1–4, by Joachim Theis. Biblische Untersuchungen 22. Regensburg: Pustet, 1991. Pp. v + 575. DM 58 (paper).

The key points of this somewhat rambling and repetitious dissertation (submitted to J. Eckert at Trier) can be boiled down as follows: (1) Paul was both a recipient and critical interpreter of certain themes of the Jewish wisdom tradition; (2) he understood himself as called to be a teacher of Christian wisdom; (3) although he is concerned in 1 Corinthians 1–4 to correct the understanding of wisdom current among the Corinthians (who have been influenced by Alexandrian Judaism, perhaps via Apollos), he is not merely reacting to opposing views but setting out his own carefully reasoned understanding of God's wisdom; and (4) Paul's indebtedness to the wisdom tradition plays a role even in passages where wisdom is not his theme.

Theis begins with a critical review of research on Paul's understanding of σοφία in 1 Corinthians 1–4 (pp. 10–114). The issue he sees emerging from previous studies is whether Paul's idea of wisdom was formulated under the influence of (and yet in distinction from) Gnostic conceptions; or whether, instead, the apostle took over Jewish wisdom theology in a way that allowed his own theological understanding to find expression. The remaining chapters are devoted to this issue and in particular to a defense and elucidation of the latter view.

In chapter 2 Theis offers an exegetical analysis of 1 Cor 1:18–3:4, focusing especially on what Paul has to say about the wisdom of God and its manifestation in "the word of the cross" (pp. 115–282). The latter, he notes, is set over against the λόγος σοφίας as that is conceived (presumably) by the "Apollos group" in Corinth. Yet Theis believes that the care with which this section of the letter has been composed shows that the ideas developed in it are basic to Paul's own thought, not just ad hoc responses to Corinthian notions. He also suggests—but defers the documentation until chapter

3—that Paul’s conception of God’s wisdom is indebted to four prominent Hellenistic-Jewish ideas: that after a brief appearance in the world wisdom withdrew into heaven, where it is accessible only to the elect; that it is hidden with God; that it has a role in creation; and that it has a role in revelation. These themes are drawn together, according to Theis, in Paul’s conception of “the word of the cross” as the true wisdom of God.

Chapter 3 (pp. 283–476) is the most important part of Theis’s study, especially because he identifies pertinent texts from the Jewish wisdom tradition and seeks to relate those, in more detail, to Pauline conceptions. In dealing with the wisdom tradition, and also with the Pauline texts, he draws heavily—although not uncritically—on the work of others; thus, in this chapter his own contribution is largely to synthesize the results of earlier studies. He especially emphasizes the importance for Pauline Christology of traditional ideas about the hiddenness of wisdom, its disappearance, and its preexistence. These he relates particularly to Paul’s affirmations about Christ’s having been sent from God, the incarnation, and God’s saving action in Christ, arguing that wisdom themes have been taken over and adapted not only in 1 Corinthians 1–4, but also in such passages as 1 Cor 10:1–8; 15:21, 44–47; Rom 8:3, 4–9; 11:33–36; 2 Cor 5:15; Gal 4:4; and Phil 2:6–11. At the same time, Theis emphasizes the fundamental ways in which Paul departed from the wisdom tradition—above all, by rejecting the law as the place where God’s wisdom is disclosed and relocating that to the cross.

In the fourth and final chapter (pp. 477–521) the results of the study are summarized and drawn together. Although Paul stands within the wisdom tradition (Christ is proclaimed as the bearer of God’s wisdom, the mediator between God and humanity, preexistent, active in both creation and redemption, and is closely identified with the Spirit), he is also sharply critical of that tradition as it has been appropriated among the Corinthians. In contrast to Corinthian views, Paul teaches that God’s wisdom is present only in the word of the cross and is thus not accessible to merely human understanding. Yet Theis also argues that, despite his criticism of the traditional Jewish and current Corinthian views of wisdom, Paul understood himself—from the time of his conversion—as called to be a teacher of the “Christian wisdom” represented by the kerygma.

This book addresses an important topic, and in doing so it assembles many of the pertinent primary texts as well as the results of many earlier studies. While Paul’s indebtedness to the wisdom tradition has been long and widely recognized (attested by the lengthy bibliography), Theis’s study helps to document and clarify that indebtedness and to show something of its extent.

The author is less successful, however, in establishing those points which are most distinctively his own: that wisdom themes were integral to and pervasive of Paul’s preaching, quite apart from the Corinthian situation (he does not hesitate to refer to the apostle’s *Weisheitsverkündigung*, e.g., pp. 283, 477), and that from the beginning Paul conceived his role to be that of a teacher of Christian wisdom. The fact remains that 1 Corinthians is the only letter in which σοφία is a specific theme and that 1 Cor 2:6–16 is the only passage in which Paul says anything about his having wisdom to convey. And where, in any of his references or allusions to his apostolic (!) call, is there evidence that he understood it to have involved a revelation of Christ as specifically God’s *wisdom*, and his own endowment with the Spirit in order to proclaim that wisdom (thus Theis, pp. 515, 517)? At least on these points the author tends to over-read the

texts. One example is his citing 2 Cor 2:14b–16 as a clear indication that Paul's self-understanding matched that of Jewish wisdom teachers (p. 508). In this passage Paul comments on his spreading abroad "the fragrance" of his knowledge of Christ; but, *pace* Theis, this image had no specific or exclusive connection with the Jewish wisdom tradition (nor is this claimed by Bultmann, whom Theis footnotes). In other cases, as well, evidence is pressed too far in order to sustain views which, more provisionally and carefully advanced, would at least be worth further investigation and discussion.

In sum, there is both more and less than meets the eye in this study: less, because the author's most distinctive points could have been set forth and argued in a much more focused (and thus perhaps also persuasive) way; but also more, because those who are patient enough to abide the prolixity and redundancies will come away with a better sense of the affinities between Paul's thought and the wisdom tradition. (The book's wordiness is not helped by the fact that one paragraph is printed twice [p. 294]; yet the consistent spelling, "J. B. Lightfoot," does provide some comic relief!)

Victor Paul Furnish

Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University,
Dallas, TX 75275-0133

Judgment and Community Conflict: Paul's Use of Apocalyptic Judgment Language in 1 Corinthians 3:5–4:5, by David W. Kuck. NovTSup 66. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992. Pp. xiii + 318. Gld 150.

David W. Kuck has written an able and careful study, originally a 1989 Yale University dissertation (under W. Meeks), of that section of 1 Corinthians in which Paul speaks of differences in the rewards which will be given to those who are saved at the final judgment. His focus is on the "rhetorical function" of the images of differential reward, and his conclusion is that Paul was not engaged in defending himself nor in criticizing a form of over-realized eschatology, but was using the eschatological language with a strong and consistent focus on the overcoming of divisions in the community, that is, on the ethical function of the judgment images.

Studies of 1 Corinthians are faced with the difficulty that we are hearing only one side of the conversation; many have been led into the temptation of interpreting Paul on the basis of an elaborate if fragile picture of that to which he must have been responding. It is impossible to read 1 Corinthians without forming some picture of what it was with which Paul was dealing. But Kuck has followed the wiser course of concentrating on the text, its internal relations, and what can best be understood as the intended effect on the audience (this last, of course, implies forming a picture of the community). His rhetorical analysis is supported by a thorough study of reward language in Jewish and Hellenistic literature, and by an extensive and judicious survey of previous work. The rhetorical analysis is backed also by a careful exegetical review of 1 Cor 3:4–4:5 as well of as the relevant sections of chapters 1 to 4 and of some other Pauline judgment passages.

Rhetorical study may emphasize either the structure of the text or the intended ("pragmatic") effect on the reader or hearer. Kuck explores both of these emphases. Particularly impressive on the structural side is his demonstration that 1 Cor 1:10–4:21 has a strong internal coherence (not seen by many commentators) once its rhetorical

function is grasped. But his main attention is on the pragmatics of the text, the effect that Paul wanted to achieve. He sees the overcoming of strife within the community as the main purpose; the discussion of wisdom is complementary to this. The *pneumatikoi* were not a unified group, but rather individuals who sought status by showing their wisdom; this is the reason why wisdom appears so prominently.

Kuck shows that the point of the comparison of Paul and Apollos cannot be that they represented different types of theology, one of which Paul approved; the point is simply that their differences in function, while real, are comprehended in their unity in Christ. We may take Paul at face value when he emphasized his unity with Apollos; the trouble was not with the leaders but with the followers who used adherence to one or another in seeking status. This tendency was a translation into the Corinthian community of a common Hellenistic view of the wise as constituting an elite, rather than a manifestation of an esoteric theology. It is the tendency to set oneself up above others that Paul opposes, but no critique of Apollos or any other leader is implied. Paul brings himself into the discussion not because he felt threatened, but as a model of what is expected of all (a familiar rhetorical move at the time).

In an earlier time, detailed historical studies were usually oriented by theological questions. Since it was very widely held that the center of Paul's theology was most clearly expressed in Romans and Galatians, as justification by faith, the Corinthian correspondence, with its strong emphasis on ethical action and its consequences, was often forced into a formal coherence with this center of Paul's thought or regarded as a secondary strand that did not illuminate the center. Kuck, like many scholars today, shifts the ground of this discussion, by taking a more pluralistic view of Paul's thought. He sees judgment language as serving two functions for Paul. In one of these, the separation between the Christian community which would be saved and the outside world which would be destroyed gave courage and coherence to the life of a minority community. The other function, derived more from Hellenistic culture though also manifested in some Jewish documents of the period, emphasized the judgment of the individual as a warrant for ethical action. The unusual feature of differential reward, of course, belongs in this second type. The point of the differential reward was, as Paul made very clear, precisely to free the community to welcome diversity, since its members did not have to enforce a judgment which belongs to God alone. Images that could have been used as the motivation of an elite who would receive higher rewards at the judgment are actually used by Paul to encourage a letting-go of such distinctions; let the Lord judge. Thus, in Paul's use, images of differential reward function to emphasize both human responsibility and the divine gift. How to understand the interplay of these two themes, divine gift and human effort, remains the central question in Pauline theology.

The strength of Kuck's rhetorical approach can be seen in its success in showing the coherence and sequence of thought of a section which has often been seen as rather episodic. He is effective in showing how Paul turns eschatological language toward an urgent behavioral problem in the community. The book exemplifies a trend, ably represented for some time by Kuck's teacher, Wayne A. Meeks, to turn toward the pragmatics of NT texts and their function in social situations.

This shift does not mean ignoring the older theological concerns. In the section under discussion, Paul was turning convictions about God's judgment to ethical applications. To do this presupposes that the beliefs have power because they are valid.

The language of last judgment expresses the conviction that God's action is one of the determining factors in life; last judgment language makes it possible to affirm this even when divine action is not perceptible in the present. How the biblical theologian and the contemporary theologian will deal with these issues is all the more an urgent issue when the pragmatic power of these beliefs is seen.

William A. Beardslee

Center for Process Studies, Claremont, CA 91711

Galatians, by Richard N. Longenecker. WBC 41. Dallas, TX. Word, 1990. Pp. cxx + 323. \$24.99.

The Word Biblical Commentary has already established itself as a respected and scholarly series, a reputation which the publication of Richard N. Longenecker's commentary on Galatians will surely confirm. The commentary proper follows the familiar format of the series: the author's translation of and critical notes on the text, a discussion of form, structure, and setting, a verse-by-verse commentary in which the Greek text is reproduced and a concluding explanation meant to summarize the meaning of the author's detailed exegesis. In an extended introduction, Longenecker reviews the impact of Galatians on Christian thought and action, then deals with questions of authorship, date, opponents and situation, concluding with a discussion of the epistolary and rhetorical structure of Galatians. My comments will first consider Longenecker's introduction and then turn to his exegesis.

In his historical review of Galatians, Longenecker investigates how this letter was understood by Marcion, Tertullian, the Gnostics (particularly the Valentinians), Clement of Alexandria, Origen, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, other Greek and Latin commentators, Luther, Calvin, and representatives of the modern period. This historical review is refreshing and informative because of the attention and care it gives to the patristic period. A similar treatment of representative medieval commentators such as Aquinas, however, would have greatly enhanced this survey.

As regards authorship, Longenecker believes that Paul employed a secretary, perhaps one of the *adelphoi* mentioned in 1:2, who had more input into the composition of Galatians than merely writing it down. Exactly what this input was, however, is not determined. In discussing the letter's audience, Longenecker provides an informative review of the North and South Galatian hypotheses, concluding that the question boils down to historical, exegetical, and chronological issues. Convinced by the historical arguments of W. M. Ramsay and the exegetical arguments of E. de Witt Burton, he supports the South Galatian hypothesis. He argues that since Barnabas was Paul's earlier missionary companion and Timothy his later companion, Paul's failure to mention Timothy in Galatians, and repeated references to Barnabas, provide strong circumstantial evidence against the North Galatian hypothesis. Overall, Longenecker prefers Luke's framework for Paul's Jerusalem visits to a reconstruction of Acts such as proposed by John Knox, maintaining that Gal 2:1-10 should be identified with Acts 11:27-30 (the so-called famine visit). In his view, Paul wrote Galatians on the eve of the Jerusalem Council before the issues arising from the Antioch incident were resolved.

According to Longenecker, Paul's opponents at Galatia were Christian Jews from Jerusalem who probably claimed to be completing Paul's message rather than opposing it. Their own message stressed "the need for Gentiles to be circumcised and to keep the rudiments of the cultic calendar, both for full acceptance by God and as a proper Christian lifestyle" (p. xcvi). Central to their teaching was an attempt "to discredit Paul's apostolic credentials" (p. xcvi), an insistence upon being rightly related to Abraham and the covenant God established with him, a charge that Paul preached and practiced circumcision, and an emphasis upon the Jewish law as a way to check libertinism within the church. One wonders, however, if Longenecker has not read more into the text than he needs to at this point. Do frequent references to the flesh necessarily mean that there was a problem of libertinism at Galatia? And is Paul defending his apostolic credentials in chapters 1-2, or is he establishing the foundation of his Torah-free gospel by recounting the divine nature of his call?

Finally, in regard to the literary genre of Galatians, Longenecker questions Betz's thesis that Galatians is an apologetic letter. Analyzing the epistolary and rhetorical structures of Galatians, he maintains that it is a mixture of genres with the following structure: *Salutation* (1:1-5); *Rebuke Section*, with the inclusion of autobiographical details and theological arguments (1:6-4:11); *Request Section*, with the inclusion of personal, scriptural, and ethical appeals (4:12-6:10); and *Subscription* (6:11-18). This rhetorical analysis is foundational for Longenecker's exegesis and provides his own justification for his commentary on Galatians. Although I am not convinced that the parenesis of Galatians begins as early as he maintains, I readily acknowledge that his rhetorical analysis has made an important contribution to the study of this letter.

Longenecker's commentary on the text is thorough in every respect. He pays careful attention to philology as well as matters of form and structure. While commentators will disagree with particular exegetical decisions, they will acknowledge that his exegesis is balanced and well informed. Among the more interesting of his exegetical decisions is the interpretation of *pistis Iēsou Christou* (2:16). Here he sides with a series of recent authors who argue for the subjective genitive, the faith of Jesus Christ: "the perfect response of obedience that Jesus rendered to God the Father, both actively in his life and passively in his death" (p. 87). Longenecker makes the same exegetical decision in 3:22; and then in 3:23, where there is a definite article before *pistis* (often omitted in translation), he explains that Paul does not mean faith generally. Rather, it is "the particular faith referred to in v. 22b that has to do with 'the faithfulness of Jesus Christ' and humanity's response to faith" (p. 145). Thus Longenecker becomes, to the best of my knowledge, the first major commentator of Galatians to interpret *pistis Iēsou Christou* as a subjective genitive.

In his interpretation of the works of the law Longenecker tries to find middle ground between the Reformation notion of "good works" and the approach of some contemporary scholars who view the works of the law as "the distinctive Jewish identity markers of circumcision, dietary regulations, and sabbath observance, which were viewed more as 'badges of covenantal nomism' than meritorious acts" (p. 86). Longenecker distinguishes between legalism and a nomistic lifestyle which he sees as the real danger at Galatia. But in my view his understanding of the works of the law remains tied to the notion of a legalism, especially when he interprets works of the law as a "catch phrase to signal the whole legalistic complex of ideas having to do with winning God's favor by a merit-amassing observance of Torah" (p. 86).

No one should agree with everything written in a commentary, unless that person is the author of the commentary. Commentators write to shed new light on old problems, and thanks to this commentary our understanding of Galatians is advanced. Longenecker's work deserves a serious reading and, in my judgment, has earned a place alongside the great commentaries of Burton, Schlier, Mussner, Betz, and Bruce.

Frank J. Matera

The Catholic University of America, Washington, DC 20064

Der Brief an die Hebräer und das Corpus paulinum: Eine linguistische "Bruchstelle" im Codex Claromontanus (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Grec 107 + 170A = 107B) und ihre Bedeutung im Rahmen von Text- und Kanongeschichte, by Reinhard Franz Schlossnikel. *Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinische Bibel* 20. Freiburg: Herder, 1991. Pp. 193. N.P. (paper).

This book deals with the Latin text of the bilingual parchment manuscript of the Pauline Letters, known as codex Claromontanus (D), which formerly belonged to Theodore Beza but later was acquired by Louis XIV for the Royal Library at Paris. Written on 533 leaves of the thinnest and finest vellum, the Greek and Latin texts stand on opposite pages in stichometrical format, corresponding to the pauses in the sense. The manuscript is generally assigned to the ninth century, and may have been written, as several scholars have suggested, in Sardinia, since its Latin text is nearly identical with that used by Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari, in the fourth century. The text has been corrected by no fewer than nine different hands, the fourth of which (about the ninth century) added the breathings and accents. One of the peculiarities of the codex is a gap of four pages between Philemon and Hebrews.

Schlossnikel, following several years of work at the Vetus Latina Institute at the Monastery of Beuron, presented the research in this book as a dissertation for the Th.D. degree at the Catholic Theological faculty of Tübingen University. His purpose was to test the validity of A. C. Clark's opinion that codex Claromontanus has a composite character evidenced by the text of the Hebrews which is linguistically very different from the rest of the Epistles. Although many scholars have dealt with various aspects of codex Claromontanus, no one has hitherto made a comprehensive and detailed comparison of the Latin vocabulary used in Hebrews with that used in the thirteen letters attributed to Paul. This is the task which Schlossnikel undertakes.

First, the author identifies 69 instances of Greek words where the translation in Hebrews is strikingly different from that (or those) in the Paulines. These instances are set aside as probably arising from the translation of a different Greek and therefore not apropos for the present analysis. Next, after setting aside 18 other instances as inadmissible—for one reason or another—in proving diversity of the translation process, Schlossnikel is left with 559 instances where appropriate comparison can be made as to the Latin rendering of the same Greek word used by Hebrews and by the Paulines. The result of such comparison is 113 instances (i.e., 20.21 percent) involving a special choice of words in the Latin text of Hebrews as against 433 instances (i.e., 77.46 percent) where a Greek word is rendered in the same way in both Hebrews and in the Paulines. Schlossnikel interprets these statistics as clear proof that "der Wortschatz von Pls ist ein anderer als der von Hbs" (p. 122). Since it does not appear that

the 113 differences have arisen because a divergent Greek text was followed, but are really of inner-Latin origin, the author concludes that the translator of Hebrews was not identical with the translator of the Paulines (p. 124). Furthermore, the composite character of Claromontanus so far as Hebrews is concerned reflects the historical situation as regards to the NT canon, namely, that in the West the Letter to the Hebrews had difficulty in being accepted as authoritative and was added subsequently to the Pauline corpus.

By way of evaluating Schlossnikel's monograph, one can say with assurance that his careful research has raised Clark's opinion concerning the Latin text of Hebrews in codex Claromontanus from the level of hunch to that of virtual certainty.

Bruce M. Metzger

Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, NJ 08542

Die Pastoralbriefe, by Helmut Merkel. NTD 9/1. Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991. Pp. 114. N.P. (paper).

This contribution to NTD replaces Joachim Jeremias's commentary on the Pastoral epistles. Himself a student of the synoptics and what he thought of as their Palestinian matrix, Jeremias iconoclastically embraced the Pastorals' *prima facie Sitz im Leben*, not only accepting Pauline authorship, but interpreting this Paul in continuity with the Jesus tradition. Merkel, a student of the use of the synoptic tradition by the apostolic fathers, believes the Pastorals emerged during the third generation of the church (ca. 100 CE) as an attempt by a student or school of Paul to establish the apostle's legacy for that generation.

The commentary consists of twelve pages of introduction, followed by a verse-by-verse exposition interlaced with three brief excursuses (ordination, inspiration, and church office). What Merkel envisions is that in this third generation of Christianity a vacuum of authority has emerged in some churches of Asia Minor (pp. 9–10). That vacuum has seen the rise of an inchoate Gnosticism characterized by asceticism, speculative exegesis of the OT, and realized eschatology (p. 10). Each of the letters, then, sets about ensuring the Pauline succession in a specific way.

1 Timothy speaks primarily to the internal order of the churches. Merkel contends that the Pastoral churches are governed by a council of elders, dignitaries with distinct spheres of responsibility and levels of expertise. The author of the Pastorals intends to overlay on this holdover from synagogue government Paul's system of bishop(s) and deacons, a system he had derived from the Hellenistic associations, and one which had served him well in his mission churches (p. 12). The crisis the Pastoral churches are facing requires a tighter organization and especially a congregation leader with the authority to make theological judgments. Thus, though not eliminated, the council of elders is pushed into the background, while the bishop is granted disciplinary power over the elders (5:19–21), and the right to ordain officers of the church (5:22, 24–25; see also Titus 1:5–9; pp. 13, 44–45, 90–93).

The thesis has some loose ends. Merkel reads rather much into the commending of aspiration to the (to him, new) bishopric over and against the simple assumption of elders and an elder board. If these documents are as late and their recipients as at home in contemporary social life as Merkel asserts, it is difficult to imagine Paul's

office of bishop/overseer being a recent innovation — especially when in Acts (under Merkel's reconstruction, contemporary to the Pastorals) elders are called bishops (20:28). The transition from "elders" to "the bishop/overseer" in Titus 1:5–7 has been deemed so seamless by many as to call for the inference that one and the same office is in mind.

2 Timothy seeks to rehabilitate the persona of Paul as one worthy of emulation by congregational leaders. The letter takes the form of testament, creating the atmosphere of ancient friendship letters; the personal notes function here in the same way they do in other pseudepigraphical letters (as Donelson has demonstrated with the Cynic epistles) to create the impression of verisimilitude. The impact of the literature on contemporary pseudepigraphy and the Pastorals is evident and laudatory (especially Fiore in addition to Donelson). But no attention is given to the dynamic of the author's gaining an audience for his fiction.

The letter to Titus, the *Sitz im Leben* for which is a missionary situation, is designed to ensure the support of Pauline itinerants. Merkel surmises, for instance, that Apollos and Zenas are traveling evangelists (on the order of Matt 10 and parallels, and *Did.* 11–15). He sees in the instruction that all "our people" be engaged in good deeds a generalizing of the obligation to support itinerants who stand in the Pauline tradition. Appealing to the problem of hospitality in 3 John, Merkel sees the Pastorals' author as speaking to a conflict situation in which it needs to be made clear that wandering missionaries of the Pauline circle ought to be supported and integrated into the local congregation (p. 107). This is a pregnant suggestion and begs for further exploration of the sociological dimensions of these texts' dominant metaphor: the household of God, of which the hospitality motif is a corollary. (Two unfortunate bibliographical omissions must be mentioned: David C. Verner, *The Household of God* [Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983]; and Margaret Y. MacDonald, *The Pauline Churches* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988]).

Perhaps more characteristic of this volume than anything else is its ambivalence toward the Pastorals' reclamation of the Pauline legacy. On the one hand, Merkel recognizes that the increased sizes of the churches and the need for teachers in the Pauline stream to fight these false teachers have occasioned a certain "shift in accent" (pp. 93, 105), thus resulting in a pragmatic reform of offices (p. 93) and the recasting of Paul's theology and vocabulary (pp. 58–59). At the same time, Merkel bemoans the fact that the next generation's move to office as a "divine right" (Ignatius, *Ephesians*) is at least not hindered here (p. 93) and that the church has to trade in Paul's argumentative style for one of mere denunciation because the church is simply not equal to the more refined ways Gnostics appropriate ancient texts (p. 67).

A number of specifics are curious and subject to challenge — e.g., that an Enoch tradition rather than Jeremias's Egyptian enthronement underlies 1 Tim 3:16 (pp. 34–35); that prayer for the dead Onesimus establishes the biblical possibility of intercessions for the dead (p. 61); that the Christology of Titus 2:13 is subordinationist (pp. 99–100) — but the terseness of the NTD format does not encourage detailed argumentation. The point is the overall construal of the letters as an attempt to transpose Paul's theology, ecclesiology, and persona for a new day. Under the assumption of inauthenticity, something like Merkel's scenario must have been played out. It is the virtue of this commentary that it makes a concise and creditable stab at envisioning what such a writer must have been attempting. However, even though this

work is more in step with consensus scholarship since Jeremias, it is questionable whether it will attain the status of its predecessor.

Reggie M. Kidd

Reformed Theological Seminary/Orlando, Maitland, FL 32751

Die Clemensbriefe, by Andreas Lindemann. HNT 17, Die Apostolischen Väter 1. Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1992. Pp. vi + 277. DM 59.00 (paper).

The distinguished and useful *Handbuch* commentaries to the NT founded by Hans Lietzmann included a series of works on the Apostolic Fathers that in some cases were more distinguished and useful than many of the commentaries on the books of the NT itself. These works on the Apostolic Fathers are now being thoroughly revised or (as in the case before us) completely rewritten. The original contribution by R. Knopf (1920) covered the *Didache* as well as *1-2 Clement*. The present volume wisely includes only the two writings of Clement.

This is an impressive work that surely represents the best commentary on *1-2 Clement* that we now have. The author has absorbed a wide range of scholarship and has presented its findings in a careful and balanced form. The commentary contains much philological detail (especially in connection with the use of biblical materials), a thorough presentation of the relevant Jewish and Hellenistic parallels, and adequate exegetical and theological discussion (the latter goes considerably beyond, though not excessively beyond, the meager limits of many of the works in the original *Handbuch* series). In general, the commentary leans to an affirmation of the continuity between *1 Clement* and Paul. It avoids overestimating the evidence of the use of fixed liturgical forms in the letter. And it rightly distances itself from the more tenuous traditio-historical connections elaborated by K. Beyschlag in his study of the Jewish background to *1 Clement*. With reference to the Hellenistic, especially Stoic, elements in the letter (e.g., in the famous description of the cosmos in chapter 20), the emphasis is on the extent to which *1 Clement* gives the material a more biblical twist (e.g., *1 Clement* substitutes a theocentric for an anthropocentric view in chapter 20).

These perspectives are to be welcomed in a field where the diversity of viewpoints in the early church and the sharpness of the break between the NT and later writings have often been exaggerated. Important questions, however, seem not always to have been fully faced by Lindemann. It is argued, for example, that the Pauline schema of the "indicative" and the "imperative" is what accounts for the apparently contradictory accounts of faith and works in *1 Clement*. At the same time, it is admitted that "faith" for *1 Clement* cannot be what it is for Paul since in *1 Clement* "faith" is parallel to "trust" and "humility" (p. 31). It is hard to know what to make of such claims, and more elaborate discussion seems to be required. Similarly, it is probably not enough to point to the purpose of the letter to account for the way in which Christ and his redeeming work recede into the background in *1 Clement*. For others who dealt with similar situations did not find it difficult to keep the image of Christ more directly before the eyes of their audience. It still remains somewhat mysterious to this reader why the spirituality of the letter appears so relatively thin when a richer range of possibilities seems to have lain readily at hand.

A possibly related point is that the commentary, in my view, does not make enough of the background to words like "faction" and "concord" in the discussion of civic ideals in the Hellenistic world. The study of such language by Mikat (1969) is noted but does not affect the treatment of the letter as a whole. The even more persuasive study by van Unnik (1970) of the same themes is apparently known to Lindemann but does not figure in the discussion either. When these and other elements in *1 Clement* are more fully exploited, a somewhat different cultural horizon and social perspective is suggested than that which emerges from this commentary.

Two other points deserve notice. First, the analysis offered here of the ministerial succession in *1 Clement* 44 may be correct. But the issue has been hotly debated and should be discussed in greater detail. In particular, we want to know why when *1 Clement* apparently wants to stress the continuity between Christ and the presbyters in Corinth, he slips into language that seems to confuse the picture. In this connection, more should probably have been made of the study of this and related problems by G. Brunner (1972). Second, the appearance of the term "request" in *1 Clem.* 63.2 is probably not enough by itself to determine the literary category of the letter. Certainly the Hellenistic letters of "request" referred to in this connection need to be explored more fully to clarify what a comparison between them and *1 Clement* could possibly mean.

In line with what has been said above, there is a tendency in the commentary simply to leave certain difficult issues up in the air. Thus a literary relation between *1 Clement* and Hebrews is regarded as probable, but the question is not deeply explored. The details of the debate must be pursued elsewhere. Similarly, the nature of the "difficulty" that presumably delayed Clement's response to the Corinthians (1.1) is left undefined, and the arguments that have a bearing on the point are not developed. To be sure, the solution to such problems probably should be left more or less up in the air. It is also useful, however, to gain a clearer idea as to why certain conclusions should not be as uncritically accepted as they sometimes are.

It is more difficult to define the view of *2 Clement* that emerges in the commentary. This is partly because *2 Clement* itself seems to go off in more than one direction at the same time. Lindemann simplifies a few problems by arguing that *2 Clem.* 19.1–20.4 represents an addition to the text. But otherwise he resists the many speculative efforts to trace a literary history for the text, to identify the author, to identify an opposition to the author, to date the writing precisely, or to locate its place of origin precisely. He works with the generally accepted view that the writing is a homily. He rejects the many descriptions of the theological character of *2 Clement* as more or less sub-Christian when compared with the NT in general or Paul in particular. In this respect, there is a certain continuity between the treatment of *1 Clement* and *2 Clement* in this commentary.

It is less clear what Lindemann thinks of the opponents (if any) of *2 Clement*. On the one hand, he denies that there is any direct debate with Gnosticism. At several points in the commentary, however, it is apparently assumed that opposition to Gnostic perspectives lies in the background. This is probably a fair account of the situation. Similarly, Lindemann is right in noting that opposition to Gnosticism does not rule out the Gnosticizing character of some of the themes in *2 Clement*. Here again, however, the emphasis is on the transformation that such themes undergo in the writing.

Students of the Synoptic Gospels will be especially interested to find a careful account by Lindemann of the Jesus tradition in 2 *Clement*. One of the most interesting conclusions is his cautious support of the view that 2 *Clement* was dependent on an otherwise unknown written gospel.

William R. Schoedel
University of Illinois, Urbana, IL 61801

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COLLECTED ESSAYS

Narrative and Novella in Samuel: Studies by Hugo Gressmann and Other Scholars, 1906-1923, ed. by David M. Gunn. Tr. David E. Orton. JSOTSup 116. Historic Texts and Interpreters in Biblical Scholarship 9. Sheffield: Almond, 1991. Pp. 183. £19.50 (\$32.50).

These previously published essays were chosen by editor Gunn in view of the sensitivity of these early twentieth century authors to matters of literary artistry. The particular interest in this volume is in the continuity evident between past and contemporary Samuel scholarship regarding an interest in the narrator's craft. There is a preface by Gunn and indexes of biblical references and authors.

I. Hugo Gressmann. Selected sections are translated from *Die älteste Geschichtsschreibung und Prophetie Israels* (2d rev. ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1921). "The Oldest History Writing in Israel" (pp. 9-58). The sections included are: Introduction; David and Bathsheba (2 Samuel 10.1-12.31); Amnon and Absalom (2 Samuel 13.1-14.33); The Revolt of Absalom and Sheba (2 Samuel 15.1-20.22); David's Officers (2 Samuel 20.23-26); The Conflict between Solomon and Adonijah over the Succession (1 Kings 1.1-2.46).

II. Wilhelm Caspari. A translation of "Literarische Art und historischer Wert von 2 Sam. 15-20," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 82 (1909) 317-48. "The Literary Type and Historical Value of 2 Samuel 15-20" (pp. 59-88).

III. Bernhard Luther. A translation of "Die Novelle von Juda und Tamar und andere israelitische Novellen," *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (ed. E. Meyer; Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1906) 177-206. "The Novella of Judah and Tamar and Other Israelite Novellas" (pp. 89-118).

IV. Alfons Schulz. A translation of *Erzählungskunst in den Samuel-Büchern* (Biblische Zeitfragen, 11th Series, 6-7; Munster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1923). "Narrative Art in the Books of Samuel" (pp. 119-170).

The Chronicler in His Age, by Peter R. Ackroyd. JSOTSup 101. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991. Pp. 397 £40 (\$60).

This is a collection of fifteen essays by Professor Ackroyd, thirteen previously published (1967-1988) and two unpublished (chaps. 8 and 15). There is a brief preface by the author. The volume concludes with a bibliography and indexes of biblical references and authors.

The essays are: "The Age of the Chronicler" (pp. 8-88); "Archaeology, Politics and Religion in the Persian Period" (pp. 87-111); "Problems in the Interpretation of Hebrew Literature: The History and Literature of the Persian Period" (pp. 112-25); "Some Religious Problems of the Persian Period" (pp. 126-40); "Historical Problems of the

Early Achaemenian Period" (pp. 141–55); "Faith and its Reformulation in the Post-Exilic Period: II. Prophetic Material" (pp. 172–87); "A Subject People: Judah under Persian Rule" (pp. 188–238); "The Interpretation of the Exile and Restoration" (pp. 239–51); "History and Theology in the Writings of the Chronicler" (pp. 252–72); "The Theology of the Chronicler" (pp. 273–89); "God and People in the Chronicler's Presentation of Ezra" (pp. 290–310); "The Chronicler as Exegete" (pp. 311–43); "Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah: The Concept of Unity" (pp. 344–59); "Rigorism and Openness in the Theology of the Persian (Achaemenian) Period" (pp. 360–78).

Terence E. Fretheim

"Sha'arei Talmon": Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon, ed. Michael Fishbane and Emanuel Tov with the assistance of Weston W. Fields. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992. Pp. xix + 431 (English) x + 165 (Hebrew). \$47.50.

This Festschrift contains thirty-two essays in English by thirty-three contributors and seventeen essays in Hebrew by eighteen authors. The Hebrew essays have English abstracts. The editors preface the collection with both words of appreciation to Professor Talmon for a half century of life and study in Israel and an introduction to his professional work and scholarship. A list of the published writings of Professor Talmon is included in the introductory materials. There is an index of references to ancient literature: Hebrew Bible, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, New Testament, Qumran/Dead Sea Scrolls, Mishnaic and Other Rabbinic Writings, and Other Near Eastern Texts.

The collection of essays in English is divided into five sections: Biblical Literature and Exegesis, Textual Criticism, Qumran, Judaism, and Ancient Near East.

The essays are "The Well of Living Water: A Biblical Motif and Its Ancient Transformations," by Michael Fishbane (pp. 3–16); "The Motif 'Night as Danger' Associated with Three Biblical Destruction Narratives," by Weston W. Fields (pp. 17–32); "Structural Remarks on Judges 9 and 19," by Jan P. Fokkelman (pp. 33–45); "'This Time' (Genesis 2:23)," by Cyrus H. Gordon (pp. 47–51); "Sociological Comparativism and the Theological Imagination: The Case of the Conquest," by Baruch Halpern (pp. 53–67); "1 Chronicles 15–16 and the Chronicler's Views on the Levites," by Paul D. Hanson (pp. 69–77); "The Israelite Legal and Social Reality as Reflected in Chronicles: A Case Study," by Sara Japhet (pp. 79–91); "The Law as Center of the Hebrew Bible," by Otto Kaiser (pp. 93–103); "Ezra and Meremoth: Remarks on the History of the High Priesthood," by Klaus Koch (pp. 105–10); "Deuteronomy 6:24: לְחַיֵּינוּ 'To Maintain Us,'" by Norbert Lohfink (pp. 111–19); "Jerusalem and Zion after the Exile: The Evidence of First Zechariah," by Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers (pp. 121–35); "The Priestly Laws of Sancta Contamination," by Jacob Milgrom (pp. 137–46); "Polysensuous Polyvalency in Poetic Parallelism," by Shalom M. Paul (pp. 147–63); "The Image of Post-exilic Israel in German Bible Scholarship from Wellhausen to von Rad," by Rolf Rendtorff (pp. 165–73); "Legal Terminology in Psalm 3:8," by Nahum M. Sarna (pp. 175–81); "Time . . . to Begin," by Jack M. Sasson (pp. 183–94); "Jacob in Shechem and in Bethel (Genesis 35:1–7)," by J. Alberto Soggin (pp. 195–98); "Was Samuel a Nazirite?" by Matitياهو Tsevat (pp. 199–204); "The Redaction of the Greek Alpha-Text of Esther," by Michael V. Fox (pp. 207–20); "Editions of the Hebrew Bible—Past and Future," by

Moshe Goshen-Gottstein (pp. 221–42); “The Theological Significance of the *Hebraica Veritas* in Jerome’s Thought,” by Sarah Kamin (pp. 243–53); “Interchanges of Consonants between the Masoretic Text and the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint,” by Emanuel Tov (pp. 255–66); “The Canonical Process, Textual Criticism, and Latter Stages in the Composition of the Bible,” by Eugene Ulrich (pp. 267–91); “An Allegorical and Autobiographical Poem by the *Moreh haṣ-Ṣedeq* (IQH 8:4–11), by James H. Charlesworth (pp. 295–307); “Two Notes on the Apocryphal Psalms,” by Jonas C. Greenfield (pp. 309–14); “A Neglected Meaning of the Verb כוּל and the Text of IQS vi:11–13,” by Alexander Rofé (pp. 315–21); “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Biblical Studies,” by James A. Sanders (pp. 323–36); “Reflections on Territory in Judaism,” by W. D. Davies (pp. 339–43); “Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Judaism: Sifra and the Problem of the Mishnah,” by Jacob Neusner (pp. 345–63); “Ritual and Incantation: Interpretation and Textual History of *Maqlû* vii:58–105 and ix:152–59,” by Tzvi Abusch (pp. 367–80); “Royal Ancestor Worship in the Biblical World,” by William W. Hallo (pp. 381–401); “The Spell of Nudimmud,” by Thorkild Jacobsen (pp. 403–16).

The Hebrew essays are divided into three “gates:” The Bible, Qumran, and Language. The English titles of the Hebrew essays are “Did Job Really Exist? An Issue of Medieval Exegesis,” by Moshe Greenberg (pp. 3*–11*); “Psalm 104: A Literary Examination,” by Yair Hoffman (pp. 13*–24*); “The Bible as Literature,” by Moshe Weinfeld (pp. 25*–30*); “Psalm 23: The Psalmist on God’s Care,” by Meir Weiss (pp. 31*–41*); “Ethnology, Etiology, Genealogy, and Historiography in the Tale of Lot and His Daughters (Genesis 19:30–38),” by Zeev Weisman (pp. 43*–52*); “‘Elisha Died . . . He Came to Life and Stood Up’ (2 Kings 13:20–21): A Short ‘Short Story’ in Exegetical Circles,” by Yair Zakovitch (pp. 53*–62*); “The Original Language of the Story of the Three Youths (1 Esdras 3–4),” by Zipora Talshir and David Talshir (pp. 63*–75*); “‘If You Race with the Foot-Runners and They Exhaust You’ (Jeremiah 12:5),” by Abraham Malamat (pp. 77*–79*); “וישחור: Group Formulas in Biblical Prose and Poetry,” by Frank H. Polak (pp. 81*–91*); “Military Elite and Politics: Dismal Episodes in the History of the Northern Kingdom,” by Hanoch Reviv (pp. 93*–97*); “Biblical Prophecy in the Qumran Scrolls,” by Gershon Brin (pp. 101*–12*); “The Hebrew Bible in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Torah Quotations in the Damascus Covenant,” by Devorah Dimant (pp. 113*–22*); “11QPs^a and the Composition of the Book of Psalms,” by Menahem Haran (pp. 123*–28*); “צָרִיק = ‘Wise’ in Biblical Hebrew and the Wisdom Connections of Psalm 37,” by Avi Hurvitz (pp. 131*–35*); “The Structure of Semantic and Associative Fields in Biblical Hebrew and Classical Arabic,” by Shelomo Morag (pp. 137*–43*); “The Interpretation of Rhetorical Questions in the Bible,” by Benjamin Kedar (pp. 145*–52*); and “The Authority of Masoretic Accents in Traditional Biblical Exegesis,” by Simcha Kogut (pp. 153*–65*).

Abr-Nahrain, Supplement 3: Studies in Qumran Aramaic, ed. T. Muraoka. Annual of the Department of Classical and Near Eastern Studies, University of Melbourne. Louvain: Peeters, 1992. Pp. viii + 167. N.P. (paper).

This collection, containing eight essays by nine contributors, is devoted to a comprehensive study of some elements of Qumran Aramaic as represented by available texts. The editor notes that, while an international team is at work on publishing the

remaining Aramaic Qumran texts, most of the major ones are now accessible to the larger scholarly world.

The essays are "Qumran Aramaic and Aramaic dialectology," by E. M. Cook (pp. 1-21); "The adverb in Qumran Aramaic," by L. Diez Merino (pp. 22-47); "Hebraisms in the Aramaic documents from Qumran," by S. E. Fassberg (pp. 48-69); "The Genesis Apocryphon Col. XII," by J. C. Greenfield and E. Qimron (pp. 70-77); "The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the Aramaic Vocabulary," by J. C. Greenfield and M. Sokoloff (pp. 78-98); "The verbal rection in Qumran Aramaic," by T. Muraoka (pp. 99-118); "Pronominal suffix כה—in Qumran Aramaic," by E. Qimron (pp. 119-23); and "Accidents and accidence: A scribal view of linguistic dating of the Aramaic scrolls from Qumran," by M. O. Wise (pp. 124-67).

The Biblical Canon in Comparative Perspective, ed. K. Lawson Younger, Jr., William W. Hallo, and Bernard F. Batto. Scripture in Context 4. Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Studies 11. Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter: Mellen, 1991. Pp. xv + 328. N.P.

This collection of twelve essays by as many contributors enters into the contemporary debate about the meaning and role of the Bible as canon by framing the discussion within the context of other ancient Near Eastern literatures. The essays were originally papers presented to the National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Institute for College Teachers held at Yale in 1990. William W. Hallo was the director of the seminar.

The essays are "The Concept of Canonicity in Cuneiform and Biblical Literature: A Comparative Appraisal," by William W. Hallo (pp. 1-19); "Emar as an Empirical Model of the Transmission of Canon," by Paul Y. Hoskisson (pp. 21-32); "Paradise Reexamined," by Bernard F. Batto (pp. 33-66); "Genesis 14:1-11—An Early Israelite Chronographic Source," by Chaim R. Cohen (pp. 67-107); "Heads! Tails! Or the Whole Coin?! Contextual Method & Intertextual Analysis: Judges 4 and 5," by K. Lawson Younger, Jr. (pp. 109-46); "The Minor Judges: A Literary Reading of Some Very Short Stories," by Beverly G. Beem (pp. 147-72); "The Figure of Lady Jerusalem: Identification, Deification and Personification of Cities in the Ancient Near East," by Mark E. Biddle (pp. 173-94); "Prophetic Use of Omen Motifs: A Preliminary Study," by Randall C. Bailey (pp. 195-215); "An Exploratory Study of Shame and Dependence in the Bible and Selected Near Eastern Parallels," by Margaret S. Odell (pp. 217-33); "The Basilomorphic Conception of Deity in Israel and Mesopotamia," by A. Wendell Bowes (pp. 235-75); "The Words of the Exceedingly Wise: Proverbs 30-31," by Claire Gottlieb (pp. 277-98); and "Written Communications Between the Human and Divine Spheres in Mesopotamia and Israel," by Sharon R. Keller (pp. 299-313).

There are three indexes: subjects, biblical references, and authors.

Leo G. Perdue

Rabbinic Perspectives on the New Testament, by Dan Cohn-Sherbok. Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity 28. Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter: Mellen, 1990. Pp. vii + 126. \$49.95.

This book is comprised of revised versions of ten essays previously published between 1978 and 1983 by Dan Cohn-Sherbok, who teaches Jewish theology at the

University of Kent, Canterbury, England. The volume contains a bibliography (pp. 115–19) and an index of authors and topics (pp. 121–26).

The essays are: “Rabbinic Judaism and the Doctrine of Hell” (pp. 1–17) = “The Jewish Doctrine of Hell,” *Religion* 8 (1978) 196–209; “Jesus, the Sadducees, and the Resurrection of the Dead” (pp. 19–30) = “Jesus’ Defence of the Resurrection of the Dead,” *JSNT* 11 (1981) 64–73; “Jesus, the Pharisees and the Plucking of Grain on the Sabbath” (pp. 31–41) = “An Analysis of Jesus’ Arguments Concerning the Plucking of Grain on the Sabbath,” *JSNT* 2 (1979) 31–41; “Jesus’ Blessing of the Cup at the Last Supper” (pp. 43–50) = “A Jewish Note on *to poterion tes eulogias*,” *NTS* 27 (1981) 704–9; “Jesus’ Cry on the Cross” (pp. 51–55) = “Jesus’ Cry on the Cross: An Alternative View,” *ExpTim* 93 (1981/82) 215–17; “Jesus’ Burial Garment” (pp. 57–65) = “The Jewish Shroud of Turin?” *ExpTim* 92 (1980/81) 13–16; “Paul and Rabbinic Exegesis” (pp. 67–86) = *SJT* 35 (1982) 117–32; “Paul and Peter at Antioch” (pp. 87–95) = “Some Reflections on James Dunn’s ‘The Incident at Antioch (Gal. 2.11–18),’” *JSNT* 18 (1983) 68–74; “The Gnostic Mandaeans and Heterodox Judaism” (pp. 97–103) = “The Mandaeans and Heterodox Judaism,” *HUCA* 54 (1983) 147–51; and “The Alphabet in Mystical Judaism and the Mandaean Religion” (pp. 105–14) = “The Alphabet in Mandaean and Jewish Gnosticism,” *Religion* 11 (1981) 227–34.

Social History of the Matthean Community: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches, ed. David L. Balch. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991. Pp. xxiv + 286. \$29.95.

This volume contains twelve essays which represent in part the papers presented at the October 1989 conference, “The Social History of the Matthean Community in Roman Syria” held at Southern Methodist University and sponsored by the center for the Study of Religion in the Greco-Roman World. The essays are divided into four parts, preceded by a “Preface” (pp. xiii–xv) and an “Introduction” (pp. xvii–xxiii) by David L. Balch, Professor of New Testament, Brite Divinity School, Texas Christian University.

Part I, “Matthew: Jewish and Hellenistic Aspects,” contains four essays: “Matthew’s Jewish Voice,” by Alan T. Segal (pp. 3–37); “The Gospel of Matthew and Jewish-Christian Conflict,” by Anthony J. Saldarini (pp. 38–61); “A Responsive Evaluation of the Social History of the Matthean Community in Roman Syria,” by Robert H. Gundry (pp. 62–67); and “The Greek Political Topos *περὶ νόμων* and Matthew 5:17, 19, and 16:19,” by David L. Balch (pp. 68–84).

Part II, “Matthew: Women in an Agrarian Society,” contains two essays: “Gender Roles in a Scribal Community,” by Antoinette Clark Wire (pp. 87–121) and “Gender Analysis: A Response to Antoinette Clark Wire,” by Pheme Perkins (pp. 122–26).

Part III, “Matthew and Ignatius of Antioch,” contains two essays: “Ignatius and the Reception of the Gospel of Matthew in Antioch,” by William R. Schoedel (pp. 129–77) and “Matthew and Ignatius: A Response to William R. Schoedel,” by John P. Meier (pp. 178–86).

Part IV, “Matthew: Social Situation and Location,” contains four essays: “Antioch as the Social Situation for Matthew’s Gospel,” by Rodney Stark (pp. 189–210); “Crisis Management and Boundary Maintenance: The Social Location of the Matthean Community,” by L. Michael White (pp. 211–47); “Artifacts from Antioch,” by Frederick W.

Norris (pp. 248–58); and “Conclusion: Analysis of a Conversation,” by Jack Dean Kingsbury (pp. 259–69).

The volume contains two indexes: “Scripture and Ancient Sources” (pp. 270–81) and “Modern Authors” (pp. 282–86).

A Risen Christ in Eastertime: Essays on the Gospel Narratives of the Resurrection, by Raymond E. Brown. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991. Pp. 95. \$4.95 (paper).

This volume is comprised of five essays, three of which had been previously published as articles in *Worship*. Raymond E. Brown, S.S., is Auburn Distinguished Professor (Emeritus) of Biblical Studies, Union Theological Seminary, New York.

The five chapters are “The Resurrection in Mark (Mark 16:1–8; 16:9–20)” (pp. 9–22; published here for the first time); “The Resurrection in Matthew (27:62–28:20),” (pp. 23–38 = *Worship* [March 1990] 157–70); “The Resurrection in Luke (24:1–53; Acts 1:1–12),” (pp. 39–64; published here for the first time); “The Resurrection in John 20—A Series of Diverse Reactions,” (pp. 65–80 = *Worship* [May 1990] 194–206); and “The Resurrection in John 21—Missionary and Pastoral Directives for the Church,” (pp. 81–95 = *Worship* [September 1990] 433–45).

The volume includes a brief foreword (pp. 5–7).

Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium, ed. John J. Collins and James H. Charlesworth. JSPSup 9. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991. Pp. 172. £22.50/\$39.50 (£18.75/\$29.50 subscriber).

This collection of eight essays by as many authors grew out of a symposium held at the Society of Biblical Literature meeting in Anaheim, CA, November 19, 1989, which marked the tenth anniversary of the August 12–17, 1979 Uppsala Colloquium on Apocalypticism. Four of these essays were given at the Anaheim meeting (those of Collins, Himmelfarb, Hultgård, Stone). The other four were added to complete the volume. Six of the eight essays here deal with Jewish apocalypticism.

The essays are: “Genre, Ideology and Social Movements in Jewish Apocalypticism,” including an appendix entitled “A New Proposal on Apocalyptic Origins,” by John J. Collins (pp. 11–32); “Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition: The Contribution of Italian Scholarship,” by Gabriele Boccaccini (pp. 33–50); “The Apocalyptic Construction of Reality in *1 Enoch*,” by George W. E. Nickelsburg (pp. 51–64); “On Reading an Apocalypse [4 Ezra],” by Michael E. Stone (pp. 65–78); “Revelation and Rapture: The Transformation of the Visionary in the Ascent Apocalypses,” by Martha Himmelfarb (pp. 79–90); “Folk Traditions in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature,” by James H. Charlesworth (pp. 91–113); “*Bahman Yasht*: A Persian Apocalypse,” by Anders Hultgård (pp. 114–34); and “Methodological Reflections on the Problem of Definition of Generic Texts,” by David Hellholm (pp. 135–63).

The volume includes indexes of ancient texts and modern authors.

The Romans Debate, ed. Karl P. Donfried. Rev. and expanded ed. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991. Pp. lxxii + 372. \$19.95.

This is a reprinting of the introduction and ten essays of the 1977 volume of the same title (Minneapolis: Augsburg) expanded by a new introduction and thirteen additional essays published since 1979.

Karl P. Donfried, the editor, wrote both the 1977 introduction, "The Nature and Scope of the Romans Debate" (pp. xli–xlvi), and the 1991 introduction, "The Romans Debate since 1977" (pp. xlix–lxxii). The 1977 volume had neither bibliography nor indexes; both are provided in the 1991 edition: a bibliography (pp. xv–xl), an index of modern authors (pp. 347–51), and an index of ancient sources (pp. 353–72).

The original ten essays comprise Part I of the 1991 edition (the pagination is slightly different; see *JBL* 98 [1979] 313, for the 1977 pagination and the place of the original publication of the essays): "St. Paul's Letter to the Romans—and Others," by T. W. Manson (pp. 3–15); "The Letter to the Romans as Paul's Last Will and Testament," by Günther Bornkamm (pp. 16–28); "Paul's Purpose in Writing the Epistle to the Romans," by Günter Klein (pp. 29–43); "A Short Note on Romans 16," by Karl P. Donfried (pp. 44–52); "The Letter to Jerusalem," by Jacob Jervell (pp. 53–64); "Romans 14:1–15:13 and the Occasion of Romans," by Robert J. Karris (pp. 65–84); "The Jewish Community in Ancient Rome and the Origins of Roman Christianity," by Wolfgang Wiefel (pp. 85–101); "False Presuppositions in the Study of Romans," by Karl Paul Donfried (pp. 102–25) and "The Occasion of Romans: A Response to Prof. Donfried," by Robert J. Karris (pp. 125–27); "Paul's Rhetoric of Argumentation in Romans: An Alternative to the Donfried-Karris Debate over Romans," by Wilhelm Wuellner (pp. 128–46); and "The Form and Function of the Greek Letter-Essay," by Martin Luther Stirwalt, Jr. (pp. 147–71).

Part II contains the thirteen new essays included in the 1991 expansion, coming from eleven authors, none of whom was represented in the 1977 collection. These essays are divided into three sections. Section A, "Historical and Sociological Factors," includes: "The Romans Debate—Continued," by F. F. Bruce (pp. 175–94) = *BJRL* 64 (1981/82) 334–59 (reprinted in *A Mind for What Matters: Collected Essays* [Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1990] 79–97); "Purpose and Occasion of Romans Again," by A. J. M. Wedderburn (pp. 195–202) = *ExpTim* 90 (1978/79) 137–41; "The Two Roman Congregations: Romans 14:1–15:13," by Francis Watson (pp. 203–15) = *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles: A Sociological Approach* (SNTSMS 56; Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 94–105; "The Roman Christians of Romans 16," by Peter Lampe (pp. 216–30; previously unpublished but dependent on his *Die stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten* [WUNT 2/18; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1987]); and "The Purpose of Romans," by Peter Stuhlmacher (pp. 231–42) = "Der Abfassungszweck des Römerbriefes," *ZNW* 77 (1986) 180–93 (trans. Reginald and Ilse Fuller).

Section B, "The Structure and Rhetoric of Romans," contains: "The Formal and Theological Coherence of Romans," by James D. G. Dunn (pp. 245–50) = *Romans 1–8* (WBC 8A; Dallas: Word, 1988) lix–lxiii; "Romans III as a Key to the Structure and Thought of Romans," by William S. Campbell (pp. 251–64) = *NovT* 23 (1981) 22–40; "Following the Argument of Romans," by Robert Jewett (pp. 265–77 = *Word and World* 6 (1986) 382–89 (adapted and expanded for this volume); and "Romans as a *Logos Protreptikos*," by David E. Aune (pp. 278–96) = "Romans as a *Logos Protreptikos* in the

Context of Ancient Religious and Philosophical Propaganda," *Paulus als Missionar und Theologe und das antike Judentum* (ed. Martin Hengel; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, forthcoming).

Section C, "The Theology of Romans: Issues in the Current Debate," contains: "The New Perspective on Paul: Paul and the Law," by James D. G. Dunn (pp. 299–308) = *Romans 1–8* (WBC 8A; Dallas: Word, 1988) lxiv–lxxii; "Israel's Misstep in the Eyes of Paul," by Lloyd Gaston (pp. 309–26) = *Paul and the Torah* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987) 135–50; "The Faithfulness of God and the Priority of Israel in Paul's Letter to the Romans," by J. C. Beker (pp. 327–32) = *HTR* 79 (1986) 10–16 = *Christians Among Jews and Gentiles: Essays in Honor of Krister Stendahl on His Sixty-fifth Birthday* (ed. G. W. E. Nickelsburg with G. W. MacRae; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986) 10–16; and "The Theme of Romans," by Peter Stuhlmacher (pp. 333–45) = *AusBR* 36 (1988) 31–44.

Gospel and Spirit: Issues in New Testament Hermeneutics, by Gordon D. Fee. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991. Pp. xiv + 143. \$7.95 (paper).

This volume reprints eight articles of Gordon D. Fee, originally published between 1976 and 1991, on the theme of New Testament hermeneutics. Fee provides an "Author's Preface: On the Reasons for These Essays" (pp. ix–xiv). The book has no indexes.

The eight essays are: "Hermeneutics and Common Sense: An Exploratory Essay on the Hermeneutics of the Epistles" (pp. 1–23) = chapter 7 in *Inerrancy and Common Sense* (ed. R. R. Nicole and J. R. Michaels; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1980); "The Evangelical Dilemma: Hermeneutics and the Nature of Scripture" (pp. 24–36) = *Crux* 26 (June 1990); "Normativeness and Authorial Intent: A Proposal Regarding New Testament Imperatives" (pp. 37–51) = *Crux* 26 (September 1990); "The Great Watershed—Intentionality and Particularity/Eternality: 1 Timothy 2:8–15 as a Test Case" (pp. 52–65) = *Crux* 26 (December 1990); "Hermeneutics, Exegesis, and the Role of Tradition" (pp. 66–82) = *Crux* 27 (March 1991); "Hermeneutics and Historical Precedent: A Major Problem in Pentecostal Hermeneutics" (pp. 83–104) = chapter 8 in *Perspectives on the New Pentecostalism* (ed. R. P. Spittler; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1976); "Baptism in the Holy Spirit: The Issue of Separability and Subsequence" (pp. 105–19) = *Pneuma* 7:2 (1985); and "Laos and Leadership Under the New Covenant: Some Exegetical and Hermeneutical Observations on Church Order" (pp. 120–43) = *Crux* 25 (December 1989).

David M. Scholer

Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday, ed. Harold W. Attridge, John J. Collins, and Thomas H. Tobin, S.J. College Theological Society Resources in Religion 5. Lanham, MD/New York/London: University Press of America, 1991. Pp. vii + 289. \$33 (paper).

This Festschrift contains 25 essays from 26 of Prof. Strugnell's colleagues and former students. The end-matter includes a list of abbreviations and notes "About the Contributors" but no indexes.

Part I, "The Hebrew Bible and its Text," contains the following studies: "New Qumran Readings For Genesis One," by James R. Davila (pp. 3–11); "4QDT^a: Biblical Manuscript or Excerpted Text?" by Sidnie Ann White (pp. 13–20); "Early Emendations of the Scribes: The Tiqqun Sopherim in Zechariah 2:12," by Russell Fuller (pp. 21–28); "Orthography and Text in 4QDan^a and in the Received Masoretic Text," by Eugene Ulrich (pp. 29–42); "Recensional Differences Between the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint of Proverbs," by Emanuel Tov (pp. 43–56); "Observations on 'Wisdom Narratives' in Early Biblical Literature," by Lawrence M. Wills (pp. 57–66); and "The *Beth Essentiae* and the Permissive Meaning of the Hiphil (Aphel)," by J. H. Charlesworth (pp. 67–78).

Part II, "Second Temple Judaism and Qumran," contains the following essays: "Ben Sira 48:11 et la Résurrection," by Emile Puech (pp. 81–90); "The Meaning of 'the End' in the Book of Daniel," by John J. Collins (pp. 91–98); "Jason's Gymnasium," by Robert Doran (pp. 99–109); "Korah's Rebellion in Pseudo Philo 16," by Frederick J. Murphy (pp. 111–20); "Kenneth Burke Meets the Teacher of Righteousness: Rhetorical Strategies in the Hodayot and the Serek Ha-Yahad," by Carol A. Newsom (pp. 121–31); "Some Observations on Blessings of God in Texts from Qumran," by Eileen Schuller (pp. 133–43); "4Q185 and Jewish Wisdom Literature," by Thomas H. Tobin, S.J. (pp. 145–52); "Two Notes on the Aramaic Levi Document," by Jonas C. Greenfield and Michael E. Stone (pp. 153–61); "The Gender of Ιαηλ in the Jewish Inscription from Aphrodisias," by Bernadette J. Brootten (pp. 163–73); and "Tiberius Julius Alexander and the Crisis in Alexandria According to Josephus," by Robert A. Kraft (pp. 175–84).

Part III, "Early Christianity and its Environment," contains the following essays: "Daniel 7 and the Historical Jesus," by Adela Yarbro Collins (pp. 187–93); "The Mixed Reception of the Gospel: Interpreting the Parables in Matt 13:1–52," by Daniel J. Harrington, S.J. (pp. 195–201); "John 10 and the Feast of Dedication," by James C. VanderKam (pp. 203–14); "Curse and Competition in the Ancient Circus," by John G. Gager (pp. 215–28); "The Anti-Judaic Polemic of Ephrem Syrus' Hymns on the Nativity," by Kathleen E. McVey (pp. 229–40); "The Original Language of the Acts of Thomas," by Harold W. Attridge (pp. 241–50); "Two Enochic Manuscripts: Unstudied Evidence for Egyptian Christianity," by George W. E. Nickelsburg (pp. 251–60); and "Julian's Attempt to Rebuild the Temple: An Inventory of Ancient and Medieval Sources," by David Levenson (pp. 261–79).

Jewish Eschatology, Early Christian Christology and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Collected Essays of Marinus de Jonge, ed. H. J. de Jonge. NovTSup 63. Leiden: Brill, 1991. Pp. xix + 342. N.P.

This volume of 20 previously published essays marks Prof. de Jonge's sixty-fifth birthday and his retirement as Professor of New Testament and Early Christian Literature at Leiden University. After a brief foreword by the editor and publication acknowledgments, an "Introduction" by Prof. de Jonge (pp. xi–xix) locates each of the essays in the context of his research over the years.

"Part I. Eschatology and Christology" contains the following eight essays: "The Expectation of the Future in the Psalms of Solomon" (pp. 3–27) = *Neot* 23 (1989) 93–117; "The Role of Intermediaries in God's Final Intervention in the Future According to the Qumran Scrolls" (pp. 28–47) = *Studies on the Jewish Background of the New Testament*

(ed. O. Michel et al.; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1969) 44–63; “Josephus und die Zukunftserwartungen seines Volkes” (pp. 48–62) = *Josephus-Studien* (Fs. O. Michel; ed. O. Betz, K. Haacker, and M. Hengel; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974) 205–19; “The Use of *ho Christos* in the Passion Narrative” (pp. 63–86) = *Jesus aux origines de la christologie* (ed. J. Dupont; BETL 40; Gembloux/Leuven: Duculot/Leuven University Press, 1975) 169–92; “The Use of the Expression *ho Christos* in the Apocalypse of John” (pp. 87–101) = *L'Apocalypse johannique et l'apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament* (ed. J. Lambrecht; BETL 53; Gembloux/Leuven: Duculot/Leuven University Press, 1980) 267–81; “The Earliest Christian Use of *Christos*: Some Suggestions” (pp. 102–24) = *NTS* 32 (1986) 321–43; “Jesus’ Death for Others and the Death of the Maccabean Martyrs” (pp. 125–34) = *Text and Testimony* (Fs. A. F. J. Klijn; ed. T. Baarda, A. Hilhorst, et al.; Kampen: Kok, 1988) 142–51; and “Jesus, Son of David and Son of God” (pp. 135–44) = *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings* (Fs. B. M. F. van Iersel; ed. S. Draisma; Kampen: Kok, 1989) 95–104.

“Part II. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs” contains the following 12 essays: “The Main Issues in the Study of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs” (pp. 147–63) = *NTS* 26 (1980) 508–24; “The Future of Israel in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs” (pp. 164–79) = *JSJ* 17 (1986) 196–211; “Levi, the Sons of Levi and the Law, in *Testament Levi* X, XIV–XV and XVI” (pp. 180–90) = *De la Tôrah au Messie. Mélanges H. Cazelles* (ed. J. Doré, P. Grelot, and M. Carrez; Paris/Tournai: Desclée & Cie, 1981) 513–23; “Two Messiahs in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs?” (pp. 191–203) = *Tradition and Re-Interpretation in Jewish and Early Christian Literature* (Fs. J. C. H. Lebram; ed. J. W. van Henten, H. J. de Jonge, et al.; *Studia Post-Biblica* 36; Leiden: Brill, 1986) 196–211; “Hippolytus’ ‘Benedictions of Isaac, Jacob and Moses’ and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs” (pp. 204–19) = *Bijdragen* 46 (1985) 245–60; “Two Interesting Interpretations of the Rending of the Temple-Veil in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs” (pp. 220–32) = *Bijdragen* 46 (1985) 350–62; “The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Christian and Jewish. A Hundred Years after Friedrich Schnapp” (pp. 233–43) = *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 39 (1985) 265–75; “The Testament of Levi and ‘Aramaic Levi’” (pp. 244–62) = *RevQ* 49–52/13 (1988) 367–85; “The Pre-Mosaic Servants of God in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and in the Writings of Justin and Irenaeus” (pp. 263–76) = *VC* 39 (1985) 157–70; “Die Paränese in den Schriften des Neuen Testaments” (pp. 277–89) = *Neues Testament und Ethik* (Fs. R. Schnackenburg; ed. H. Merklein; Freiburg/Basel/Vienna: Herder, 1989) 538–50; “Test. Benjamin 3:8 and the Picture of Joseph as ‘a Good and Holy Man’” (pp. 290–300) = *Die Entstehung der jüdischen Martyrologie* (ed. J. W. van Henten; *Studia Post-Biblica* 38; Leiden: Brill, 1989) 204–14; and “Rachel’s Virtuous Behavior in the Testament of Issachar” (pp. 301–13) = *Greeks, Romans and Christians: Essays in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe* (ed. D. Balch, E. Ferguson, and W. A. Meeks; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990) 340–52.

The volume concludes with “A Bibliography of the Writings of Marinus de Jonge 1953–1990” by H. J. de Jonge (pp. 314–32), an index of subjects, and an index of passages.

Jesus and the Oral Tradition, ed. by Henry Wansbrough. JSNTSup 64. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991. Pp. 469. £40.00/\$70.00 (£30.00/\$52.00 subscriber).

This volume contains 14 essays (plus an introductory essay) that represent the proceedings of the International Symposium on the Interrelations Among the Gospels

held in Jerusalem in 1984. The introduction is by the editor, and the essays are: "Oral Tradition" by Oivind Anderson (pp. 17–58); "Prolegomena to the Study of Oral Tradition in the Hellenistic World" by David E. Aune (pp. 59–106); "Oral Tradition in the Old Testament" by Hans-Peter Rüger (pp. 107–20); "Oral Tradition and Written Transmission, or the Heard and the Seen Word in Judaism of the Second Temple Period" by Shemaryahu Talmon (pp. 121–58); "Orality in Pharisaic-rabbinic Judaism at the Turn of the Eras" by Philip S. Alexander (pp. 159–84); "Jesus as Preacher and Teacher" by Rainer Reisner (pp. 185–210); "Oral Tradition and the Aphorisms of Jesus" by David E. Aune (pp. 211–65); "Illuminating the Kingdom: Narrative Meshalim in the Synoptic Gospels" by Birger Gerhardsson (pp. 266–309); "The Making of Narratives in the Synoptic Gospels" by E. Earle Ellis (pp. 310–33); "Oral Tradition Before, In, and Outside the Canonical Passion Narratives" by Marion L. Soards (pp. 334–50); "John and the Oral Gospel Tradition" by James D. G. Dunn (pp. 351–79); "Paul and the Oral Gospel Tradition" by Traugott Holtz (pp. 380–93); "Does the Didache Contain Jesus Tradition Independently of the Synoptic Gospels?" by Willy Rordorf (pp. 394–423); "Some Consequences of Birger Gerhardsson's Account of the Origins of the Gospel Tradition" by Ben F. Meyer (pp. 424–40)

The Literature of Formative Judaism: The Midrash-Compilations, ed. by Jacob Neusner. Origins of Judaism 11/2. New York/London: Garland, 1990. Pp. xvii + 678. N.P.

This volume, the eighteenth in a projected twenty-volume series, contains 19 previously published essays by 15 authors. The essays are: "Reflections on Translation and Midrash," by Judah Goldin (pp. 1–18) = *PAAJR* 41 (1975) 87–104; "The Two Versions of *Abot de Rabbi Nathan*," by Judah Goldin (pp. 19–42) = *HUCA* 19 (1946) 97–120; "Profile of a Midrash: the Art of Composition in *Leviticus Rabba*," by Joseph Heine-mann (pp. 43–52) = *JAAR* 39 (1922) 141–50; "Aspects of the Rabbinic Concept of Israel," by Max Kadushin (pp. 53–92) = *HUCA* 19 (1946) 57–96; "Divergent Tendencies and Their Literary Moulding in the *Aggadah*," by Zipporah Kagan (pp. 93–112) = *ScrHier* 22 (1971) 151–70; "Abba, Father: Title of Spiritual Leader and Saint," by K. Kohler (pp. 113–126) = *JQR-Old Series* 13 (1901) 567–80; "The Pre-Talmudic Haggada, Part 1," by K. Kohler (pp. 127–47) = *JQR* 5 (1893) 399–419; "The Pre-Talmudic Haggada, Part 2," by K. Kohler (pp. 149–74) = *JQR-Old Series* 7 (1895) 581–606; "Zeus in Mishnah, Talmud, and Midrash," by A. Kohut (pp. 176–78) = *JQR-Old Series* 3 (1891) 552–54; "The Two *Mekiltas*," by Jacob Z. Lauterbach (pp. 179–95) = *PAAJR* 4 (1933) 113–29; "The Plain Meaning of Scripture in Early Jewish Exegesis," by Raphael Loewe (pp. 196–241) = *Annual of the Institute of Jewish Studies* 1 (1964) 140–85; "Prolegomenon to the *Pesikta*," by Bernard Mandelbaum (pp. 243–260) = *PAAJR* 23 (1954) 41–58; "A Rabbinic Defense of the Election of Israel: An Analysis of *Sifre Deuteronomy*, 32:9, *Pisqa* 312," by Eugene Mihaly (pp. 261–301) = *HUCA* 35 (1964) 103–43; "History and Midrash," by Jacob Neusner (pp. 303–310) = *Judaism* 9/1 (1960) 47–54; "The Development of the *Merkavah* Tradition," by Jacob Neusner (pp. 311–22) = *JSJ* 2/2 (1971) 149–60; "The Philosophy Implicit in the Midrash," by Henry Slonimsky (pp. 323–78) = *HUCA* 27 (1956) 235–90; "Hermeneutical Systems of Hillel and the *Tannaim*," by W. Sibley Towner (pp. 379–413) = *HUCA* 53 (1983) 101–35; "The Date of the *Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael*," by Ben

Zion Wacholder (pp. 415–42) = *HUCA* 39 (1969) 117–44; “The Literary Genre Midrash,” by Addison G. Wright (pp. 443–57) = *CBQ* 28/2 (1966) 105–38; 28/4 (1966) 417–57.

James M. Hanges

Images of Empire, ed. Loveday Alexander. JSOTSup 122. Sheffield: JSOT, 1991. \$57.50 (\$42.95 for subscribers).

The thirteen essays in this volume are the papers of a colloquium on *Images of Empire* at the University of Sheffield in March 1990. After the introduction by the editor, the essays are: “Urbs Roma, Plebs and Princeps,” by Miriam Griffin (pp. 19–46); “The Economic Critique of Rome in Revelation 18,” by Richard Bauckham (pp. 47–90); “Images—or Mirages—of Empire? An Archaeological Approach to the Problem,” by Keith Branigan (pp. 91–107); “Calgacus: Clash of Roman and Native,” by D. J. Mosley (pp. 107–21); “Friends, Romans, Subjects: Agrippa II’s Speech in Josephus’s *Jewish War*,” by Tessa Rajak (pp. 135–59); “Daniel in the Lions’ Den,” by Philip R. Davies (pp. 160–78); “Surviving the Web of Roman Power: Religion and Politics in the Acts of the Apostles, Josephus, and Chariton’s Chaereas and Callirhoe,” by Douglas R. Edwards (pp. 179–201); “Luke-Acts: A Mixed Population Seeks a Home in the Roman Empire,” by Vernon K. Robbins (pp. 202–221); “Opponents of Rome: Jews and Others,” by Martin Goodman (pp. 222–38); “Jerome’s Concepts of Empire,” by Steven Fanning (pp. 239–50); “Let Every Soul Be Subject: The Fathers and the Empire,” by Gillian Clark (pp. 251–75); and “The Family of Caesar and the Family of God: The Image of the Emperor in the Heikhalot Literature,” by Philip S. Alexander (pp. 276–97). There is an index of references and an index of authors.

Priesthood and Cult in Ancient Israel, ed. Gary A. Anderson and Saul M. Olyan. JSOTSup 125. Sheffield: JSOT, 1991. Pp. 217. \$47.50 (\$35.00 for subscribers).

This volume contains eight essays on matters related to cult by as many authors, preceded by a short introduction by the editors: “The Praise of God as a Cultic Event,” by Gary A. Anderson (pp. 15–33); “The Prohibitions Concerning the ‘Eating’ of Blood in Leviticus 17,” by Baruch J. Schwartz (pp. 34–66); “Jewish High Priests of the Persian Period: Is the List Complete?” by James C. VanderKam (pp. 67–91); “The Deception of Isaac, Jacob’s Dream at Bethel, and Incubation on an Animal Skin,” by Susan Ackerman (pp. 92–120); “The Oaths of Amos 8.14,” by Saul M. Olyan (pp. 121–49); “The Spectrum of Priestly Impurity,” by David P. Wright (pp. 150–81); “The Composition of Leviticus, Chapter 11,” by Jacob Milgrom (pp. 183–91); “The Sin Offering Law in the ‘Holiness School,’ (Numbers 15.22–31),” by Israel Knohl (pp. 192–203). There are indexes of references and modern authors.

Second Temple Studies. I. Persian Period, ed. Philip R. Davies. JSOTSup 117. Sheffield: JSOT, 1991. Pp. 192. \$39.50 (\$29.50 for subscribers).

All but one of the ten essays in this volume were written for the SBL Sociology of the Second Temple Consultation. After an introduction (“Sociology and the Second Temple”) by the editor, the essays are divided into three sections.

The first section, "Archaeology, History and Society," contains four essays: "Temple and Society in Achaemenid Judah," by Joseph Blenkinsopp (pp. 22–53); "The Achaemenid Context," by Kenneth Hoglund (pp. 54–72); "The Politics of Ezra: Sociological Indicators of Postexilic Judaeon Society," by Daniel L. Smith (pp. 73–97); and "Reconstructing History from the Book of Ezra," by Lester L. Grabbe (pp. 98–106).

The second section, "Literature and Society," contains two essays: "Textual Strategies and Ideology in the Second Temple Period," by Robert P. Carroll (pp. 108–24) and "The Temple in Persian Period Prophetic Texts," by David L. Petersen (pp. 125–44).

The third section, "Critique," contains four essays: "Nehemiah 5: By way of a Response to Hoglund and Smith," by John M. Halligan (pp. 146–53); "On Models and Texts: A Response to Blenkinsopp and Petersen," by Peter Ross Bedford (pp. 154–62); "Empire, Temple and Community—but no Bourgeoisie! A Response to Blenkinsopp and Petersen," by Richard A. Horsley (pp. 163–74); and "Texts and the World—An Unbridgeable Gap? A Response to Carroll, Hoglund and Smith," by David Jobling (pp. 175–82). There are indexes of references and modern authors.

The Fabric of History, Texts, Artifacts and Israel's Past, ed. Diana Vikander Edelman. JSOTSup 127. Sheffield: JSOT, 1991. \$39.50 (\$29.50 for subscribers).

The essays in this volume were presented in a symposium on "The Role of History and Archaeology in Biblical Society" at the 1989 SBL/ASOR meeting. After a short preface by the editor, there are six essays: "Doing History in Biblical Studies," by Diana Edelman (pp. 13–25); "From History to Interpretation," by Ernst Axel Knauf (pp. 26–64); "Text, Context and Referent in Israelite Historiography," by Thomas L. Thompson (pp. 65–92); "Is It Possible to Write a History of Israel without Relying on the Hebrew Bible?" by J. Maxwell Miller (pp. 93–102); "Archaeology, Material Culture and the Early Monarchical Period in Israel," by William G. Dever (pp. 103–15); "The Role of Archaeological and Literary Remains in Reconstructing Israel's History," by Gösta W. Ahlström (pp. 116–41). There is an index of biblical references and authors.

Paulus und das antike Judentum, ed. Martin Hengel and Ulrich Heckel. WUNT 58. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1991. Pp. xiii + 475. DM 248.

This volume contains the papers of a symposium sponsored by the universities of Tübingen and Durham to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Adolf Schlatter (May 19, 1938). After a brief foreword by Prof. Hengel, there are eleven essays by as many authors. Nine of these essays are followed by summaries of the discussion at the symposium. The exceptions are the first and last essays, by Barrett and Stuhlmacher. Barrett's essay was published previously. An expanded form of Hengel's essay has appeared in book form (*The Pre-Christian Paul* [Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1991]). The essays are: "Paulus als Missionar und Theologe," by Charles Kingsley Barrett (pp. 1–15) (= ZTK 86 [1989] 18–32); "Jewish Messianic Expectations and Mediatorial Figures and Pauline Christology," by Andrew Chester (pp. 17–89); "Romans as a Logos Protreptikos in the Context of Ancient Religious and Philosophical Propaganda," by David E. Aune (pp. 91–124); "Der vorrabbinische Pharisäismus," by Peter Schäfer (pp. 125–75); "Der vorchristliche Paulus," by Martin Hengel (pp. 177–293); "What Is the

Issue between Paul and "Those of the Circumcision?" by James D. G. Dunn (pp. 295–317); "Galatians 2:11–14: Was Peter Right?" by John McHugh (pp. 319–30); "Judentum und Christentum bei Paulus. Sozialgeschichtliche Überlegungen zu einem beginnenden Schisma," by Gerd Theissen (pp. 331–59); "Paulus und das Gesetz," by Hermann Lichtenberger (pp. 361–78); "Wort Gottes und Glaube bei Paulus," by Otfried Hofius (pp. 379–408); and "Adolf Schlatter als Paulusausleger—ein Versuch," by Peter Stuhlmacher (pp. 409–24). There are indexes of citations, authors, and subjects.

Mogilany 1989. Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls Offered in Memory of Jean Carmignac. Part II. The Teacher of Righteousness, Literary Studies, ed. Zdislaw J. Kapera. Qumranica Mogilanensia 3. Cracow: Enigma, 1991. Pp. 244.

This volume contains fourteen essays, seven on the Teacher of Righteousness and seven unrelated "literary studies." The essays on the Teacher of Righteousness are: "The Teacher of Righteousness in Joseph Amussin's Studies," by Lea N. Gluskina (pp. 7–21); "The Dialectics of Biblical Enigma, Parable and Typology; From Genesis to the Revelation of John, From Qumran; Revelation and the Teacher of Righteousness," by Ruth Moskow (pp. 23–46); "The Teacher of Righteousness in the Soviet Qumran Studies," by Ilja Schiffmann (pp. 47–52); "The Teacher of Righteousness," by Frederick M. Schweitzer (pp. 53–97); "Can the Hasmonean Dating of the Teacher of Righteousness Be Sustained?" by Barbara Thiering (pp. 99–117); "Le Maître de Justice dans les Documents de Qumrân," by Witold Tyloch (pp. 119–20); and "The Temple Scroll and the Teacher of Righteousness," by Michael O. Wise (pp. 121–47).

The "literary studies" are: "La Place de la Loi de Moïse à Qumrân et dans le Judaïsme du Deuxième Temple," by Albert-Marie Denis (pp. 149–75); "Playing on and Transmuting Words—Interpreting 'Abeit-Galuto' in the *Habakkuk Pesher*," by Robert Eisenman (pp. 177–96); "Le Quatrième Livre d'Esdras et les Textes Qoumrâniens," by Stanislaw Medala (pp. 197–207); "Jewish Literary Tradition and the Qumran Tradition," by Ida Fröhlich (p. 207, summary only); "The *Pesher* and other Methods of Instruction," by Bilha Nitzan (pp. 209–20); "Les Thérapeutes d'Alexandrie et l'Idéal Lévitique," by Jean Riaud (pp. 221–40); and "'Silence in Heaven' (Rev 8:1) and Early Jewish Thought," by Max Wilcox (pp. 241–44).

John J. Collins

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All books for review should be sent to the Editor, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, John J. Collins, The Divinity School, University of Chicago, 1025 E. 58th St., Chicago, IL 60637. Titles of all volumes received which are related to the interests of the *Journal* are listed quarterly in this section, unless the review of the book appears in the same issue of *JBL*. Inclusion in this section does not preclude the subsequent review of a book. No book will be assigned for review or listed in this section which has not been submitted by the publisher. It is impossible to acknowledge in any way or to return unsolicited books submitted for review. Potential reviewers may make their areas of interest known to the book review editors, and also the modern languages they can read, but all assignments are the prerogative of the staff. When two prices are given, separated by a slash, the second is for the paperbound edition.

- ALETTI, JEAN-NOËL. *Saint Paul: Épître aux Colossiens*. Ebib 20. Paris: Gabalda, 1993. Pp. 312. N.P. (paper).
- ALEXANDER, LOVEDAY. *The Preface to Luke's Gospel: Literary convention and social context in Luke 1.1-4 and Acts 1.1*. SNTSMS 78. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. Pp. xvi + 250. \$54.95. Dissertation, University of Oxford, 1978 (Dennis Nineham).
- ASHLEY, TIMOTHY R. *The Book of Numbers*. NICOT. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993. Pp. xvi + 667. \$34.99.
- BAGNALL, ROGER S. *Egypt in Late Antiquity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993. Pp. xii + 370. \$29.95.
- BEACHAM, RICHARD C. *The Roman Theatre and its Audience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992 (copyright 1991). Pp. xii + 267. N.P.
- Bible and Computer: Interpretation, Hermeneutics, Expertise: Proceedings of the Third International Colloquium, Tübingen, 26-30 August 1991*. Travaux de linguistique quantitative 49. Paris-Geneva: Champion-Slatkine, 1992. Pp. 661. N.P. (paper). This volume contains forty-eight papers, reports, panel summaries and the like from the Colloquium.
- BIEHL, PETER. *Symbole geben zu lernen II: Zum Beispiel: Brot, Wasser und Kreuz Beiträge zur Symbol- und Sakramentendidaktik*. Wege des Lernens 9. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1993. Pp. 389. DM 74,00 (paper).
- BLACK, DAVID ALAN (ed.). *Linguistics and New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Discourse Analysis*. Nashville, TN: Broadman, 1992. Pp. 319. N.P. (paper). Fourteen essays by thirteen contributors.
- BLOMBERG, CRAIG L. *Matthew*. The New American Commentary 22. Nashville, TN: Broadman, 1992. Pp. 464. N.P.
- BRENNER, ATHALYA (ed.). *A Feminist Companion to Ruth*. The Feminist Companion to the Bible 3. Sheffield: JSOT, 1993. Pp. 220. £16.50/\$24.50 (paper). Twelve essays by twelve authors (paper).

- BRENNER, ATHALYA. *A Feminist Companion to Genesis*. The Feminist Companion to the Bible 2. Sheffield: JSOT, 1993. Pp. 404. \$27.50 (paper). Contains 21 essays by 20 contributors plus an introduction by the editor.
- BRODIE, THOMAS L. *The Gospel According to John: A Literary and Theological Commentary*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993. Pp. xiv + 625. \$55.00.
- BRUEGGEMANN, WALTER. *Biblical Perspectives on Evangelism: Living in a Three-Storied Universe*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1993. Pp. 139. \$12.95 (paper).
- BRUEGGEMANN, WALTER. *Using God's Resources Wisely: Isaiah and Urban Possibility*. Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1993. Pp. v + 87. N.P. (paper).
- BRÜNING, CHRISTIAN. *Mitten im Leben vom Tod umfassen: Ps 102 als Vergänglichkeitsklage und Vertrauenslied*. BBB 84. Frankfurt am Main: Hain, 1992. Pp. viii + 343. DM 98,00.
- BURGMANN HANS. *Weitere Lösbare Qumran Probleme*. Qumranica Mogilanensia 9. Krakow: The Enigma Press, 1992. Pp. viii + 178. \$25.00/\$15.00 (paper).
- BURNIER-GENTON, JEAN. *Le rêve subversif d'un sage: Daniel 7*. Le Monde de la Bible 27. Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1993. Pp. 354. N.P. (paper).
- CARGAL, TIMOTHY B. *Restoring the Diaspora: Discursive Structure and Purpose in the Epistle of James*. SBLDS 144. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1993. Pp. xiv + 245. \$59.95/\$39.95 (\$39.95/\$24.95). Dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1992 (Daniel Patte).
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- CLARK, GORDON R. *The Word Heseḏ in the Hebrew Bible*. JSOTSup 157. Sheffield: JSOT, 1993. Pp. 287. £40.00/\$70.00. Dissertation, University of Melbourne, 1990 (A. E. Murtonen).
- CLARKE, ANDREW D. *Secular and Christian Leadership in Corinth: A Socio-Historical and Exegetical Study of 1 Corinthians 1-6*. AGJU 18 Leiden: Brill, 1993. Pp. xi + 188. \$63.00/Gld. 110.00. Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1991 (Ernst Bammel).
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- DE BOER, MARTINUS C. (ed.) *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge*. JSNTSup 84. Sheffield: JSOT, 1993. Pp. 363. £45.00/\$75.00. Eighteen essays by eighteen authors.
- DE BRUYN, THEODORE. *Pelagius's Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: Translated with Introduction and Notes*. Oxford Early Christian Studies. Oxford: Clarendon, 1993. Pp. x + 236. N.P. Dissertation, University of St. Michael's College (J. E. McWilliam and C. J. McDonough).
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- HENAUT, BARRY W. *Oral Tradition and the Gospels: The Problem of Mark 4*. JSNTSup 82. Sheffield: JSOT, 1993. Pp. 335. £40.00/\$70.00.
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- HUEY, F.B., JR. *Jeremiah, Lamentations*. The New American Commentary 26. Nashville, TN: Broadman, 1993. Pp. 512. N.P.
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- Editions Bellarmin/Les Editions du Cerf, 1992. Pp. 476 (paper). \$39.95. Doctoral thesis, Laval University (M. Michel Roberge).
- LINCOLN, ANDREW T., and WEDDERBURN, A. J. M. *The Theology of the Later Pauline Letters*. New Testament Theology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. Pp. xii + 185. \$44.95/15.95.
- LUKASZ, CZESLAW. *Evangelizzazione e Conflitto: Indagine sulla coerenza letteraria e tematica dell' pericope di Cornelio (atti 10,1-11, 18)*. Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe xxiii Theologie, 484. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1993. Pp. 300. DM 55,80 (paper). Dissertation, Pontificio Istituto Biblico di Roma, 1992 (Prof. John Kilgallen) (paper).
- MACRONE, MICHAEL. *Brush Up Your Bible*. New York: Cader Books, 1993. Pp. xviii + 353. \$20.00.
- MCCANN, J. CLINTON, JR. *A Theological Introduction to the Book of Psalms: The Psalms as Torah*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1993. Pp. 204. \$16.95. (paper).
- MCENTIRE, MARK HAROLD. *The Function of Sacrifice in Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah*. Lampeter/Dyfed, Wales: Edwin Mellen Press, Ltd., 1993. Pp. viii + 132. \$49.95.
- McKAY, HEATHER A. and DAVID J. A. CLINES, ed., *Of Prophets' Visions and the Wisdom of the Sages*. JSOTSup 162. Sheffield: JSOT, 1993. Pp. 335. £40.00/\$75.00. Eighteen essays by eighteen authors.
- McKEATING, HENRY. *Ezekiel*. Sheffield: JSOT, 1993. Pp. 128. £5.95/\$9.95. (paper).
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- MICHALOWSKI, PIOTR. *Letters from Early Mesopotamia*. Writings from the Ancient World 3. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1993. Pp. xvi + 152. \$29.95 (paper).
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- MISCALL, PETER D. *Isaiah*. Sheffield: JSOT, 1993. Pp. 178. £30.00/\$50.00.
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- MURAOKA, T. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint: Twelve Prophets*. Louvain: Peeters, 1993. Pp. xxii + 257. BEF 2100.
- MURPHY, ROLAND E. *The Psalms Are Yours*. New York: Paulist Press, 1993. Pp. xii + 148. \$10.95. (paper).
- NAKANOSE, SHIGEYUKI. *Josiah's Passover: Sociology and the Liberating Bible*. The Bible & Liberation Series. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993. Pp. xvi + 192. \$19.95 (paper). Dissertation, New York Theological Seminary, 1978 (Norman Gottwald and T. Richard Snyder).
- NEUSNER, JACOB. *Judaic Law from Jesus to the Mishnah: A Systematic Reply to Professor E. P. Sanders*. South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 84. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1993. Pp. xiv + 316. N.P.
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- PELIKAN, JAROSLAV. *Christianity and Classical Culture: The Metamorphosis of Natural Theology in the Christian Encounter with Hellenism*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1993. Pp. xvi + 368. \$40.00.
- PERRY, T. A. *Dialogues with Koheleth: The Book of Ecclesiastes, Translation and Commentary*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993. Pp. xvi + 211. \$25.00.
- POLHILL, JOHN B. *Acts*. The New American Commentary 26. Nashville, TN: Broadman, 1992. Pp. 574. N.P.
- PRÉVOST, JEAN-PIERRE. *How to Read the Apocalypse*. New York: Crossroad, 1993. Pp. x + 118. \$15.95 (paper).
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- PUSKAS, CHARLES B., JR. *The Letters of Paul: An Introduction*. GNS 25. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1993. Pp. x + 216. \$14.95 (paper).
- RALPH, MARGARET NUTTING. *Discovering Prophecy and Wisdom: The Books of Isaiah, Job, Proverbs, Psalms*. Discovering the Living Word Series 4. Pp. x + 326. \$12.95 (paper).
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- RASHKOW, ILONA N. *The Phallacy of Genesis: A Feminist Psychoanalytic Approach*. Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1993. Pp. 144. \$14.99 (paper).
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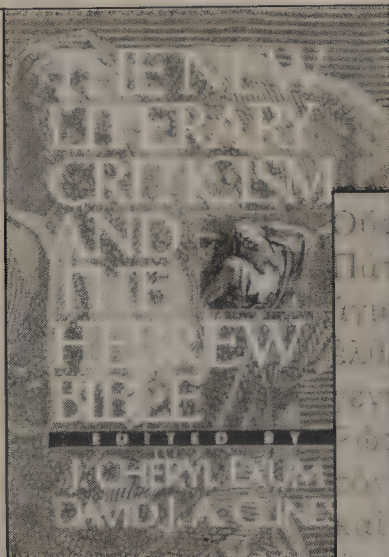
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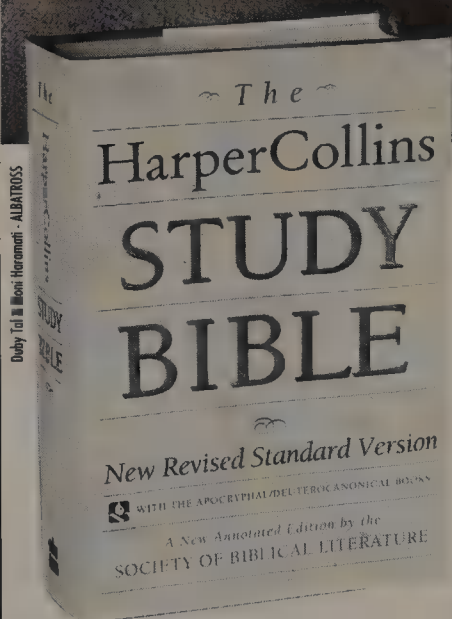
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